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THE WORLD'S WORK

VOLUME XXXII

MAY, 1916 to OCTOBER, 1916

A HISTORY OF OUR TIME

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The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

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MR. HOWARD E. COFFIN

CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL PREPAREDNESS OF THE NAVAL CONSULTING BOARD. HIS ARTICLE IN THIS ISSUE OF THE "WORLD'S WORK" EXPLAINS THE ORGANIZATION, SCOPE, AND PLANS FOR PREPARING INDUSTRY FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE, WHICH SHOULD HAVE THE COÖPERATION OF FAR-SEEING MANUFACTURERS AND BUSINESS MEN

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THE WORLD'S WORK

MAY, 1916

IE XXXII NUMBER I

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

YEAR ago, on May 7th, the *Lusitania* was deliberately torpedoed by a German submarine in the face of a warning sent by the American Govern- o Germany against the killing of n citizens on belligerent ships. gh the injury and insult to the States was deliberate and in the our warning and accompanied by en breach of propriety by the Ambassador in Washington, less it was reasonable to seek ion by diplomacy.

in her turn the *Arabic* was tor- —again it was reasonable to ask ologies and assurances be given im- ly. These were forthcoming. Ger- pologized for the *Arabic* sinking and d to torpedo no more liners unless ght the submarine or attempted to These promises and the temporary n of the submarine warfare made as if our citizens were to be un- d in the future and that a satis- settlement of the *Lusitania* case e arranged.

after the *Arabic* apology the appear- our relations with Germany got stead of better. Germany claimed ht to limit her promise so that ded only Americans on unarmed ships. And ships armed and unarmed with Americans on board have been blown up. The disasters have come frequently enough to keep the settlement for the *Lusitania* in the background. After each disaster there is a period of investigation, a period of explanation—and then another ship goes down. One fact stands out very clearly in the year's history since May, 1915. Germany did not mean to keep her word concerning international law, the dictates of humanity, or the safety of American citizens. It seemed almost equally plain during the last three or four months that the United States also did not mean to keep its word "to omit no word or act" to insure the safety and the rights of American citizens.

Mr. Bryan when he resigned admitted that he had not meant what he had said, and the country rejoiced that a man whose mind was so warped that he could be faithless with his country's word was out of office. After that time the Government itself gradually drifted almost into Mr. Bryan's position. As a nation we parleyed continuously with a Government which had repeatedly shown itself to be faithless; we parleyed with it despite continued insult and injury, in order that we might maintain a ghastly semblance of "friendly relations."

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THE U. S. S. "PENNSYLVANIA" ON HER TRIAL TRIP

THE LATEST ADDITION TO THE AMERICAN NAVY—A NAVY WITH GOOD BATTLESHIPS AND GOOD MEN BUT NOT ENOUGH OF EITHER AND INADEQUATELY SUPPLIED WITH CRUISERS, AUXILIARIES, SUBMARINES, AND AIRCRAFT. THE "PENNSYLVANIA" IS THE ONLY ALL-THREE-GUN TURRET BATTLESHIP IN THE NAVIES OF THE WORLD

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THE U. S. S. "MICHIGAN"

THE UNITED STATES HAS THIRTY-THREE BATTLESHIPS: EIGHT OF THE FIRST LINE, SEVEN OF WHICH ARE WITH THE FLEET; THIRTEEN OF THE SECOND LINE, INCLUDING THE "MICHIGAN," SEVEN OF WHICH ARE IN SERVICE, THE REMAINING SIX BEING OUT OF COMMISSION ON ACCOUNT OF SHAFT OR BOILER TROUBLES; AND TWELVE OF THE THIRD LINE, ALL MORE THAN TEN YEARS OLD AND GENERALLY CONCEDED TO BE OBSOLETE

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THE U. S. S. "OKLAHOMA"

NINE NEW SUPERDREADNAUGHTS, BUILT, BUILDING, OR AUTHORIZED, OF WHICH THE "OKLAHOMA" WAS THE SECOND, WILL BE PUT IN COMMISSION BEFORE 1921 AND WILL DOUBLE THE FIRST-LINE STRENGTH OF OUR NAVY. THE NAVY DEPARTMENT HAS BEEN EXPERIMENTING AND CLAIMS TO HAVE PERFECTED AN ARMOR PROTECTION AGAINST TORPEDOES. THE NEW SUPERDREADNAUGHTS WILL BE SO DEFENDED

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THE U. S. S. "TEXAS," "NEW YORK," AND "FLORIDA" AT MANŒUVRES

THE BATTLE FLEET OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY IS MAINTAINED AS A UNIT IN THE ATLANTIC, THE PACIFIC FLEET BEING MADE UP OF CRUISERS AND SMALLER CRAFT. ADMIRAL WINSLOW, ITS COMMANDER, TESTIFIED THAT UNDER FAVORABLE CONDITIONS ONE FIRST-CLASS BATTLESHIP MIGHT OVERCOME OUR WHOLE PACIFIC FLEET

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THE FRINGES OF THE FLEET—

THE VALUE OF SUBMARINES, DESTROYERS, SCOUT- AND BATTLE-CRUISERS, AIRCRAFT, DESTROYERS THE UNITED STATES RANKS A VERY POOR THIRD TO GREAT BRITAIN BATTLE-CRUISERS, WHICH ARE RATED AS CAPITAL SHIPS, IN SUBMARINES,

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THE DESTROYERS

AND VARIOUS AUXILIARIES HAS BEEN PROVED IN THE GREAT WAR. IN CAPITAL SHIPS AND
AND GERMANY AND ABOUT ON A PAR WITH FRANCE. IN CRUISERS OTHER THAN
AND IN AIRSHIPS THE COMPARISON IS EVEN LESS FAVORABLE TO OUR NAVY

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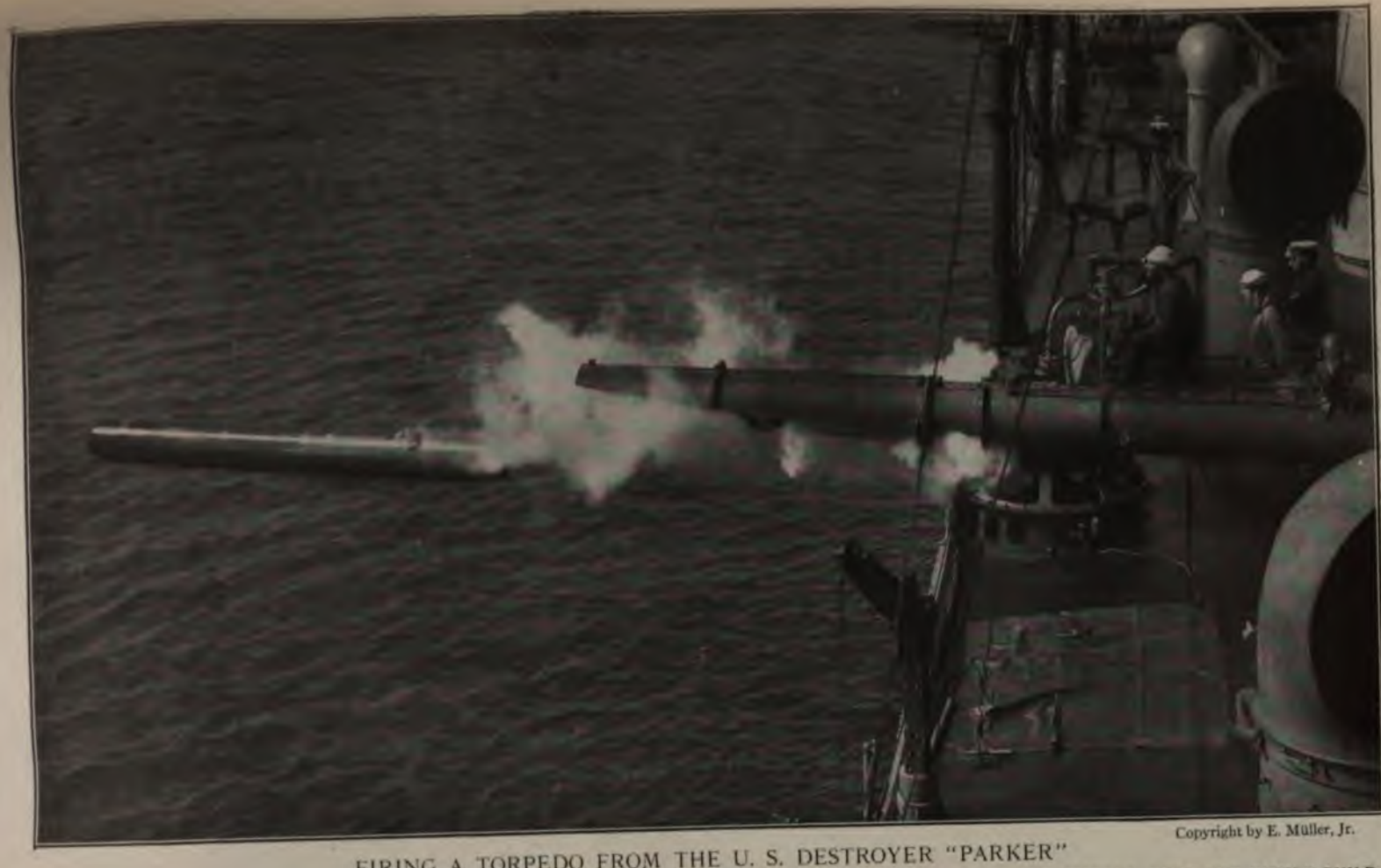
DESTROYERS STARTING A SMOKE SCREEN

THE U. S. DESTROYERS "McDOUGAL" AND "CASSIN" IN THE RECENT MANŒUVRES. THE DESTROYER HAS PROVED TO BE A VALUABLE ASSET TO THE NAVY, NOT ONLY FOR SCOUTING AND FOR HARASSING THE ENEMY BUT ALSO FOR MANŒUVERING BETWEEN THE OPPOSING FLEETS TO MAKE A SMOKE SCREEN, UNDER COVER OF WHICH THE LARGER SHIPS CAN ATTACK OR RETREAT IN SOME CONCEALMENT



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FIRING A TORPEDO FROM THE U. S. DESTROYER "PARKER"

THERE ARE FIFTY-THREE DESTROYERS BUILT WITHIN THE LAST FIFTEEN YEARS ON THE NAVAL LIST, AND FIFTEEN MORE ARE EITHER BUILDING OR AUTHORIZED. DUE TO THE GREAT SHORTAGE OF MEN, HOWEVER, ABOUT HALF OF THE DESTROYERS NOW IN COMMISSION ARE MANNED WITH GREATLY REDUCED COMPLEMENTS

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FIRING A NEW 7,500-YARD TORPEDO FROM A DESTROYER

FIRING TORPEDOES AND GUNS AND MANŒUVERING SHIPS DEMAND HIGHLY TRAINED OFFICERS WHOSE EDUCATION REQUIRES MUCH MORE TIME TO PERFECT THAN THE EDUCATION OF ARMY OFFICERS. MANY SHIPS OF OUR NAVY ARE NOW OUT OF COMMISSION FOR LACK OF MEN COMPETENT TO COMMAND AND MANŒUVRE THEM; AND TO MEET POTENTIAL WAR CONDITIONS MANY MORE OFFICERS SHOULD BE TRAINED SO THAT THE UNITED STATES COULD AT LEAST USE EFFECTIVELY THE SHIPS THAT IT HAS

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THE U. S. SUBMARINE "G-2"

WHICH HAS ON ITS RECENT FINAL TRIAL PROVED TO BE UNSATISFACTORY. IT IS GENERALLY AGREED THAT THE SUBMARINE FLOTILLA OF THIS COUNTRY IS INADEQUATE IN NUMBER, KIND, AND CONDITION OF THE SHIPS, AND LACKING IN SPECIALLY TRAINED OFFICERS AND MEN WHO ARE NEEDED FOR THIS BRANCH OF THE SERVICE

THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE

THE President's record will be the Democratic platform in the coming elections. There are two gauges of a man in public office: his principles and his ability to put his principles into practice. In getting elected, the President had convinced the public that he had principles concerning the tariff, the currency, restraint of trade, and similar subjects. The first two years of his administration proved beyond question that he had extraordinary ability to put these principles into operation. There has not been a President in modern times who accomplished so much in so short a time. He had a fundamentally democratic point of view—a belief and sympathy with the common man keener than that of any President since Lincoln. In his foreign relations, also, he proceeded upon a more ethical and less selfish plane than is altogether usual. He forced Congress to repeal the Panama tolls exemption clause and set us right with the world in the maintenance of our pledges. His dealings with Mexico and with the countries of South America show a vision of the brotherhood of nations which few of our public men have imagination enough to see, and the President has made successful moves to make the vision practical.

His determination not to recognize men who, like Huerta, got their ascendancy without any semblance of popular will was made to discourage the business of revolution and to lay the basis of possible popular government. So, also, was the decision to extend the Monroe Doctrine to prevent Haiti, for example, from selling its birthright of freedom for a foreign loan.

In all these matters the President's principles make a sound platform upon which to seek reëlection. And in all but the Mexican question he need not fear criticism for not putting his principles into action. Even the somewhat confused gropings toward the high goal of his Mexican policy would not be sufficient to endanger his hold upon the public.

Criticism of the President's Mexican policy is usually coupled with criticism of his dealings with Germany and with his preparations for national defense.

From the speeches of Mr. Root and Colonel Roosevelt it is apparent that the President is to be attacked at his weakest point. A few days after the first *Lusitania* note, one of the performers at a vaudeville performance sang a song the refrain of which ended:

> We are with you, Mr. Wilson, in whatever you do.

The audience got on its feet and yelled applause. But during the last two or three months a clown at the New York Hippodrome has shamelessly read a fictitious telegram from the President of the United States to the Emperor of Germany asking him not to have his submarines kill any more Americans because the note paper had given out—and the audience has laughed.

There are millions of people who believe that the President's judgment about the price of peace is correct, but in the Eastern states particularly his support is much less strong than it was. The laugh at the Hippodrome was not one of approval. The President's record with Germany is one of very vigorous talk without the corresponding vigorous action. But most of his critics misjudge the motives which have prompted the course he has pursued. It is ascribed to fear, indecision, and kindred motives. It is much more likely caused by his abiding faith in human nature which refuses to believe that the German Government is as it is.

President Wilson has made it very clear during the last two years that he has naturally very little sympathy with the idea of preparedness. The logic of fact and circumstances finally persuaded him of its necessity, though his persuasion was slower than that of most well-informed men. Nor has his conversion given him the same zeal that he has shown in other matters. His compromise with Mr. Hay's plans leaves him open to just criticism.

The President recommended a federal reserve of trained men to act as a second line behind the Regular Army. The Garrison plan would have provided such a reserve. Chairman Hay's plan for a

federalized militia provided that the United States pay the state militia and trust to the states to deliver real soldiers in time of need. This is merely a wasteful political move. Senator Chamberlain, however, introduced in his bill a general provision allowing the President to call volunteers in peace times for training. Under this provision a more effective force could be built up than under the Garrison plan. At the same time the Naval Consulting Board devised the extremely practical plan for industrial preparedness described elsewhere in this magazine, and the President gave this his cordial support.

If the President would make use of the provision of the Chamberlain bill, and actively push the industrial preparedness plan, he would accomplish an epoch-making advance toward national security and leave his critics with but a half-good case against him. If he relies upon the Hay federal militia plan, he may win a kind of political support, but he will be doing the country no service.

The proper programme for the Navy does not involve a principle. There is here no question between a real and a sham federal control. It is a question of size and efficiency. The building programme outlined by Mr. Daniels would provide far from the largest or most adequate navy in the world. And Mr. Daniels has not helped the country to believe that the President is keenly interested in the question of national defense.

It is difficult, however, to tell how much disaffection the President's patience with Germany and neglect of national defense will hurt him politically, for there are great masses of our voting population who do not think at all internationally and to whom these subjects appeal surprisingly little. And the President's exceptional ability and services in domestic affairs and the place he has made for himself in popular imagination give him a great underlying strength on which to build.

II

The last three Presidents have all deadlocked, or nearly so, with Congress toward the end of their terms. There being no proper coördination between the legislative and executive branches of our Government, this is almost bound to happen. If a system of responsible government were inaugurated, it would not only relieve this situation but in large measure curtail the pork barrel. Mr. Wilson has written much in favor of responsible government. Mr. Roosevelt believes in it. Probably Mr. Justice Hughes does. Mr. Root not only believes in it but he fought for it in the last Constitutional Convention of the state of New York last summer.

Mr. Root is a candidate for the Presidency. He probably knows more about the War Department and about preparedness than any other candidate. He has been Senator and Secretary of State and Secretary of War. No one questions his ability or his experience, and as he grows older he seems to be more and more open to radical ideas.

Yet Mr. Root has not much reason to expect a Presidential nomination. He has never been elected to office. He gained a great number of bitter enemies at the last Chicago Convention; and at Philadelphia and elsewhere he has spoken as if he would like to recall the good old days of McKinley. They were the same as the evil days of Mark Hanna. If one follows Mr. Root's career carefully, one will find him on the progressive side of things very often, but the opposite picture of him is fixed firmly in the public mind. The Republican Party would wildly welcome Mr. Root's opinions and abilities in Justice Hughes, but it will not likely avail itself of them in Mr. Root himself.

III

In little more than a month the Republican Convention will select a candidate to oppose Mr. Wilson. Will it be Mr. Roosevelt or Justice Hughes?

Despite the skirmishing of many little candidates, the popular consciousness, more powerful than any primary or accelerated boom, has already narrowed the choice down to two men. These are Hughes and Roosevelt. The logic of affairs makes both of them candidates. Justice Hughes probably objects to the use of any such word as describing his own

relation to the Republican situation, but facts are more persuasive than words, and facts have now placed him in the position of a man who is at least passively receptive. A simple statement that he would not accept the nomination, if made, would eliminate him from the campaign, but his statements have been confined to the fact that he would not seek it.

If there is any possibility of Justice Hughes being a Presidential candidate, the public ought to know what he thinks. It is time to digest his ideas and form an opinion of them. But of course an explanation of his ideas is a direct bid for the nomination, and a Justice of the Supreme Court cannot with propriety seek a Presidential nomination. In other words, Justice Hughes owes it to the Supreme Court and to the public to decide whether he wishes to remain a Justice or whether he would prefer to try for the Republican nomination for the Presidency. If he decides to stay on the Bench, he can make that known by saying that even if he were nominated he would not run. If he prefers to reënter politics he can resign from the Bench and begin his race in the open so that we all will know what he thinks about the vital problems that the Nation now faces.

But his statement has been that he would not seek the nomination. So long as he remains on the Supreme Bench, Justice Hughes must make it clear that he is not seeking nomination. So much he owes to the court of which he is a member.

But on the other hand, he owes a duty to the public. If he is willing to take the Republican nomination and is, therefore, a passive candidate, he owes it to the public to tell them what he believes about preparedness, about our foreign relations, about the Monroe Doctrine, Filipino independence, etc. The present time represents a crisis in the Nation's history, and, as such, it is the one time in the last half century when the Nation cannot deal with silent candidates. Who can imagine the Presidential aspirants of 1860 concealing their views on the slavery question? The issues at stake in 1916 will be just as definite as were those of 1860. They will be preparedness and foreign policy. Domestic matters will figure less conspicuously than at any time within the memory of this generation. What would Justice Hughes, if President, do with the Army and Navy? What would be his attitude toward Mexico? What does he think of the German submarine policy? What are his convictions on the shipment of arms and ammunition? What does he think of that small minority of our foreign-born citizens who would like to destroy American neutrality in the interest of Germany? What would he do about the English blockade? These are the points upon which we must hear from any Presidential candidate. The danger of a policy of silence is already apparent, for the conductors of the pro-German campaign have already selected Justice Hughes as a man "satisfactory" to themselves. No sensible person, of course, regards him as a man who, in the event, would please the German propagandists any more than Mr. Wilson pleases them; but so long as his position compels him to refrain from discussing issues which fill every American mind, he will be made the victim of such misconception.

And his position undoubtedly does seal Justice Hughes's lips. He cannot actively appear as a candidate without resigning from the Bench. There seems not the slightest likelihood that he will resign; consequently he will not give his views on public questions. Just as logically, the Republican Convention ought not to nominate him.

It looks, therefore, as though circumstances were rapidly making Mr. Roosevelt the Republican candidate. Such a development would be a startling one, even in American politics. It is a question, however, whether the situation, so far as the Republican Party is concerned, is not becoming uncontrollable. There is no man whom the "leaders" would choose so reluctantly. But American public opinion is now sharply divided about President Wilson's foreign policy and his method of reconstructing the national defense. The Administration side can find no abler advocate than Mr. Wilson himself, while that element that demands more action naturally aligns itself with Colonel Roosevelt. Probably most Americans would

prefer a less noisy and abusive spokesman of preparedness than Colonel Roosevelt and a man less temperamental and less subject to the winds of expediency, which is the reason why Justice Hughes has so great a following. But unless the Justice resigns and openly appears as a candidate —as he may possibly do—it is hard to see how even Mr. Roosevelt's bitterest enemies can fail to recognize the "logic of the situation" and nominate him. And if Justice Hughes maintains his present attitude, the Republican Convention cannot properly nominate him, for it would be madness to nominate a man for President and find out afterward what he thinks about the conduct of the Nation and of national affairs.

IV

Aside from his sound and fury, what does Mr. Roosevelt stand for?

He believes that there can be no adequate defense programme that is not based upon the complete control of the Regular Army and of such reserves as the Nation must count on by the Federal Government. He believes that these reserves can be obtained only under a system of universal service.

He is altogether right in his first contention. The only kind of a campaign that the federalized militia scheme provides for is a political campaign. As a practical matter, Colonel Roosevelt is almost surely right about universal service. The Garrison plan of a federal volunteer army might have provided enough men, but certainly it was not sufficient unless it was provided by legislation that if the voluntary system did not fill the ranks, compulsory service should take its place.

During Mr. Roosevelt's administration Mr. Root, as Secretary of War, created the General Staff and brought about the biggest reform in the Army since the Civil War. That reform still left the War Department afflicted with many abuses and left the Army without reserves and entirely unfit to meet an attack by a first class Power.

During his two administrations Mr. Roosevelt had a half dozen Secretaries of the Navy of varying ability, but when he left office the Navy was second only to England's and was in better shape than it has been since.

Colonel Roosevelt believes in closer and pleasanter relations with South America. He did much to promote better Pan-American relations, but he has not the patience nor the sympathy with other people to enable him to gain the friendship of our Latin neighbors to the extent that President Wilson has. Mr. Roosevelt has not the political philosophy of Democracy to plan a Mexican policy based on the keen desire to help Mexico to become self-governing. But whatever policy he did adopt—whether it were the establishment of an American protectorate or some other policy—it would in all probability have been carried out with a firmer grasp than that which has characterized our relations with Mexico during the last three years.

It is doubtful if even Colonel Roosevelt could have had the foresight to do everything in our foreign relations which his hindsight suggests that Mr. Wilson should have done. But probably he would have had the country in the war. If it is fair to judge from past performances it is certain that if Mr. Roosevelt had been President Germany would have settled the *Lusitania* matter satisfactorily and quickly or had war, for, in 1902, when Germany seemed to be infringing the Monroe Doctrine in Venezuela, Mr. Roosevelt sent the Kaiser an ultimatum that if the German fleet did not leave those waters in thirty days he would send Admiral Dewey to drive them out. And the German fleet left.

On foreign affairs and national defense Mr. Roosevelt makes a clear enough figure, except that his views are clouded by the bitterness and unfairness with which he abuses the President and his policies.

In domestic affairs the picture is more confused. Much of Colonel Roosevelt's political economy is of the George W. Perkins brand which cries aloud for artificial aids of all kinds for business, to be paid for by the rest of the public. It is true that Mr. Roosevelt intends to force business to give up some of its artificial gains to labor as a matter of social

justice. But all this is hopelessly arbitrary and artificial. Mr. Roosevelt has instinctive feelings about what is right and wrong and he follows them with courage and vigor. In politics he is content with a chaos in which he picks the good from the bad bosses and with the help of his hand-picked band routs the cohorts of evil. In business he is content with a chaos, in which he chooses good trusts to encourage and bad ones to smite. There is not much system, nor sound economics, nor democracy in it all, but a prodigious and well-meaning effort toward righteousness as he sees it.

If foreign affairs and preparedness had not been forced on the public attention, Mr. Roosevelt could hardly have become a logical candidate. But on these two subjects he does embody the feelings of many thousands who disagree with him on most other things.

VILLA'S LESSON

A WEEK or two after the pursuit of Villa began, the lessons of his raid on Columbus assumed far deeper significance than the mere bandit hunt of which we read from day to day in the newspapers. But whether or not Villa got away; whether some traitor betrayed him alive, or a tempting reward delivered him up, dead, to American justice; whether the waste places of Durango and Sinaloa swallowed him up, or like a burly will-o'-the-wisp, continuing to elude capture, he strung out more than a third of the United States Army in a baffled thin thread far down into Mexico—all this became of relatively small concern to us. The thing that did assume greater proportions in our eyes was the exposition of the state of our Army which Villa's raid made.

As the consequence of a border raid it became almost immediately necessary to drain the entire continental United States of all its mobile military forces, with the exception of six skeleton regiments not even recruited up to their peace basis. It also became immediately evident that if what had been planned as a bandit hunt [illegible] anything more serious hardly form an additional drop in the military bucket. The President would have to call on the country for volunteers and he would have to use untrained men immediately. Out of eight aeroplanes representing the entire available Army equipment all but two were out of commission within a week. Villa loafed away with a week's start because he knew then what we know now, that along the entire Mexican frontier there was not in existence a single supply train which could have made immediate pursuit possible. These and other matters of unsparing detail Villa wrote on the international wall where we could see them.

Villa produced a bloody corroboration of the President's statement that he did not have enough men properly to patrol the border. There are certainly not enough regulars to patrol the border and to do any extended police work in Mexico, and in any other contingency which might arise we are almost certain to have to rely in large part on untrained or very meagerly trained troops.

FARMS AND FINANCE

A READER of the WORLD'S WORK writes from Tacoma, Wash., to call attention to a specific case in which the lack of proper rural credit has characteristically hampered the productive energy of a solvent and enterprising farmer. In his letter he says:

> A recent experience may prove to you that the business of farming is seriously handicapped by the lack of a well-defined credit system.
>
> A farmer applies for a loan of eight thousand dollars, secured by property conservatively valued at twenty-six thousand dollars. After a thorough investigation the loan can be made on the following basis: $8,000 at 8 per cent. per annum for a period of five years, with a payment of $500 commission and other expenses which make an additional total of approximately $100. So to secure the necessary $8,000 it would be necessary to borrow and pay interest on $9,000. The farmer appealed to me. With a wide acquaintance in several cities, I have only succeeded in cutting down the rate of interest from 8 per cent. to 7 per cent., but with the same overhead charges. Figuring the loss of time, all expenses, and commission, it is costing this farmer nearly $1,000 to secure a loan of

$8,000, and he pays interest on $9,000. In other words, he gets his required amount of $8,000, but pays a trifle more than 10 per cent. instead of 7 per cent. as he supposes.

Multiply this incident by many thousands, and some idea may be gained of the degree to which the productive capacity of American farms is lowered by the difficulties in the way of getting capital with which to work them.

CANCER, A CURABLE DISEASE

MOST people regard cancer as a hopelessly incurable disease. On the contrary, it presents, in the great majority of cases, no particularly difficult surgical problem. The 80,000 deaths that result from cancer in the United States every year constitute a huge monument to carelessness and ignorance, both on the part of the layman and the physician. For the greater part of these unfortunates need not have died—modern medical science could have restored many of them to health.

This seems an astounding statement, yet it is true. And it is a truth which the American Society for the Control of Cancer has for several years been attempting to impress upon the American people. The fact that cancer, far from decreasing, is apparently increasing, indicates that this humanitarian effort has so far had little success. Certainly the Association's latest statistics should arouse the popular mind. These show that early operation cures cancer of the breast in 80 per cent. of the cases, cancer of the lip in 95 per cent., and cancer of the tongue in 80 per cent. In delayed operation the proportion of successes is 25 per cent. in cancer of the breast, 60 per cent. in cancer of the lip, and 15 per cent. in cancer of the tongue.

Any one who could make the American public, or even a small proportion of it, carefully read and digest these figures would confer a priceless boon upon humanity. Intelligent action, based upon them, would save unspeakable suffering and thousands of lives every year. They tell the whole story of cancer treatment, justify the statement that cancer is a curable disease, and do much to remove one of the greatest terrors that now overshadows mankind.

The cure for cancer, as these figures show, is not radium, the x-rays—useful as these are on many occasions—far less the thousands of quack remedies that prey upon the hopes and purses of cancer patients and their friends. The one resource is early operation. There is one reason, and one reason only, why we have this huge mortality from cancer. The physicians and surgeons usually get the disease in its last stages—when nothing can be done. If they could get their patients when cancer first manifests itself, the death rate would be enormously decreased. For at its beginning cancer is a local disease. Merely cutting out the tumor, when it starts, usually ends its career. In the later stages, the cancer cell, which causes the disease, gets into the blood, circulates all over the body, and starts growths in a multitude of places. Operation clearly cannot cure a blood disease, such as cancer is in these later manifestations. But if the surgeon can operate on the original focus, before it becomes generalized, a life can be saved.

When the first growth appears on an internal organ, there are difficulties—though not always insuperable—in recognizing it. There is no excuse, however, for not noticing a growth on the exterior body. One of the commonest forms of cancer, for example, is that of the female breast. Any woman who notices a growth, however small, in this place, should at once consult an experienced physician. Such a growth is usually incipient cancer, and any physician who "pooh poohs!" or neglects it, as many do, is guilty of criminal negligence. If the surgeon can get this patient when the growth is no bigger than a pea or a walnut, he can usually perform a perfect cure. Such an operation is a simple one, taking only a few minutes. And, generally speaking, any one who notices a lump, however small, anywhere on the body—especially if it gradually increases in size—should at once consult an expert. It may not be malignant cancer, but it may be, and this is a risk that no sensible person can ever afford to take.

A TIMELY ANECDOTE FROM THE PHILIPPINES

IN 1914, the Filipinos for the first time obtained control of both chambers of their legislative Assembly. They immediately proposed to cut in two the appropriation for health and sanitary work. In 1902, when the Americans began cleansing the Philippines, these Islands enjoyed a preëminence for disease even in the Orient. Cholera, smallpox, the plague, beriberi, and other scourges raged undisturbed. The Americans, under the direction of Dr. Victor G. Heiser, whose work among the lepers was recently described in this magazine, have driven out these diseases and made the Philippine Islands even more sanitary than the United States.

Yet the Filipinos, as soon as they obtained control of their legislative machine, started to cripple this work. The loud protests raised by resident Americans did not impress their apathetic souls. Dr. Heiser protested and protested, with little effect. Finally he demanded the right of addressing the Assembly. Reluctantly, the Filipino leaders told him that he could have twenty minutes. Dr. Heiser appeared on schedule time, but he did not talk for twenty minutes—he talked for three days. He stopped occasionally for meals, and a little sleep; for the rest of the time he entertained the assembled lawmakers with descriptions of Manila and the Philippines as they existed prior to 1903 and of the same places at the present time. At first his auditors were uninterested, almost hostile. They sat silent and emotionless, perhaps somewhat bored, apparently persuaded that nothing the speaker could say would affect the situation. But Dr. Heiser, after talking nearly a day, scored his first point. Before the reforming Americans came, the Filipinos had their own system of handling the insane. They used to tie the poor creatures, like dogs, to stakes under the Filipino houses. Sometimes a flood tide rose, or a fire swept over the light material districts; occasionally, but not invariably, the people remembered to unhitch the miserable lunatics. The Americans have abolished this system, and erected beautiful, sanitary asylums for the insane.

Dr. Heiser called the Assembly's attention to the fact that their budget cut down the appropriation for the care of the insane. If it passed, he would have to let loose several hundred lunatics in the streets of Manila.

"This will be necessary," he declared, "since there will be no money to provide for them. These lunatics, you know, are of a particularly dangerous kind; there are many murderers, incendiaries, and the like among them. But I shall have to set them free. And I shall put a badge on each one, inscribed, 'Set free by the vote of the Filipino Assembly.'"

The uninterested brown men showed their first signs of life.

"That would be inhumane!" they shouted.

"Of course," replied Dr. Heiser, "but it will be your inhumanity, not mine."

He recounted how the Health Service had collected and isolated about 6,000 lepers at Culion. But the budget cut down the appropriation for the leper colony. What could he do? He should have to let loose a large number of lepers, who would wander about as of old, infecting thousands more every year. "Yet you Filipinos," he said, "demand your independence and say that you are capable of self-government. Is this the way to convince the American people that you are?"

Dr. Heiser's force and eloquence saved the day on that occasion. The Assembly, after listening three days, arose and requested that he himself write the health section of the appropriation bill.

This episode has a great bearing upon the pending Philippine situation. According to reports from Washington, President Wilson is prepared to sign the bill giving the Filipinos independence after four years. Secretary Garrison resigned partly because he regarded this legislation as absolutely unsound.

The little anecdote pictures what will almost certainly happen as soon as the Filipinos gain their independence. Health, sanitation, education—all the higher graces of civilization, have been imposed from above. The Filipinos have proved apt

pupils, but they will not do these things themselves—and they will suffer them to fall into neglect as soon as the guiding hand is withdrawn. There will be no Dr. Heiser, then, to persuade them against their will. Smallpox, plague, cholera, and leprosy would once more rage over the Islands, and in their wake social and political chaos, and—intervention.

WAR STATISTICS AND COMMON SENSE

NEARLY every newspaper in the country has on its staff either a reporter or an editorial writer who is affectionately known to his fellows as "Old Facts and Figures." He is the ingenious person who works out those amazing statistical parallels like "the grains of wheat produced in our county last year, if laid end to end, would stretch from San Francisco to New York." The war seems to have provided this harmless statistical habit of mind a new subject, on which these engaging and often amusing gentlemen have seized with eagerness. Thus one of the best of the Middle Western newspapers discovers that "to earn the $8,640,000,000 that the war has cost Great Britain alone, one man would have to work nearly 12 million years at $2 a day," and quotes Premier Asquith as saying that this "is not only beyond precedent, but actually beyond the imagination of any financier."

Now this statement of the case sounds pretty desperate, and is calculated to make one exclaim, as he reads it, that war has become impossibly expensive, that at this pace Great Britain is headed for bankruptcy, that Germany must be nearly exhausted financially by this time, and so on and so on. But turn that statement around and read it this way: "To earn the $8,640,000,000 that the war has cost Great Britain alone, 12 million men would have to work one year at $2 a day." Reading it that way, the statement says the same thing but says it so that it is no longer "beyond the imagination of any financier" nor even beyond the imagination of a schoolboy, because all it means, even taking it literally, is that Britain has mortgaged approximately one year's labor of its working population to fight this war.

But of course even a schoolboy knows better than to take it literally. He knows that Britain is saving a large share of this money right now by spending less than it does in times of peace. He knows that when the war is over Britain, under the pressure of the necessity for rebuilding its industrial life, will work with more spirit and more effectiveness than it did in the dull and unstimulating days of peace. The war is so obviously teaching the British of this generation the lessons of industrial team-work and is so plainly bringing out the highest productive capacity of the nation that this after-war effect could safely enough be prophesied even if every lesson of history did not already prove it.

The waste of war is not in the bills that are incurred through the destruction of property or through the cessation of industry. It is in the permanent loss of productive man-power in the shape of soldiers killed or incapacitated. But even this loss is greatly counterbalanced by the gain in the effectiveness of the men who are left, through the awakening power of an absorbing national drama upon their minds and spirits.

All this takes no account of the moral issues or the moral effects of war. No more does the statistical legerdemain that is used by ingenious gentlemen of the press. But even on the purely statistical side, it is more amusing than profitable to arrange figures in hair-raising combinations. That kind of statistics can easily prove that life is not worth living at all, and, on that showing, the only valid criticism of war is not that it costs too much but that it is not one half deadly enough. The figures were all against George Washington and many a time they were against Abraham Lincoln. Fortunately, though, the profound common sense of the people and the high logic of events were with them. And though it is true that most wars have their origin in economic causes, almost invariably one of the combatants has something at stake for which no price in money is too high to pay.

EVERY CITIZEN'S DUTY

THE plan for national defense outlined by Mr. Howard E. Coffin in the article beginning on the next page is the only plan for the industrial organization of the United States for national defense which can be put into operation with even reasonable speed. Without such industrial organization no other preparations for defense can be effective. Armies and navies in modern warfare cannot fight without constant flow of all kinds of munitions to the front, and this flow can be achieved only by the almost universal organization of industry for war purposes. The fighting forces in Europe, for example, take three fourths or more of the industrial activity of France, England, and Germany.

The plan of industrial organization outlined by Mr. Coffin is the product of the Committee on Industrial Preparedness of the Naval Consulting Board. It has the approval of the President of the United States, the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of the Navy. It has also the cordial coöperation of the five great engineering societies, made up of the Chemical Engineers, the Civil Engineers, the Electrical Engineers, the Mechanical Engineers, and the Mining Engineers. The engineers are the men best equipped in the country to put the programme into operation.

The plan has also the coöperation of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, and, through it and its affiliated organizations, the coöperation of most of the owners and operators of the plants which must be organized for war work. At the same time the Associated Advertising Clubs of this country have made plans to coöperate in putting before the public in the advertising pages of the magazines and newspapers and on the billboards from the Atlantic to the Pacific the importance of industrial organization for national defense.

It is a pleasant fact to emphasize that all this is done as a patriotic service, without pay, by the members of the Naval Consulting Board committee, the committees of engineers in each state, the committee of the Chamber of Commerce, and by the Associated Advertising Clubs

The spirit in which the engineers and the manufacturers and the advertisers have taken hold of this plan for industrial organization for national defense is the same spirit which every one else should evidence toward it—a constructive recognition that every citizen owes his country a duty, and that a most necessary duty at present is to support in every way, shape, and form the practical plan of Mr. Coffin's committee to make us as a nation so well prepared that there will be no profit in attacking us.

THE EDITORS.

ORGANIZING INDUSTRY FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE

THE PREPARATION WITHOUT WHICH MODERN ARMIES AND NAVIES CANNOT FIGHT—THE NEW CONCEPTION OF ALL NATIONAL ENERGY AT WORK

BY

HOWARD E. COFFIN

(CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL PREPAREDNESS OF THE NAVAL CONSULTING BOARD)

THE European War situation of the last year and a half has entirely upset our preconceived notions of a war. We had an idea that an Army and a Navy meant preparedness. We had an idea that the Army and the Navy would take the brunt of any attack upon this country; that the battles should be fought and the naval engagements should take place, and that the winner would be master of the field. Now in Europe to-day every one knows that it is not any more a question of a navy nor the question of any particular army. The test has gotten down to which country can fastest and longest supply the munitions of war to the men on the fighting line. It has gotten down to the question of what country can fastest and in the greatest quantity supply shells to the guns, and it has gotten down not to the point of professional fighting men but to the question of whether every man, woman, and child of the nation has been engaged and is engaged in the production of some kind of materials for the armies at the front. It has even gotten to the point where the women of the leisure classes are going into the mills and the factories at Saturday noon and working in seven-hour shifts until midnight of Sunday, in order that the mills may not be closed down during the time that organized labor stops work for its period of rest.

When the problem of warfare comes down to this basis, it is no longer a question of the ability of the departmental heads of the Army and Navy, but it is a question of the ability of every bit of industrial brains in this country.

It is vitally necessary that the civilian end of our whole American defense situation be instructed in the part which it must play in any true plan of national defense. Our departmental heads in Washington are largely, of course, graduates of the very best technical schools in the country. They are from Annapolis and West Point, and have been taught the profession of fighting and of military practice at every angle and are masters of their profession. Civilians are unable to give to those men any instructions or

directions in their particular line of the work. But from the very nature of their training, the men who head the departments of the Army and Navy have lived and eaten and slept with military problems all their lives. Civilian engineers, on the other hand, have lived and eaten and slept with the industrial problems of the country. The two problems are entirely distinct, and the masters of one cannot possibly, within the human conception, be the masters of the other. We must organize behind the men of the Army and Navy. We must make them realize that they have the support of the country; and in order to do this we must work in time of peace and not wait until trouble comes upon us suddenly.

There are three steps to be taken to get industry organized behind the Army and the Navy. Our first step is to find out what we can do in this country in the manufacture of munitions. The second step is to apply that knowledge in a practical way which will put the plants of this country into the service of the Government behind our Army and Navy. And the third step is to create such an organization of the skilled labor of this country that that skilled labor will not get off the job in the event of war, as it did in England and France, and get to the front and have to be pulled back later and reorganized for the work in hand, but will stay where it belongs, at work under governmental supervision which will actually prevent the men from enlisting in the regular service.

THE RÔLE OF LABOR IN NATIONAL DEFENSE

I do not know whether or not it has occurred to many people that the old cry of labor that it was obliged to fight the wars into which the governments might plunge the country has been pretty thoroughly exploded, and that the wars are being fought by the bankers and the statesmen and the artists and the tradesmen, etc.; while the skilled mechanic is being kept at home and guarded most carefully by the European governments, because they realize that in the preservation of their skilled mechanics they have the answer to the question of whether or not they will win or lose the war.

Now it is the skilled mechanic of the future who is going to win the wars of this country, because he is the man who is going to produce those munitions in such quantities as will be used by the fighting line, whereas the banker, if you like, and the lawyer is merely a man who carries a gun at the front—as they put it abroad, is cannon fodder.

In any problem as big as the question of industrial organization of this country for the service of the Government, in any problem as big as the analysis of the industrial resources of the country, we cannot, of course, depend upon any small corps of men or board which may be created for the purpose. Such work must be done by the men who themselves have developed the industries of the country. Therefore, early in the effort of the Naval Consulting Board to organize industry for national defense, we were convinced that in order to do this work as it should be done, and in order to place behind the Government the true industrial strength of this country, it was necessary that the engineers themselves of the United States take up

this work. In the event of war, it will be the engineers who will have to direct the munition industries and who will have to coöperate on the closest possible terms so that the Government may accomplish results. Therefore, we felt immediately that we must organize the engineers of the country in this service. At our suggestion President Wilson wrote a letter to the presidents of the five national technical organizations of this country, which are the Mining Engineers, the Civil Engineers, the Mechanical Engineers, the Electrical Engineers, and the Chemical Engineers, asking them to coöperate with the Naval Consulting Board in the initiation of this work, and further requesting that their method of coöperation with this board should be through the selection of one of the leading business men, business engineers, a member of each society of every state in the Union; those five men to be formed into a board of directors, to which would be turned over all official action of the technical organizations, all the combined membership of this organization within that state. This gives us a board of directors of five men organized in every state of the Union, and under them they have 30,000 of the most highly trained engineers of the country.

THE PLAN OF THE NAVAL CONSULTING BOARD

Out of about 240 or 250 men nominated for this work by their societies, I believe that there have been only two failures to respond to the affirmative, one due to a death and the other due to some insurmountable obstacle. The engineers are entering the work in the most serious frame of mind; and the method of procedure which I shall outline briefly to you is that under the direction of the Naval Consulting Board, in accordance with the procedure and the practice of the United States Census Office, we are having prepared the necessary forms for the collection of the data on the industries of this country. There are about 30,000 concerns in which, in the first instance, we are interested. We want to make of those concerns a business inventory embodying knowledge such as any business man would want to have concerning a company with which he expected to enter into serious business relations.

On these forms is filled in the name of the concern on which the report is to be made. The State Directors pass them on to the man in the field—a trained engineer who will understand that he is to get a full and accurate report on the business to which he is assigned; and it is our hope that this first step in true preparedness will go through as any other big business goes through in this country. We want to put the thing through in such a manner that it will serve notice upon our friends on the other side of the water that, when it is necessary for the United States to move rapidly in any question of preparedness, we have the old Yankee ability to do it.

Behind us, too, in all this work is the weight of the chambers of commerce of the country. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States has framed as a referendum to its voting members—comprising chambers of commerce, boards of trade, and national organizations throughout the United States—resolutions which are exactly in accordance with our proposed programme; and, therefore, we shall have not only the engineering ability and the engin-

eering talent of the country engaged in the actual performance of the work, but we shall have the business weight of the country as well.

But when we shall have taken an inventory of our resources we shall not have gotten very far toward preparedness; because no matter how much data we may acquire as to what the manufacturers of this country may be able to do, the vitally important thing, of course, is to see that those industries are in shape actually to do the work when it is put up to them. This is the second step. There is not a manufacturer in this country who can start on quantity production of shells within one year after the receipt of an order from the United States Government unless he has in time of peace and previously to the receipt of that order done shell work in his plant. Consequently we are going to have to educate the manufacturers of this country in the production of munitions, and we are going to have to show through these educational methods of procedure in this country how to serve the Army and the Navy in time of need.

It does not make any difference what our individual political ideas may be concerning Government ownership and Government operation of munitions plants. We must remember that from 80 to 90 per cent. of the total manufacturing and producing resources of the foreign nations to-day are engaged in the production of materials for the armies and navies, but principally for the fighting lines of the armies. The navies have used practically nothing as yet; so that nearly everything that is being made may be said to be for the armies.

THE NECESSITY OF PRIVATE INDUSTRIAL COÖPERATION

No one can conceive of a government, whether it be our own or any other, which can, through taxation or otherwise, construct and maintain in time of peace a plant which will be qualified to turn out enough munitions to supply the fighting line in time of war. This means that even though we have Government-owned plants—and the ideal thing would be to have several of them scattered through the Middle West—but even though we have them to act as educational institutions and to act as clearing houses for specifications and blue-prints, in the last equation, in any future war in which this country is engaged, it is going to be the privately owned manufacturing plants of this country which must feed the guns that will save the Nation. If we can have Government-owned plants, they will come in as assembling plants and as clearing houses for specifications, tools, and skilled munition workers. But we must not overlook the fact that Congressional action toward the establishment of Government-owned plants may be on a false basis. As I see it, one of the greatest dangers of this country at the present time is that through the passage by the houses in Washington of bills creating a larger Army, an increased Navy, and a few munitions plants, the country may sit down and fold its hands, and say, "We are prepared."

As a practical working-out of industrial organization for national defense, we purpose to give the private plants of this country small annual orders for munitions. To take a case in point, suppose that we went to a motor car

company with an order for a limited number of three-inch shell casings per year, to be produced at any time during the year, during the slack time or otherwise, with the idea that those casings must be delivered every year. Even an insignificant step like that will insure certain things. The purchasing department of the motor car company will learn how and where to buy materials; the manufacturing department of the motor car company will learn how to handle those materials; the company will learn what jig and tool equipment is necessary, and it will learn the heat treatment; the inspection department will learn the governmental standard of inspection; the engineering department will have the blue-prints and specifications covering that work, and all the arguments that arise on new work will be gotten out of the way during the time of peace; the shipping department will learn how to crate and ship the material after it is finished; and the business end of the motor car company will learn something of governmental methods of business.

OUR LESSON FROM THE WAR ORDERS

And this is a very important point. Of the great number of rejections which the European inspectors have made of American munitions, many have been reasonable and many unreasonable. We have no reason to assume that the specifications and drawings and details of our American departments in munitions works are any more nearly accurate than are those similar specifications of foreign governments. And in this country there have been a tremendous number of changes made in those specifications since the placing of orders. And just so surely as there is a wide distribution of the munitions orders of this country in this educational campaign, just that surely are we going to centre upon those specifications the hard-headed business considerations of the quantity producer throughout the country, and we are going to work a tremendous lot of changes in our own specifications; because a large percentage of the manufacture of munitions for the Government, of course, has been given in the past to concerns which made it a business, and they are much more willing to put up with, if you like, foolish notions and almost impossible specifications than would be the majority of the quantity producers of the country.

The peace practice of munition manufacture would smooth out the very difficult task of adjusting Government specifications and inspection and the exigencies of quantity production in private plants. And the private plants will have covered in the production of small orders a great deal of the necessary fundamental work through which any manufacturing concern must go before it can learn how to produce munitions of war.

If we take that one case of the motor car company and multiply it by ten or fifteen thousand and consider those plants set down in every corner of this country, we shall be approaching a state where we can reasonably say that within a very few months we shall be in position to turn out war materials of that kind.

Let us look for a minute at the labor attitude toward a step of this kind. By such a plan we are insuring against the closing of plants throughout this

country, even in time of war. We are insuring employment to the maximum number of workmen even under war conditions. And we are laying once for all the bugaboo of the munitions lobby at Washington. We are giving to the Government a thousand strings to its bow where it now has a few, and we are bringing home to the American laboring man throughout this country the realization that he has some further obligations to the Government than he has felt that he has had to date.

Now the third step, of course, is to gain the support of skilled labor, and there we have of necessity to deal with organized labor. Just as certainly as we insure a governmental regulation of price upon munitions and just as certainly as we insure to the skilled mechanic of this country that he, without going to the front and carrying a musket, is yet going to be placed in the same relative position, so far as honor is concerned, as though he were carrying a gun in the trenches, just that certainly are we going to enlist the support of the skilled laborers behind any move of this kind. And that is the attitude of such leaders in the organized labor field with whom we have been in touch. The coöperation of labor is one of the most vital elements in any campaign for the introduction of such sound methods of preparedness.

I wonder if many people have a real conception of the intricate problem of the thing about which I am writing. I doubt if any one can have who has never been actively interested in the quantity manufacture of materials. Perhaps one or two little instances will make the difficulties clearer.

THE INDUSTRIAL UNPREPAREDNESS OF THE UNITED STATES

There are three concerns in this country to-day that make practically all the gauges and inspection tools for this country, and ship much of that same material to Europe. Those concerns are all in New England—incidentally two are in seacoast cities. They have gotten together and have compiled certain figures more or less for their own information. Those figures show that to produce 200,000 shells a day in this country of the sizes required by the Army and Navy would require an equipment in measuring tools and gauges and inspection gauges alone of from 17 million to 20 million tools, and would take the combined capacity of their plants five years to produce them; and the lack of these tools is one of the main reasons to-day why American manufacturers are unable to fill orders from Europe. Not long ago testimony concerning rifle manufacture to the following effect was given in Washington:

> "It has taken substantially a year for American manufacturers, with every incentive and under the most favorable circumstances, to manufacture their first rifle for European use. In the manufacture of this rifle, 120 separate and distinct operations are required in order to finish the receiver alone. The receiver is that part of the rifle which contains the bolt and firing mechanism. In other words, 120 gauges of the utmost accuracy must be prepared before this essential part of the rifle can be made. So with the gauges for various other parts in order to manufacture the rifle in quantities. After one complete set is made, additional sets can be made somewhat more rapidly and cheaply, but each must be made independently and separately.

And in that connection here are some figures which have been compiled

as to the life of the gauging mechanism. These gauges, after they are once completed, are to be used only for from 8,000 to 10,000 gaugings and then scrapped. The surfaces become so abraded that the gauge is no longer sufficiently accurate for the work, and new gauges must be substituted.

In the manufacture of munitions themselves I do not know what the average time has been that has been taken in beginning production on foreign orders, by concerns in this country, that have been quantity producers of various kinds of machinery and tools, but there are many of the best concerns in the United States that have been taking a year on the problem and have not yet produced and delivered enough stuff that has passed inspection to be worth while. One of the representatives of the English Government told me not long ago that if the Allies were whipped in the present war in Europe it would be because the United States had not made specified deliveries of rifles for which we have orders in this country.

We hear a good many statements here about our munitions production. The British, however, point out that although we have concerns in this country which have gone on for fifty years in the manufacture of firearms, anything that those concerns have done after a year or a year and a half of effort upon orders which were placed with them has been practically negligible. And this naturally leads one to wonder if all this munitions work which has come to this country is merely a ripple around the edge of the pool and if we cannot take care of a ripple in any better shape than we are taking care of it, what in Heaven's name would we do if we were one of the principals engaged?

THE PLAN FOR INDUSTRIAL PREPAREDNESS

It is not that many concerns in this country have not met new conditions quickly and successfully. They have. But these special concerns have manufactured only particular things. Many other items equally necessary for war use we cannot now manufacture at all. As a nation we are not at all ready to supply an army with all its wants. So much of specialized skill is required in the production of munitions of war that it may be truly said to be a new art; and in order that the facilities of this country may be placed in position to combat the difficulties of the taking up of a new art of this kind, it means that we must start the most thorough preparedness now in advance of any time of real trouble.

The plan of the Naval Consulting Board is first to get an accurate census of manufacturing plants, secondly to have them equip themselves with the necessary tools and train themselves by making a small amount of munitions each year, and thirdly to enlist skilled labor in the service of the Government to make munitions in time of war rather than to go to the front. Without some such coöperation of industry if a war come we shall send our soldiers, be they regulars, militia, or volunteers, to the front to slaughter and defeat.

YOUR GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

MAKING NEW AMERICANS

[*The Washington Office of the* WORLD'S WORK (*in the Wilkins Building*) *will answer readers' questions about the work of any department of the Government.*—THE EDITORS]

ENGLAND, since the war began, has been placarded with posters urging men of military age to enlist "For King and Country." Throughout the United States a poster has recently been distributed which in eight different languages calls recruits for America and for sound Americanism. You will find it hanging at the railroad stations, pasted on the bulletin boards of country post offices, in mining-town hotels, and printed in alien newspapers. In English, Bohemian, German, Hungarian, Italian, Lithuanian, Polish, and Yiddish, this is what it says:

It means a better opportunity and a better home in America.
It means a better job.
It means a better chance for your children.
It means a better America.

"It" means citizenship. Not the fake, half-baked basis for registration which has filled our cities with unintelligent alien votes, but citizenship as the Government understands it, educated, responsible, responsive, productive.

For the first time in its history, the United States Government is intelligently concerned with making the right sort of citizen out of its adult immigrant material. It is no longer enough that hordes of aliens shall be added yearly to the heterogeneous and unassimilated population already within our boundaries. It is neither policy nor wisdom merely to leave the immigrant, as in former years, to his own resources; to lay down, as among the requirements for naturalization, that an alien must speak the English language, love our institutions, and be attached to the principles of our Constitution, and yet provide no facilities which will enable the alien to meet these requirements. On the contrary, your Government is awake to the realization that the best remedy for an "overtaxed melting-pot" is an efficient machinery for the Americanization of every able-bodied foreigner who casts his lot among us.

Such a machinery has recently been created by the Government out of the material that was nearest at hand and most obviously appropriate for the purpose. Attention was briefly called to this in the WORLD'S WORK last month: the story is worth telling in more detail. The Bureau of Naturalization has made our public school system the instrumentality through which thousands of adult immigrants are now being prepared for intelligent and efficient citizenship. After two years of planning and preparation, the Bureau last October launched a definite programme of Americanization, which is already being carried forward under its direction in the public schools of 637 cities in 45 states. The fundamental purpose of this programme is to prepare the foreign-born and -bred to perform intelligently the duties of a citizen in a democracy whose sovereign power is citizenship. That the alien who is thus educated, who knows our language, laws, and institutions will be a more efficient job-getter and money-maker than his non-English-speaking brother is obvious.

In the light of those social, industrial, and political problems to which a large and unassimilated foreign population has given rise in this country within the last two decades and especially during the last two years, the work of the Naturalization Bureau becomes a patriotic enterprise. At the time of the last census, in 1910, our alien population was 13,500,000. The latest figures obtainable from the Bureau

of Immigration show that this alien element now numbers approximately 16,500,000. In other words, one person out of every six in the United States is a foreigner. Or, to state these figures in terms of still greater impressiveness, one person out of every three in our country is either foreign-born or the child of foreign-born parents.

The census of 1910 reported as naturalized 3,040,302 white males over twenty-one years of age. Since that time this number has only grown to 3,436,202. Left to his own resources by our Government, our civic agencies, and our native population after his arrival in this country, it is small wonder that the immigrant has not heretofore availed himself of the privilege of citizenship in greater numbers. Still less is it strange that a large proportion of those who make their declaration of intent to become citizens of the United States lose heart and interest before the two years elapse that must pass before they can petition for citizenship. Until the Federal Government, with the coöperation of the public schools, instituted its work for these would-be citizens and other foreigners, no organized attempt had ever been made to effect a definite programme of Americanization for the adult immigrant. There was no systematic effort on the part of any agency to provide adequate facilities for his education and assimilation, and then to connect him with the facilities provided.

AMERICANIZING THE IMMIGRANTS

The plan by which the Bureau of Naturalization works to such an end is as follows: By a provision of our naturalization law, the clerk of every court exercising jurisdiction in naturalization matters is required to forward to the Bureau the name, address, nationality, and occupation of every resident alien who declares his intention to become a citizen, and of each petitioner for naturalization, within thirty days after the declaration or petition has been filed. In this way, information concerning 40,000 or more adult immigrants is received every month at headquarters in Washington. Immediately upon the receipt of the information, the name, address, nationality, and occupation of each immigrant is transcribed upon a naturalization-education card printed for the purpose. These cards are then sorted by cities, and are mailed to superintendents of schools in the respective cities in which the aliens live. The card is so printed that it may be returned to the Bureau at the end of the school year giving the school record of the immigrant. There are blanks in which the teacher is to insert the date of his school entrance; his total attendance for the year at the night schools provided for him; to what extent he is illiterate upon entrance; what his previous education, if any, has been; and whether or not he speaks, reads, or writes English.

Before the first monthly instalment of these cards was sent out, every city school superintendent in the country was enlisted in the campaign of Americanization. In the majority of cases, the school authorities in the larger cities were personally visited by the Deputy Commissioner of Naturalization, Mr. Raymond F. Crist, to whose genius for organization the success of the present plan is largely due. Where many cities had provided facilities for less than one out of ten of its adult foreigners, arrangements were made for the opening of more night classes as soon as there should be found pupils ready and willing to enter them. Superintendents were instructed to have their supervising principals keep the school record of every immigrant on the card made out for him. At the end of the present school year these cards will be returned to the Bureau of Naturalization in order that it may accredit to each city the educational advancement of the foreign population. Later the Bureau will present the entire national education movement for adult immigrants in a report by states and cities to Congress.

The card system devised by the Naturalization Bureau is a simple and inexpensive one that has the added virtue of not imposing a burden upon the individual school official. Each city superintendent has the naturalization-education cards which he receives from Washington every month assorted according to the various school districts, being guided by the addresses on the cards. Those cards relating to a certain district are then sent to the supervising

principal of that district, and by him assorted according to the addresses, and sent to the various schools under his supervision. The principal of the school hands them to the teacher of one of the night classes for immigrants, who retains the cards that bear the names of the students in that class. The other cards are then sent from class to class until all the cards bearing the names of students have been removed. The names on the cards that still remain are then called off, and where they are known such cards are taken out and students are assigned to prevail upon these to attend the class on the next class night. When this has been done in all the classes, the remaining names are assigned to the students by nationalities and location of residence. The students are instructed to visit those whose names they are given, and induce them to come to the school at the earliest possible moment. This is done in the case of all immigrants whose names and addresses the Bureau of Naturalization secures each month, whether or not they need the course offered by the night schools, so as to complete the records in the cases where the course is not needed by the immigrant.

Though a personal contact between the United States Government and the alien interested in securing citizenship is indirectly brought about by such a card system, the naturalization authorities do not cease their efforts here. They realize that once night schools are provided for the immigrant, no effort must be spared to bring him to them. Therefore, every immigrant whose name is sent to a school superintendent receives a personal letter which shows him the interest this Government feels in his getting the advantages that will make him a more efficient citizen, job-seeker, and money-maker. This is the sort of letter which the Commissioner of Naturalization, Mr. Richard K. Campbell, writes to 40,000 aliens every month:

DEAR SIR:—

You have just declared your intention to become a citizen of the United States, and because of this the United States Bureau of Naturalization is sending this letter to you, as it desires to show you how you can become an American citizen. It also wants to help you get a better position that pays you more money for your work. In order to help you better yourself it has sent your name to the public schools in your city, and the superintendent of those schools has promised to teach you the things which you should know to help you get a better position.

If you will go to the public school building nearest where you live, the teacher will tell you what nights you can go to school, and the best school for you to go to. You will not be put in a class with boys and girls, but with grown people. It will not cost you anything for the teaching which you will receive in the school, and it will help you get a better job, and also make you able to pass the examination in court when you come to get your citizen's papers.

You should call at the school house as soon as you receive this letter.

IMMIGRANT INTEREST IN NATURALIZATION

The response by immigrants to the cooperative efforts of the school authorities and the Bureau of Naturalization has surpassed the highest hopes of all interested. In San Diego, Cal., where there were no night classes whatever for adult foreigners, the Bureau prevailed upon the commercial organizations of the city to launch its programme of educational work in the public schools. Approximately 1,700 adult immigrants enrolled there as students during the first month. In each of thirty-two public school buildings of Chicago, several night classes in citizenship are being conducted for foreigners, the total regular attendance in these classes alone reaching into the thousands. Of all the students attending the night schools throughout the country only about 18 per cent. have made their declarations of intent to become citizens of the United States, and only 2 per cent. have been naturalized. The remaining 80 per cent. are those who, until the coöperative efforts of the Federal Government and the public schools were instituted, had shown no interest in obtaining educational advantages of any sort. The gratitude of foreigners in all parts of America for the work being done for them by our Government is expressed in thousands of letters that have been added to the files of the Naturalization Bureau since last October. Of these the following are typical:

"I am expressing my thanks to you,"

:, "for your writting me such advices. Very often I realize ıpy I ought to feel, being at the ıtry of the United States. I am :e your letter studying at night ıot only for getting a better job, ke more money, but with the hope ıe some day a truly citizen of the ıtates and to be a useful member ımanity."

er reads thus: "I do not know thank you, undeed, for the favor le me by your kind letter Oct 22 me how to prepare myself for the ip. As soon as I received your d (letter) I went and showed it ınthony sub principal of the 10th 59th street school He did his ırrange my program with such a and good will that I shall never Thanking you again for your tection and hoping that I will be ıerve my new country as I wish, c."

exceedingly happy," runs a third, your letter and I am very thank- u for good advice which you have the letter. Since receiving the am attending night school in the Rochester. I shall keep your ad- am working for my living since 'ears a boy, for very small money hours. So you advise very good I to me I never heard befor that e would say there is a chance to money or a better job."

R THE WOMEN IMMIGRANTS

ork done by the Bureau of Natur- for foreign women, though it can barely touched upon within the the present article, is in itself a ng story. In many states a wife a voter with the naturalization ıusband. In no instance can a amily become truly Americanized e wife and mother keeps pace with ress of her husband and children. ; this, the naturalization authori- : changed the form of declaration to become a citizen, so that this udes the name of the declarant's ı this way about 225,000 women ing the present year, be brought within the province of the Bureau's educational work for adult immigrants. A naturalization-education card is printed especially for each of these women, and is mailed to the school superintendent with that of her husband. At the same time, she receives from the Commissioner of Naturalization a personal letter urging her to enter the night school when her husband does. It is suggested to her that in order not to be left behind in the process of Americanization, she should learn how to conduct an American home, in which American standards of living may be followed by herself and her family. Foreign women have responded in gratifying numbers to the Government's effort in their behalf. To meet their needs, simplified courses of domestic science have been introduced in the majority of night schools. It is no uncommon thing for mothers to bring their babies to school, and while these sleep to take their first lessons in English, cooking, and sewing.

In January of the present year, the Bureau of Naturalization placed in the public schools of the country a specially prepared "Outline Course in Citizenship," for use by immigrants. To every foreigner completing a course in citizenship, the United States Government will award a certificate of graduation. The Outline is so illuminating in some respects that it might be studied with profit by our native-born men and women, many of whom are ignorant of the essential principles of American government. In it, original methods of teaching foreigners the English language, American history, and the forms of government are emphasized. It also outlines a course in civics for the alien. This course calls for lectures at the night schools by city officials upon the functions of their respective offices, and for the organization of the students into miniature governments, for the practical demonstration of governmental organization and purposes. To develop further and to standardize its Course in Citizenship, the Bureau of Naturalization will assemble the educators of the country in Washington next July immediately following the convention of the National Education Association in New York.

CORPORATION NOTES AND RAILROAD EQUIPMENT OBLIGATIONS

Every month the WORLD'S WORK *publishes in this part of the magazine an article on experiences with investment and the lessons to be drawn therefrom.*

IT IS becoming a more and more common experience among investors to find themselves in a quandary about what their position is going to be after the war.

This may be accounted for by the fact that in the daily budget of news and comment about the great struggle an increasing amount of emphasis is being placed upon its financial aspects. And there is, indeed, little comment of the kind that does not have some bearing on one of the questions which lie close to the heart of every investor; namely, the question of interest rates.

A man living in a Middle Western city, who, during a recent visit to New York City, sought an interview with the editor of this department, presented a typical case of this kind. He had undertaken to acquaint himself with the merits of the different types and classes of investment securities. His first venture into this field had been the purchase of a few odd lots of stocks, which, he said, he well knew were of the unseasoned variety. "But the bulk of the funds I have set aside," he continued, "I intend to invest conservatively, although my desire is to make the highest rate of interest I am able to make. In surveying the markets, I have discovered a good many securities that appear to me perfectly sound, and whose present yields look attractive by comparison. Yet I hesitate to buy, because, of the two prevailing theories regarding the probable effects of the war upon the more permanent forms of investment, I cannot make up my mind which to accept."

Here are the opposing theories to which this investor was referring, summarized largely in the words of representative advocates of each theory:

(1) The rate of interest is determined by the amount of capital seeking investment and the current demand for that capital. Throughout the progress of the war, there will be enormous destruction of capital. . . . What has been destroyed must be restored. . . . When fighting ceases, all the belligerents will hasten to resume business activity. . . . Although those requiring capital will be poorer than before, they will have to have it. . . . But there will be less capital available. . . . Borrowers, moreover, will be able to offer less security and lenders will require higher interest rates as compensation for greater risks.

That is the conventional theory.

(2) Demand for capital means that producers have found their markets so broadened that they can profitably borrow money to increase their capacity, or to carry larger stocks. . . . It means for business generally an enlarged demand for goods. . . . But the effect of war is not to increase demand or buying capacity. . . . Rather is it to impoverish a country to such an extent that the people buy less of everything. . . . In consequence the demand for capital diminishes and, therefore, interest rates range at low levels.

That is the theory of the economist.

The interview with this investor, therefore, developed into a discussion of means for employing his funds temporarily, pending the accumulation of proof of one or the other of these two theories, and called for a review of the various kinds of securities embraced in the category of short-term investments. These included foreign government notes, of which large amounts have been introduced in this market since the outbreak of the war; direct mortgages on real estate, whose characteristic of relatively short average

life is frequently overlooked by people seeking temporary investment; first mortgage real estate bonds and municipals of the type that run in series; receivers' certificates; corporation notes; and railroad equipment obligations.

More or less extended reference has been made in these pages, recently, to the first four kinds of securities in this classification. The fifth kind (receivers' certificates) never has been, and doubtless never will be, a popular medium for the investment of individual funds. But it is pertinent at this time to refer in some detail to corporation notes and equipment obligations, because they are playing an increasingly prominent part in the investment market, despite the present limited supply of this form of investment.

Of these two kinds of securities, corporation notes (railroad, industrial, and public utility) present by far the greater diversity in respect to investment quality. A few are secured by direct mortgages on property—a class of notes in which it is not uncommon to find issues that possess all the fundamental characteristics of high class bonds. Others are secured by collateral, sometimes having ascertainable value sufficient of itself to give the notes an investment standing, and sometimes being of such problematical value as to defy analysis. And still others are mere debentures, or unsecured promises to pay, resting entirely on the credit of the corporations that issue them.

To pick the good from the bad and the indifferent, especially among the last two of these classes of notes, is not always an easy matter. It is even considered by investment authorities a debatable question which of the two classes is able to make the better showing under the test of receivership. Why the unsecured debenture notes should have their partisans in such a debate is perhaps less obvious. But it is because notes of that class have so frequently been treated as representing floating indebtedness, and as such entitled to be taken care of in reorganization ahead of other forms of debt.

Corporation notes, therefore, have to be considered individually. The nearest thing to a general rule that can be given as a guide in their selection for investment is that they almost invariably owe their existence to some kind of emergency in the financial affairs of the issuing corporations; and that it is characteristic of any emergency measure to depart from the normal and judicious course of action.

Railroad equipment obligations present an entirely different situation. Indeed, merely to state the fundamental principles on which they are based is to emphasize their simplicity, and, for the most part, to render entirely superfluous any attempt to explain their extraordinary investment record.

Their security consists of so many cars and engines, definitely segregated and pledged for the whole life of the loan at 80 to 90 per cent. of cost, with rigid provisions for maintenance. They mature, as a rule, in annual instalments over a period of from ten to fifteen years, with the result that there is a fairly constant amount of collateral pledged for a constantly decreasing amount of obligations outstanding.

No matter what happens to a railroad it never ceases to conduct transportation. It must have the equipment. It is obvious, therefore, why the element of risk in such obligations is very small—why their record remains practically unblemished by default, despite a good many instances in which the provisions of their issuance have either been laxly drawn or poorly enforced by the trustees.

Investment in equipment obligations has never been democratized, although it might well be. They have generally been bought up quickly by the banks, trust companies, and other financial institutions on account of their advantages for the scientific investment of reserves. It is not easy to find them in the market at the present time. But in the records of railroad equipment purchases during the last few weeks there is some indication that the supply may soon be replenished.

THE INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY OF DEMOCRACY

HOW IT INEVITABLY DEFEATS AN AUTOCRATIC INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM BY THE INIMITABLE ORIGINALITY OF ITS PRODUCTS, WHICH ARISES FROM THE FREE SPIRIT OF THEIR CREATORS

BY

ARCHER WALL DOUGLAS

WHATEVER the outcome of the European War, it is certain that it will develop for us an economic competition such as we have never before experienced. Whether it be a contest, with labor cheaper than ever before because of superabundance of idleness seeking employment, and with the stress of necessity compelling sales, or whether we encounter a newly created intelligence and manhood in the industrial world, we shall in either event be in desperate contest with those who seek to recover the lost vantage ground of trade, not only in our own country but likewise in the Orient and among the nations of Latin America. We shall fight over again in industrial strife the armed conflict of to-day between Autocracy and Democracy. Since the beginning of recorded time the real struggle in every phase of life has been between the force that took the world as it found it and patterned thereby and the force that sought to change and modify the bitter facts of Nature, which by turns is a blessing and a calamity. On the one hand the philosophy was that of unquestioned acceptance of the facts of experience, especially the survival of the fittest and all the logical conclusions and results of that iron law. Might made right and all methods of action found excuse in their successful issue. As against this was the imperishable human belief, born of dreams and inarticulate longings, that some of Nature's laws were to be followed and others to be superseded by those higher enactments that marked the pathway of human progress. And this latter feeling found final expression in the democracy of to-day. Until the eventful first day of August, 1914, there seemed acquiescence in the conviction that to Democracy belonged the future and that henceforth the ways of the world were of her designing. Now we know full well that since the days of ancient Rome and of Napoleon there has been no such vivid and convincing expression of the power and force of Autocracy as we are now witnessing.

Of its surpassing efficiency there can be no longer any question, and so true is this that unconsciously and unknowingly we think to combat its ways by adopting its methods. Whatever may be the merit of this in war, it would be a fatal error in our industrial life. We shall either win or lose in our coming industrial contest by the inherent merits or demerits of Democracy in our commercial life, and not by copying the ways of Autocracy that are foreign to our being. There is already a growing demand that the forces of government shall extend to industry that artificial aid that produced such sudden results abroad. But such thought takes no account of the inevitable end of such an artificial and abnormal system, and fails to realize that in Democracy, as in life, outside aids and props are but broken reeds to lean upon, and that success must be won eventually by natural ways and inherent fitness or else not at all. The real continuing problem of modern business life is the matter of competition. A generation ago it ran unrestrained because of a blind faith in the maxim that competition is the life of trade. So it is, but equally was it true that, unrestricted, it came near proving the commercial death

of the participants in the game. What happened next was entirely unexpected and yet just what might have been looked for. Self-preservation became the first law of the business world, and so by means of combinations, agreements, and trade understandings, excessive competition by easy gradations led, naturally and unnaturally, straight to iron-bound and, not infrequently, vicious monopoly.

THE PROBLEM OF FOREIGN COMPETITION

Taught by these happenings, we then sought by legal enactment to restore competition and at the same time to rob it of its terrors. That is where we are still floundering to-day, and as no man has as yet pointed out the way, our only comfort and solace is that experience tells us that these economic problems have a fashion of working out their own solutions when the applied wit of man breaks down in utter collapse. But in that fierce world-wide competition which awaits us we shall find no sheltering laws for our shield and buckler. For in its last analysis competition is warfare and the survival of the fittest. And the wider its scope the truer is this statement. Fortunately for our happiness and peace of mind, and for our pocket-books, this elemental business warfare is tempered in local and even national commercial strife by many things —by natural human kindliness, by pleasant conventions, by regulatory and punitive laws, and by the fear of being found out. But few of these modifications and ameliorations prevail in international competition for trade. Moreover we in the United States are often cruelly up against natural conditions that we apparently find impossible to overcome.

How shall we meet that foreign competition which is the product of the sweatshop and child labor, of labor ground down to the bare facts of existence, of government-aided and -subsidized manufacturing and transportation, of cheap though unsanitary surroundings and environment. How shall we oppose these with the products of a living wage, of an eight-hour day, of child labor laws and compulsory education, and of factory inspection laws? These are pertinent questions that we shall have to answer sooner or later, whether we will or no, no matter how much we hide our head in the sand. How, likewise, shall we hold our own with the product of an Autocracy of whose efficiency we have already had such fatal proof: an Autocracy that takes thought of the morrow to the last button on its soldiers' coats; an Autocracy that thinks of all things, cares for all things, superintends all things, provides all things. It was said of George Washington that among his great qualities he numbered that of always looking facts squarely in the face; wherein he differed from the average man, who loves to dwell in a fool's paradise. But having once gone out into the world's markets, we shall have to stay in the game and face the situation with a full realization that there can be no place for both Autocracy and Democracy in commercial contest any more than in war and that the world is now staged for what our consciousness and instinct tell us is the final and deciding conflict. A forecast of the ultimate success of our ways, which are the ways of Democracy, must have some deeper and more enduring basis than mere optimism and the wish that is father to the thought. What hopes can we have for the efficiency of Democracy in competition with that of Autocracy when all our experience and observation indicate that Democracy seems principally to exist to make men, and not to produce smoothly working systems in any phase of life?

THE CASE OF HARDWARE

In the beginning the transforming power in the world is in those processes of thought which alter ways, opinions, and customs. It is already something of a truism that we are Americanizing the world, and that the subtle and all-pervading spirit of Democracy is undermining the foundations of ancient authority and of inherited beliefs and philosophies. The awakening of China, the uneasy spirit of India, and the slow spread of Democracy in Europe are evidences enough in point. You cannot alter the thought of a people without changing the outward expression of their life, and this is why the simplest and

most effective method of changing the habits and usages of a people is to change their education. The inevitable result is naturally the casting off of all old wants and desires and the substitution of those entirely new. Take a concrete instance—American hardware is peculiarly the expression of the genius of American Democracy. It embodies adaptability to the purpose, just enough weight and strength and no more, some variation or quality other than what has gone before, some distinguishing point of merit or of appearance different from the things of the past, and that indefinable yet easily recognized adjunct known as "style" which is ever the ear-mark of genius and originality. Because it so truly expresses the wants and aspirations of its people it is difficult in most lines to induce the users of hardware in this country to take the foreign article at any price and under any consideration. For instance and speaking broadly, it is almost impossible to sell European builders' hardware and European edge tools in this country, regardless of price. Yet American goods in these same lines are sold abroad in increasing quantities, and the significant and vital fact is that sales are the largest in those countries where the American spirit most prevails. It is equally significant that the foreign users, once so converted, rarely lapse into the use of the articles of their earlier days. While it is true that American hardware is sometimes sold abroad cheaper than in this country, it is equally true that its use and introduction depend upon its excellence and appearance far more than upon its price.

QUALITY VS. PRICE

It is peculiarly the efficiency of Democracy that all its expressions are in accord with the times. And thus it appeals to the growing spirit of Democracy throughout the world by the things of good taste and up-to-date quality which it offers. It is too often assumed that the patient study of the autocratic and Old World methods can imitate these material expressions of a progressive spirit and in cheaper form. But it takes more than scientific analysis to do that and not have it bear the indelible stamp of an inadequate copy. It is one of the commonplace experiences in American hardware that a peculiarity and an excellence which has brought both fortune and fame to some line of goods defies imitation that is not frankly so, despite the utmost efforts of ingenious manufacturers to trade upon another's brains. The imitations of the best things of the American artificer bear always the ear-marks of the lack of imagination in the foreign copyist. The list of such things of merit that sell solely because of this merit and its accompanying style is a long one running through many lines, some of them, such as agricultural implements, largely holding the trade of the world. Beyond these is that great indeterminate class of goods in which competition is supposed to centre on price. In most text books on economics the matter of price is held to be the compelling element in commercial choice and distribution. But like many another economic and logical theory it is principally remarkable for not being so. No other test of this truth is needed than the simple statement of experience and observation that the permanently successful commercial organizations in this country have been built upon service and quality of product rather than on price. The productive problems with us centre around getting out an efficient article in great quantities that costs may so be reduced, whereas the Old World method looks to cheap human labor and an entire disregard of quality so far as the consumer will stand for it.

COMPETITION AGAINST CHEAP LABOR

Our fear of such competition is often a bogey, bred either of a lack of true understanding of the situation or else of a fear that it may form the basis of a demand for still further tariff protection. In our own country agriculture is confessedly still a thing of rule-of-thumb procedure and inherited ways, for we are only now perceiving its untold possibilities under advanced methods. Our production per acre is distressingly small compared with some of the countries of the Old World. Agricultural labor here is likewise high-priced, yet we compete successfully in the

markets of the world with the wheat-raising Hindoo ryot and the cotton-growing peasant of China, both of whom live on next to nothing and are forever close to the ragged edge of starvation. The real measure of competition in such matters is the unit of production per man. And the man of intelligence and skill is by far the one who leads both in efficiency and economy. In every phase of commercial life the ignorant and unskilled laborer is, save for the most menial tasks, perhaps the most inefficient and uneconomical of productive units.

There is also that profound truth that no nation has ever grown in manufacturing stature without a corresponding rise in the wages of labor. There is no such thing in modern commercial history as a permanent stage of low wages in a country making advance in industrial life. Thus the competition of cheap labor is constantly one of lessening degree. It is one of the most significant phenomena of the last century that, despite growing industrial competition, despite the crowding of population, despite the supposed tendency of the so-called "Iron Law of Wages," the wages of labor have been steadily rising, save for occasional interruption, in all the civilized nations of the world. Nor can it be otherwise if our present forms of civilization are to endure. For the whole basis and foundation of modern progress rests finally upon a steadily rising plane of living among the many.

THE PASSING OF ONE-MAN POWER

But when all has been said there still remains the dire threat of that product of brains, the competition of Autocracy. For it represents the science and intelligence that carries patience, research, and thought to their last analysis, even though it be true that it lacks the initiative and inventive genius of Democracy and is analytical rather than creative. In our own country we have its dynamic force in the one-man power that until within the last decade was the source of the success of every great organization. With us it was for a long time true, as stated by Goethe, that every organization was the lengthened shadow of one man. Efficiency came then from that greatest of all inspirations, the compelling individuality of a great organizer. We have gone beyond this as a general industrial proposition because the organizations grew too great for one mind adequately to grasp and control. So we have come to the matter of system and organization as our present and seemingly final hope of industrial efficiency.

The weakness of this scheme of things is only too obvious in its inevitable tendency to blot out human nature by system and machinery and to make the average human unit a mere peg in a machine. This phase of the situation has been praised as if it were a finality instead of a mere phase of opportunism. But it has come home to those in charge of the great industrial consolidations that the human equation is an element that cannot be eliminated and must always remain the controlling element. So the problem to-day of efficiency in the industrial life of Democracy is that of co-operation between all the elements of organization, the employer and the employee, so that with the latter there shall finally be the never-failing incentive of an intelligent self-interest that shall be in direct contrast to that perfunctory participation by the employee in all governmental and autocratic work. Just how such coöperation will work out is still an unsolved problem. Probably in many different and varying ways. But it requires no prophetic prescience to see that it is distinctly the economic phase of the times that is most active. It will have to mean much more than two armed camps of employers and employees with patched-up truces that respect each other's rights because they fear each other's powers. It will have to put into reality that constant, glib, unthinking talk of the times that the interests of the employer and the employee are identical. It will have to mean much more than charity or passing sentimentality. Yet he would be blind indeed who failed to see the determined attempts that are being made to bring it about, or who failed to realize that in its coming lies the hope and promise of efficiency in Democracy in industrial life.

INVASION OR INTERVENTION

WHY WE WENT INTO MEXICO AND HOW—THE COLUMBUS RAID AND ITS AFTERMATH—A TEST OF MILITARY PREPAREDNESS, WITHOUT REFERENCE TO THE EUROPEAN WAR, ON THE BASIS OF WHAT CONGRESS AND THE COUNTRY HAVE LONG CONSIDERED ADEQUATE—THE PATROL OF THE BORDER AND THE PURSUIT OF VILLA—THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN BANDIT-HUNTING ON A LARGE SCALE AND INTERVENTION

BY

GEORGE MARVIN

THERE was a reason. Here it is in General Funston's own telegraphic words:

"Fort Sam Houston, Tex., March 10th."

"It is the opinion of Colonels Dodd and Slocum, in which I concur, that unless Villa is relentlessly pursued and his force scattered he will continue raids. As troops of Mexican Government are accomplishing nothing and he can consequently make his preparations and concentrations without being disturbed he can strike at any point on the border, we being unable to obtain advance information as to his whereabouts. If we fritter away whole command guarding towns, ranches, and railroads it will accomplish nothing if he can find safe refuge across line after every raid. Although probably not more than 1,000 took part in Columbus raid he is believed to have about 3,000. Even if he should not continue raids he has entered upon a policy of merciless killing of Americans in Mexico. To show apathy and gross inefficiency of Mexican Government troops, an American woman held by Villa for nine days but who escaped in Columbus fight states that during all that time he was undisturbed at no great distance from border collecting a force of 3,000. The few Government troops in region fled, losing all contact with him and not even informing us as to his whereabouts. If it is proposed to take action suggested I recommend no information be given out. . . . If desired I will personally take command. It would be desirable to replace as soon as possible from available cavalry in the United States the cavalry taken from the border.

FUNSTON."

That, in a nutshell, is the reason why, after three years and a half of more or less watchful waiting, we went into Mexico. This single dispatch tells the whole story, and it is told by the man who on March 10th, the same day his dispatch was received, was given full authority by the President through the Secretary of War to enter Mexico when and how he saw fit. In code this comprehensive story came up over the wires from El Paso to the Adjutant-General's office in the War Department at Washington, where Colonel "Bill" Wright uncoded it and carried it down the hall to the Chief of Staff. General Scott, after reading it, opened the private door leading out of his office and, without comment, laid General Funston's telegram before Mr. Baker, of Cleveland, O., who only the day before had succeeded him as Secretary of War.

There was a Cabinet meeting that day. The new Secretary attended it and discussed with the President and members of the Cabinet General Funston's reasons for breaking the long-continued human embargo on the Mexican border. The result was invasion. On the 17th of March, the Senate resolved expressly that it was not intervention. There is no question of the intent either of the Executive or of Congress in this matter. Their good faith was recognized at the time even by recalcitrant Carranzistas and suspicious other Americans. Nevertheless,

WATCHFUL WAITING

During the long period of watchful waiting along the border of Mexico the United States troops had ample opportunity for practice and manœuvres which have been of material assistance in the pursuit of Villa

the result may have been the first step in intervention in Mexico.

Whichever it was to be, invasion merely or eventually intervention, word went back that night to General Funston at San Antonio giving him his head. It went back in exact reverse order of Funston's dispatch from Fort Sam Houston.

"The Secretary of War directs so and so and so—" it began, and "Signed H. L. Scott, Chief of Staff," it closed. The Adjutant-General's Office coded it into a telegram to Fort Sam Houston.

Several of the newspapers at that time reported "feverish activity" in the War Department. To the credit of that much abused division of the Federal Government, it ought to be thoroughly understood that there was neither fever nor unusual activity in its halls and offices during those days. The reason is clear enough if the facts are understood. General Funston, commanding officer of the Southern Department, as the man on the spot was given full authority to take the appropriate military measures toward carrying out his own recommendations. He was told that whatever he wanted to carry them out properly he could have. For example, he wanted the Eleventh Cavalry, and accordingly the Eleventh Cavalry at Fort Oglethorpe, Ga., packed up in twenty-four hours and entrained for Columbus, N. Mex. He said he might need the Fifth Cavalry. Some troops of this regiment were at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, others at Fort Sheridan, near Chicago, and the bulk of it stationed at Fort Myer, Va., across the Potomac from Washington. Lieutenant Phil Sheridan, Fifth Cavalry, son of the Civil War general, with five of his fellow officers and twenty ponies, was 400 miles away playing polo at Aiken, S. C. Within forty-eight hours they were haled back, ponies and all, and the entire regiment at its three points of distribution was ready on the 12th to start for any point on the Mexican border. He wanted medical units, motor trucks, and aeroplanes. He got them. At Leavenworth, Oglethorpe, Monterey, Calif., and other widely distributed points in the United States where orders were received for the dispatch of cavalry, infantry, and field artillery units, there was a good deal of increased activity as a result of Villa's raid, and there was a good deal of increased activity and dust along the border, but the War Department went on its way serenely. That very Friday afternoon, March 10th, the President in his box at the National Theatre was listening to Kreisler's violin, and that evening the Chief of Staff and the Secretary of War were not in the least preoccupied at a small dinner party. Remember this was not war. Plans for the war that actual intervention might probably mean had been

ACROSS THE DESERT

The problem of obtaining pure water for his troops in the sandy wastes of Northern Mexico was one of the chief difficulties that confronted General Pershing when he undertook his pursuit of Villa

Photographed by Colonel Herbert J. Slocum

PATROLLING THE BORDER

A machine gun troop of the 13th United States Cavalry on duty at Columbus, N. Mex., the town that Villa raided on March 9th

THE FOOTHILLS OF THE MOUNTAINS

A trestle on the Mexico Northwestern Railroad among the foothills of the Sierra Madre Mountains. Villa's retreat from Columbus, N. Mex., was at first in the general direction of this American-English owned railroad

A DREARY LANDSCAPE

A vast waste of plains and low hills covered with sagebrush and cactus is the characteristic landscape of the border-land of the United States and Mexico

Courtesy of the Pearson Engineering Corporation

A VIEW IN THE MOUNTAINS OF CHIHUAHUA

Wooded slopes of the Sierra Madre Mountains, to which the trail of Villa, after his raid on Columbus, led from the deserts of the lower altitudes

Courtesy of the Pearson Engineering Corporation

HIGH UP IN THE MOUNTAINS OF CHIHUAHUA

Homes of the employees of an American lumber company at Madera among the forests of the higher Sierra Madre mountains

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THE CITY OF CHIHUAHUA

Capital of the Mexican state of the same name. Because of the rich mines in its vicinity it enjoys, in normal times, great prosperity. It was captured twice by United States troops in the Mexican War in 1847

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THE CITY OF TORREON

Fearing that the garrison of Carranza's troops would be insufficient to protect the city in the event of an attack by Villa, the United States Consul, with fifty-six other Americans, fled to the border in box cars

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EXECUTING AN ENEMY

Just over the boundary such gruesome sights as this have been of frequent occurrence during the last few years and have kept alive the apprehensions of Americans on the border

drawn up long ago and only slightly amended from time to time by the General Staff as changing conditions in Mexico exacted. Not being war, the plans for invasion were left to Funston on a general scheme already thoroughly understood as between the Southern Department staff at San Antonio and the General Staff at Washington. All the General Staff had to do was to issue orders; they created nothing, organized nothing.

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BRINGING IN REFUGEES

An American patrol escorting a band of Mexican refugees across the border into the United States during the internal disorders that preceded our invasion

The Adjutant-General's office was fairly busy coding and uncoding telegrams and answering the shower of applications for permission to go with the expedition which fell upon them from moving picture companies, photographers, and "war" correspondents. Next to General Scott's office, on the opposite side from the Secretary's, the Mobile Army Section of the General Staff were in session working out the details of movements called for

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IDENTIFYING THEIR DEAD

After Huerta's exile from Mexico and the downfall of his party, members of his so-called federal army were hunted down and given no quarter

by the Secretary's instructions and providing the Secretary and his Chief of Staff with immediate information as to all movements, contemplated or actual, of troops, supplies, and munitions.

The Quartermaster's Department efficiently coöperated with the transportation agents of the railroads concerned in concentrating troops gathered from stations thousands of miles apart at Douglas, El Paso, and other points on the Rio Grande. So far, therefore, as Francisco Villa provided a test, the War Department in its central function at Washington was prepared for that much of an emergency and worked smoothly.

For one ingredient in its smooth working we have to thank the complete accord between the new Secretary of War and his Chief of Staff. That was a matter of luck. Mr. Baker and General Scott liked each other on sight. The Secre-

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AFTER A BATTLE IN A CEMETERY

On Mexican soil and looking toward the hills at the foot of which El Paso, Tex., is built, on the farther side of the Rio Grande

THE TURTLE BAY BOGEY

A Japanese warship in Turtle Bay, Lower California, where, according to a report that was later discredited, Japan was establishing a naval base on Mexican soil

THE JAPANESE "NAVAL BASE"

Tents of the Japanese sailors who were landed to render aid in refloating the cruiser *Asama*, which had run aground near-by. This "Turtle Bay incident" was chiefly responsible for the reports that Villa's activities were in part instigated by the Japanese

tary is a very short man and when he looked up at the big figure of the old Indian fighter, and, out of the depths of an honestly confessed ignorance of his new job, asked the General to consider him as a son, both actors in the complicated drama of na-

A MINE IN SONORA

A gold and silver mine of the Mines Company of America, approximately 200 miles south of Nogales, Ariz.. About thirty-five Americans have been employed in operating the mine

tional defense looked the respective parts thus tactfully suggested.

Columbus is a small town of between three and four hundred inhabitants on the El Paso & Southwestern Railroad at that point where Mexico shoves a kind of rectangular bay-window into New Mexico. The water tank and railroad station which form the centre of the town are just three miles north of the border. South of the track and near the station was the camp of the Thirteenth Cavalry, the men and the

AN AMERICAN MINE IN CHIHUAHUA

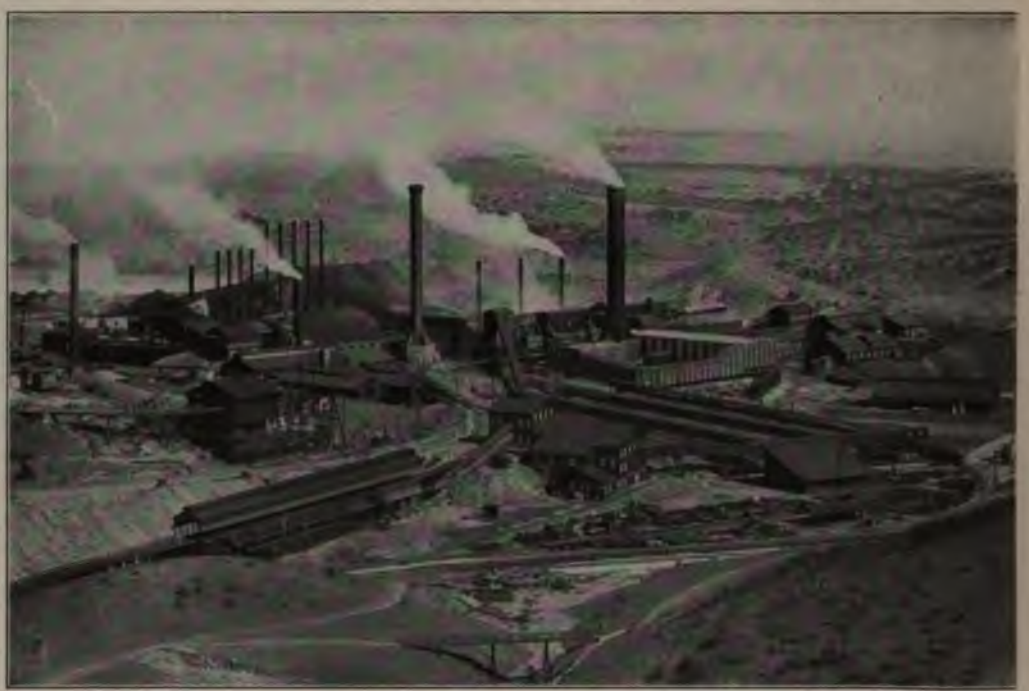
The Dolores gold and silver mines, owned and operated by the Mines Company of America. About seventeen Americans have been employed in the mines

BARS OF GOLD AND SILVER

As they are mined in Chihuahua and Sonora. Mexican ingots, such as these, were the chief source of Spain's great wealth in the sixteenth century

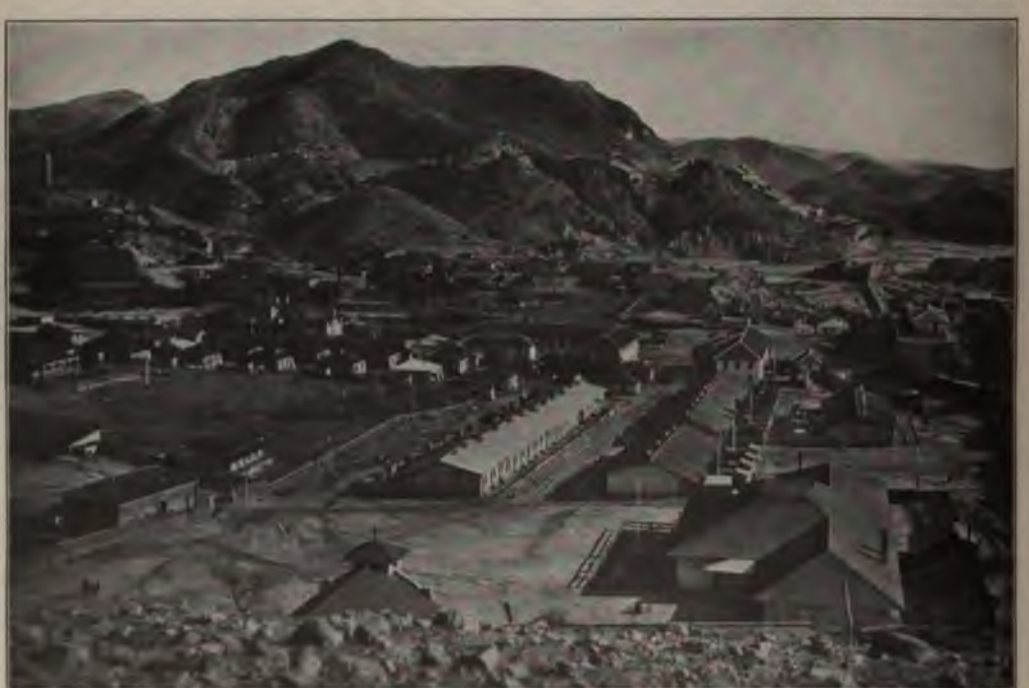
PROSPECTING FOR GRAPHITE

In the state of Sonora, on the territory of the United States Graphite Company of Saginaw, Mich. Mexico contains much graphite



AN AMERICAN-OWNED

At Cananea, in the state of Sonora, about forty miles from the American border, the Greene-Cananea Copper most valuable American



AN AMERICAN INTEREST

The copper mine of the Phelps, Dodge Company of New York at Nacozari, Sonora. This mine lies farther to the south and is farther removed from the border than is the Cananea mine

COPPER MINE IN MEXICO

Company owns and operates this large copper mine, which is one of the best known and one of the property interests in Mexico

THE NACOZARI COPPER MINE

The revolutions of the last few years have curtailed the operations of such American-owned concessions as this to a large extent. Sonora has suffered less in this respect than Chihuahua

THE MADERA LUMBER COMPANY
An American enterprise at Madera, in the heart of Villa's territory in the state of Chihuahua

unmarried officers parked out in big "pyramidal" tents holding eight to twelve men apiece, their horses stabled near-by in long, open sheds. On the other side of the track Colonel Slocum and most of the married officers lived in frame and adobe houses. Over there, also, were the "Central," "Commercial," "Columbus" and "Hoover's" hotels, a few dry-goods and general stores, a drug store, and the inevitable "movies." Columbus is—and was before Villa made it even more desolate—a drab

IN THE SIERRA MADRE MOUNTAINS IN CHIHUAHUA
The altitude of this range of mountains, in which Villa sought refuge, is as much as 9,000 feet in some parts and farther south it contains the great volcanoes of Orizaba and Popocatepetl

little human outpost set down in a drab landscape of lumpy, sandy desert, spotted with brushwood, soapweed, and cactus, with bare brown hills for its skyline south, east, and west. When the rains come a little green grass springs up along the many gulleys which years of rain have dug through this deforested country. In these dry watercourses it is possible to conceal large bodies of troops, and it was through them in the early morning hours of March 9th that Villa's raiders stole up on the sleeping garrison of Columbus.

In the first place, in Columbus there is no light: no electricity, no gas, and very little kerosene. On a dark night that part of the border-land is darker than a Whistler nocturne, dark as the inside of your pocket. Between the Pacific and the Gulf of Mexico there are 1,850 miles of border to be protected on dark nights. From the mouth of the Rio Grande to El Paso where, abandoning neutrality, it branches off into New Mexico, the river forms a meandering boundary between the United States and old Mexico. West-

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AFTER THE RAID ON COLUMBUS

The ruins of the Commercial Hotel on the morning of March 9th after Villa and his band had burned several buildings, killed nineteen Americans, and wounded many others

Villa crossed the border at Gibson's Line Ranch, about fifteen miles west of Columbus station, and from there made his way along the railroad and by the gulleys already described through Moore's Ranch, close up to the long embankment formed by the abandoned grading of the North Pacific Railroad, which runs through Columbus and on seven miles southward across the Mexican line to Las Palomas.

A very natural inquiry arises here. Why, if the border was being efficiently patrolled, was it possible for Villa to get about a thousand of his men across and move them fifteen miles on United States territory to surprise Colonel Slocum's command? Knowledge of conditions along the border sheds a good deal of light on this inquiry.

ward from El Paso the international surveyors ran an arbitrary straight line through the air to the Pacific.

You can see the river plain enough, but you cannot see the survey. Now, as everybody knows, this border line has been for many years a very delicate and sensitive thing and so, lest there should be any misunderstanding about it, the United States Government has run an expensive but very exact definition nearly all the way along it. This definition consists of concrete posts stuck into the ground at irregular intervals, so that a sight can be taken across two of them at any point, and all connected by strands of barbed wire about four feet high. Crossing the border, therefore, means passing through some one of the "border gates" where panels have

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OUR SOLDIERS ON THE BORDER

I. Members of the 16th United States Infantry loading supply trains for the use of the troops in their marches in search of Villa

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OUR SOLDIERS ON THE BORDER

II. A detachment of the 13th United States Cavalry doing outpost duty on the Mexican boundary

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FIELD ARTILLERY

A gun and ammunition caisson of the 5th Regiment. Type of ordnance used against fortified positions, trenches, or towns held by hostile Villistas

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A FIELD AMBULANCE

Placing the wounded, after Villa's raid, in the ambulance of Troop G, 8th United States Cavalry

GENERAL VENUSTIANO CARRANZA

Whose attitude toward the American punitive expedition largely determined the issue of whether that expedition was to be merely an invasion by mutual agreement or the first steps in intervention

been left open, just as farmers leave them open, or where rails are resorted to, as in fox-hunting country, or cutting the wire.

That 1,850 miles of wandering river and straight barbed wire the United States Army has been trying these three years and more to patrol with about 19,000 troops; that is, with nearly two thirds of the entire mobile forces; infantry and field artillery as a rule stationed in large towns, and cavalry sprinkled out in small detachments between. Captain Cootes, of the Thirteenth Cavalry, who joined the General Staff at Washington only a few weeks prior to the raid, rode the border from Columbus east and west for three years. On dark nights he could not see twenty feet in front of him, and would have to get down and feel for the fence or flash his pocket lantern to make his reckonings.

Complete silence made the darkness more baffling. In the deep sand of that country a Mexican pony makes about as much noise as a cat would on a lawn. All you hear is the soughing of wind moving dimly around, the bark of a dog, or the yap of coyotes; sometimes the murmur of a distant train or the stab of a locomotive whistle. It was the whistle of the night train, they say, which gave the signal in the early morning of March 9th for Villa's men to rush the guard house and begin firing.

On a night like that Villa raided Columbus. As we have seen by General Funston's telegram of March 10th, he had been in the neighborhood several days beforehand. The people in Columbus knew that he was near, and as an extra precaution the guards at the border gate at Bailey's Ranch, three miles away, and at Gibson's had been increased. But somehow or other a thousand Mexicans or so got by the patrol. About 180 mounted men in column of fours can pass a given point inside a minute. In the pitch darkness two patrols were knifed and silenced without a shot being fired, and through the interval thus created it could not have been difficult to move, undetected, a thousand unshod ponies. When the main rush

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GENERAL ALVARO OBREGON

Carranza's chief military supporter, his Minister of War and Marine, and long considered his ambitious rival for the presidency of Mexico

: the Mexicans despatched the sol- in the guard house on the edge of the ı, shot up the town, cut out and stam- ł about thirty horses from the cav- sheds, burned the Central Hotel with : non-combatants inside it, and got ' with a moderate amount of loot at an expense of fifty-eight dead tas. As a raid it was successful; as ıical disregard of our protection of the :r, it was significant of a great many s. Villa chose for his attack a town led by 300 cavalrymen, known to ıpplied with machine-gun equipment, . he could have delivered his attack veral other less protected points. In ; so he provided a perfect illustration e impotence of the merely defensive se policy.

OUR WEAK MILITARY POSITION

is inherent weakness of the Mexican :r protection has long been thoroughly :ciated by Army men, but not by the c, and certainly not by Congress. ieneral Funston said in his telegram :d at the beginning of this article, . and, as he can consequently make reparations and concentrations with- :eing disturbed, he can strike at any : on the border, we being unable to n advance information as to his :abouts. If we fritter away whole ıand guarding towns, ranches, and ads it will accomplish nothing if he Villa) can find safe refuge across line every raid."

la, in the vicinity of the place he had d for attack, made his plans and col- l his forces in a leisurely manner. he had delivered the attack and ed contact with the brief pursuit s the line, he withdrew southward in qually leisurely fashion. He knew, every officer ın the United States r knows, that the Mexican border 'or years been patrolled, not on the of military dispositions, but on the of political influence. As General ton said, the command was literally red away guarding towns, ranches, ailroads. And Villa also knew, what nmon knowledge in the Army, that ere along the border was there a single command equipped for offensive operations across the line into Mexico.

Along that whole border there was actually no such thing in existence as a supply train. There was no such thing in the entire United States Army as a supply train. Down on the border they had only a small equipment of wagons called collectively field trains which would carry two days' rations and nothing at all in the way of organized munition feed. If the Army had had a supply train; if the troops down on the Mexican line had been equipped for offensive operations, Villa would never have come across the border, or if he had, we could have promptly got him and his bandit army.

We have seen that the sudden test of the Columbus raid found the General Staff at Washington prepared. The raid on Columbus revealed how unprepared we were on the border. And this was rather a jar to most of us who, although apprehensive of what dangers the European conflict might involve, were apt to console ourselves with the comforting assurances emanating from Congress and the pacifists that our present military establishment was thoroughly adequate for strictly American domestic defense.

A SIX DAYS' START FOR VILLA

For the reasons just stated the Thirteenth Cavalry lost contact with Villa right away. When his bugle blew retreat, in the flare of the burning Central Hotel, his marauders scattered through the darkness toward prearranged rendezvous across the line. Those that made off through the border gate at Bailey's Ranch were pretty well cut up by part of the troop stationed there, most of which had been drawn up toward the town by the sound of continuous firing. Portions of three troops stuck together and, under Major Tompkins, made a plucky but futile pursuit through the darkness and glimmering dawn of a vague and scattering enemy. From the time when, late in the morning of March 9th, those troopers returned to camp to the time when General Pershing with his command of 4,000 men rode through the border gate on to Mexican soil six days elapsed. Villa,

then, had six days' start. General Funston waited until he was thoroughly prepared to send a punitive expedition into Mexico. When he did send it, it was thoroughly prepared for nearly every possible contingency except the catching of Villa, provided, of course, that Villa earnestly desired to get away. General Pershing commanded a column composed of cavalry, infantry, field artillery, machine gun sections, mountain howitzers on led mules, signal corps, hospital corps, eight aeroplanes with their transport, and a hastily purchased motor truck supply train carrying food for men and animals and guns. If by chance Villa meant to stand and fight, all well and good; but if Villa meant to run you might as well try to hunt deer in the Maine woods with a brass band. Ahead of his column and that of Colonel Dodd worked a screen of cow punchers gathered together from big ranches in Texas, from what was left of the Palomas Land & Cattle Company and E. D. Morgan's enormous acreage at Corralitos. In some respects this was the most useful contingent in the entire outfit. Every man knew the country and the people and every one of them was trained to ride and shoot with hatred of the "greaser" in his heart. Properly handled, they would make the best reconnaissance in the world; you couldn't shoot military discipline into them with a battery of French 75's.

THE READJUSTMENT OF FORCES

By the movement of Pershing's column into Mexico from Columbus and by the corresponding movement under Colonel Dodd operating from Hachita, N. Mex., fifty miles to the westward, the border patrol was a good deal disarranged and upset. Troops of all arms were shifted east and west in what quantities and by what regiments an effective censorship kept us from knowing at the time. To fill the places thus vacated, it was necessary to move troops of all arms from their semi-permanent stations in different parts of the United States. The mere sending of a punitive expedition after Villa reduced to its lowest terms was not much of an undertaking; but at the same time to keep panic out of southern California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas by maintaining there a thin veneer of military reassurance, after one third of the entire mobile Army had been despatched into foreign territory, was a good deal of a manœuvre. What was undertaken on March 15th was called invasion but it involved the precautionary work of something like war.

POLITICS AND MILITARY PROTECTION

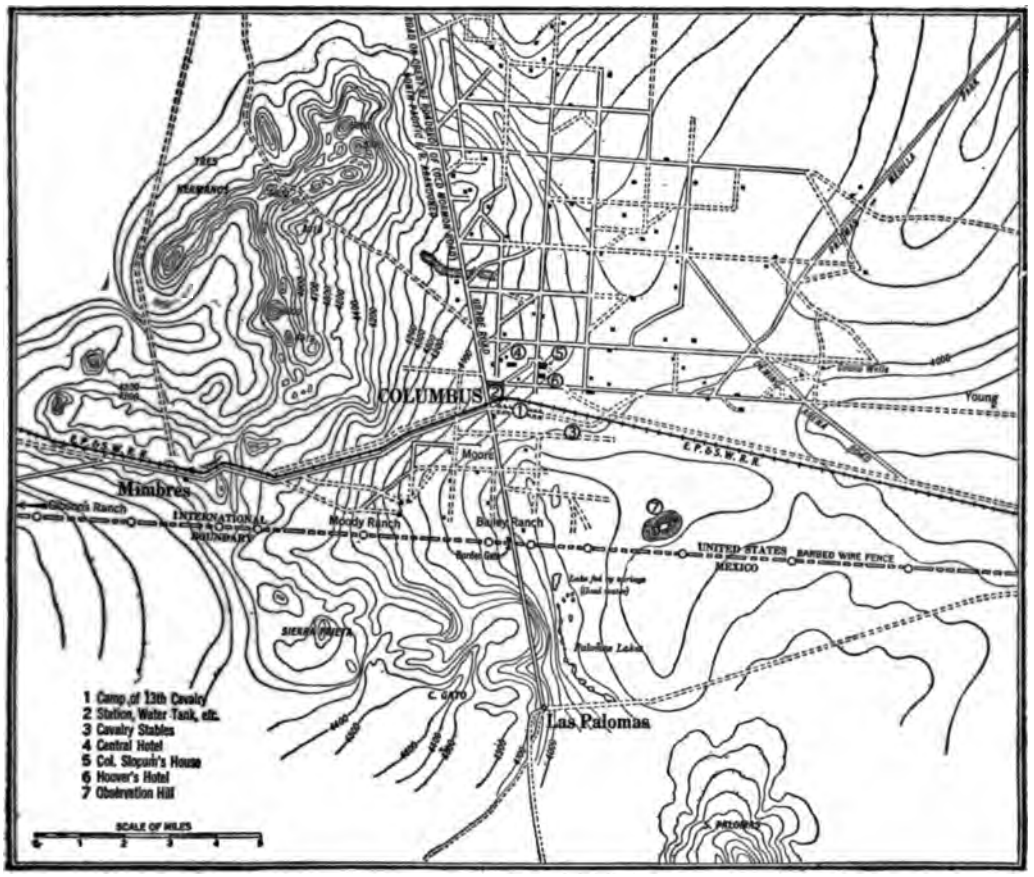
In one place nineteen thousand men look like a good many. But they make a precious thin line strung out over the 1,850 miles from San Diego, Cal., to Brownsville, on the Gulf edge of Texas. No part of that line considers itself safe. The Columbus raid was merely the last and most serious of a number of forays from Mexico into our territory. Every locality wanted protection, and that locality capable of exerting the greatest influence through Congressional channels was apt to get numerically the greatest protection. A call for help from a railroad or a big ranch owner or a town like Laredo echoed way up north on Capitol Hill in Washington and was eventually heard in the State Department. From there it was only a short relay down the corridor to the War Department.

As a consequence of this condition of things and the determination of two successive administrations to avoid intervention at almost any cost, the military situation along the boundary was decidedly weak. So long as Villa remained friendly and the Carranzistas were disarmed by recognition and actual support, the border was safe enough. It took the Columbus raid to show every one how weak it really was.

Every cavalry regiment in the country was already on the border before Villa's raid, with the exception of the First, Second, Fifth, Eleventh, and Twelfth. Funston's recommendations brought the First Cavalry from Monterey, Cal.; the Twelfth from Fort Robinson, Neb.; and the Eleventh, as we have seen, from Fort Oglethorpe, Ga. On March 22d he wired for the Fifth and Second. When those regiments had reached their destinations

there was left in the whole of the continental United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific not another regular cavalry hoof.

Furthermore, when Funston's infantry and artillery recommendations had been complied with on the same date, there was left in the whole United States, exclusive of coast artillery and staff corps, only six regiments of the Regular Army.



COLUMBUS, N. MEX., AND ITS ENVIRONS

In his raid of March 9th, Villa crossed the border at Gibson's Ranch, about fifteen miles west of Columbus, under shelter of a dark night, and from there made his way along the line of the El Paso & Southwestern Railroad and by dry, rain-dug gulleys. The whistle of the night train of the E. P. & S. W. was the signal for Villa's raiders to begin firing. The abandoned grade of the North Pacific Railroad was the road followed by General Pershing's column in pursuit. The figures on the contour lines show the elevation of the surrounding country

Those 19,000 men on the border, horse, foot, and guns, were not disposed as an army should have been: they were organized and distributed as a constabulary and as constabulary they were doing their work well. But their presence along the boundary was far more of a reassurance to their own nationals than it was a deterrent to Mexican crime. So might the presence of policemen forbidden to leave their beats operate on the security and the criminality of cities. They had no mobile transportation, no supplies for a campaign, no reconnaissance, no organized, legalized secret service. They were forbidden either individually or in units to cross the line; they could not even fire across it without orders. All these long three years and a half they have been squatting in their trenches or sitting in their saddles watching the rows going on beyond the border. Now and then a stray or a malicious bullet came across and got one of them; now and then unpaid and hungry Mexican "soldiers,"

foraging on American soil, surreptitiously picked off patrols.

At various places on the other side of the barbed wire fence and the river some kind of disturbance was going on all the time. Every now and then the monotony of riding the border was broken by the entertainment of something like a battle between the Mexicans which the patrols watched with glasses from the United States side of the border.

So much perennial disturbance on one side of the fence was naturally contagious on the other, mentally and physically. The Columbus raid represents an acute stage which was the culmination of a long-continued state of disorder, a long dreaded menace. That was one and the last extreme. The other extreme was the more individual and casual forays, prompted by the ordinary incentives to robbery plus the local urge of race hatred. In between have occurred the more serious troubles of which an example was the fight at Ojo de Agua, near Mission, Tex., where an outpost of the Third Cavalry under command of Captain McCoy was deliberately stalked and shot up by a body of sixty Mexicans. Of the sixteen American soldiers engaged three were killed and eleven wounded. Eight Mexican hats were found scattered in the chaparral, each bearing the inscription "The Army for the Liberation of Texas." Among the Mexican bodies found were those of three Japanese, one of whom had upon him papers showing his connection with the notorious "Plan of San Diego."

"THE PLAN OF SAN DIEGO"

This revolutionary compact is well known all the way from California to the Gulf. It was drawn up and signed at San Diego, Tex., on January 6, 1915, and copies of it in Spanish obtained by United States Secret Service officials are on file in the State Department. The document is nominally a secret pledge among Negroes, Japanese, and Mexicans to terrorize the border, and it is effective only among the illiterate peonage on both sides of the line. It magnificently contemplates the annexation of New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas, coöperation with the Indian tribes, and the massacre of every white North American male more than sixteen years of age.

The fight at Ojo de Agua was an outcropping of this state of mind. There are other plans in existence similar to that of San Diego. And the upshot of the whole matter is that the border in its present temperament can never be a law-abiding nor a safe region in which to live, or labor, or pursue happiness. In the opinion of every American army officer who has ridden it, leaving the Villa raid quite out of consideration, it is an unbearable offense. With no thought either of invasion or of intervention, the Mexican border ought to be cleaned up and civilized. For these reasons it was necessary for General Funston, when he sent 10,000 men into Chihuahua, to pull most of what remained of the mobile army down into this international red light district. If troops were to be taken away from Brownsville and no others put in their places most of the people who lived in that town firmly believed it would be burned within a few days. Suppose General Pershing or Colonel Dodd, with the best of intentions—it was thus that General Funston reasoned—were to shoot up a few Carranzistas under the impression that he was in action against some of Villa's bandits. All northern Mexico might easily get provoked over just such an occurrence and any weak spots along the international line would thereafter be subject to surprise attacks. Moreover, in the back of Funston's head were reports that the I. W. W. had been stirring things up all through this inflammable land, and there were always at least reasonable suspicions, fed by an amateur secret service and by deserters in search of reward, that German and Japanese agents had also been working there. On top of everything else, neither Obregon nor Carranza had ever given any convincing proof that they could hold their own people, nor had either one of them given the United States strong grounds for faith in his loyalty.

Bearing all these facts and fancies in mind, we get a rough idea of the size of the job faced at close range by General Funston, at long distance by the Depart-

ment in Washington, and somewhat prophetically by a long-suffering, patient, and much misunderstood Administration.

There was a good deal of talk in March about mobilizing the Army on the Mexican frontier. Funston's job was not that of mobilization. In so far as Congress and the State Department would allow it, his troops were mobilized. His job was that of concentration and the creation of a supply train. On short notice he had to turn a big constabulary into a small army. Three days after the Columbus raid the War Department asked for bids on fifty-four motor-trucks. These bids were received and accepted by telegraph and more than half the trucks were delivered at El Paso, Columbus, and elsewhere in time to go with the expeditions, a very creditable example of eleventh-hour preparedness, though Congress will have to pay for it through its nose.

Six days to make this change and to effect concentration and supply was brisk work. From another point of view the interval was also justified because it allowed time for Mr. Lansing diplomatically to clear the ground ahead of the military invasion of Mexico by disarming Carranza distrust and extending to him reciprocal hunting rights on United States territory.

Mobilization, therefore, was the status quo. Concentration went ahead with very creditable speed and efficiency. The tentacles of it reached far away to Monterey, Cal., to the Atlantic seaboard; they started men moving on the Great Lakes, in uttermost New England; away down in the West Indies the Porto Rican regiment got ready to respond to a possible call.

SLUMBERING PATRIOTISM AWAKES

The War Department's sudden interest in Mexico also stimulated all over the country the slumbering patriotism in every state. By mail and telegram offers of service came in from every direction: from the National Guard, from aviation clubs, owners and manufacturers of motor cars, hospital units, and rough or partially rough embryo regiments of riders.

By a law of 1906 the railroads are obliged to give preference to moving troops over freight or passenger traffic. They did their work as well as could have been expected, as well as possible with a shortage of rolling-stock, and not unprofitably, since, with the exception of two or three special areas and the straight transcontinental haul, they collected full passenger tariff for every soldier carried. It set the Government back between $30,000 and $40,000 just to get the Eleventh Cavalry out of Georgia into New Mexico, the same amount of money that it took to coal the *Tennessee* while carrying Mr. McAdoo's International Commission down to Buenos Aires.

THE PROBLEM OF VILLA

With the invasion of Mexico not a fortnight under way it was idle to prophesy its outcome and dangerous to determine its character. A few things, however, remained to be said about this first definite act of ours on Mexican soil since the taking of Vera Cruz. For one thing, it has demonstrated very clearly the utter rot of talking about our present Army establishment as adequate for defense against purely continental contingencies. For home consumption General Funston's punitive expedition into Chihuahua was sound; in the United States the people expected it, wanted it, got it. In case of something like war against a merely Villista resistance it was also thoroughly and properly organized, and stood a good chance of success. With an embargo on along the frontier and through Mexican seaports any sustained Villa resistance would soon break down for lack of ammunition. They had not enough cached to last any length of time in general operations at the rate at which Mexicans squander it over the landscape. Therefore, even if Villa should succeed in organizing most of the anti-Carranzista north of Mexico against the invading Americans he could not successfully maintain much more than dislocated guerrilla campaigns against the United States.

If, on the other hand, Villa's whole idea was to escape, Pershing's task seemed to all Army men who knew Mexico almost impossible. Remember that for twenty years he had eluded the best efforts of his own Government to get him. He

had an enormous knowledge of Chihuahua, Sonora, Durango, and Sinaloa. Scattering his command in those provinces, he could presumably have little to fear from American pursuit, only treachery on the part of his own people. There were two good ways to get Villa. One was to put a sufficiently large price on his head for Mexicans to get him. For some time this elusive bandit had been careering around northern Mexico with a price of 40,000 pesos offered for him, dead or alive, but we must discount that lure by a just estimate of the Mexican peso. The same amount of gold dollars would be a real incentive. Another way would be to go after him the way General Scott many years ago wanted to go after the notorious "Apache Kid." He would have gone into Mexico quietly and out of uniform on a hunting expedition with not more than a dozen or fifteen seasoned men. Ahead of him he would have sent, like pointer dogs, fifteen or twenty of Geronimo's braves. In the still air of sunset and at sunrise a thin column of smoke would have linked up the hunting expedition's whereabouts with the Indians ahead of them. Once located the entire body would have been brought within a short night's march of the hiding place or resting stage of their object. Thence sheer dash, surprise, and hard riding. In all but the riding General Funston himself got Aguinaldo by the same formula.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE MEXICAN

But in the last days of March the best brains in the War Department regarded Villa as merely an incident, the particular incident which had precipitated a vastly more serious condition of affairs. As we regard patriotism in this country there was endemically very little of that abstract emotion in northern Mexico. "What are you fighting for?" one of our cavalry officers asks a peon. "We're fighting for Captain Pedro," is the answer. So far as principles or non-personal distinctions are concerned, it is a safe generalization that in all these years of revolution three fourths of the revolutionists have never clearly understood just what in the way of principle they were fighting for.

But this truth was apt to be very misleading. The one thing that could stir nearly all Mexico into something very like patriotism was hatred and fear of the "gringo," the big, rich, underestimated, and often despised gringoes, who make up "Los Estados Unidos." Whatever prestige in the minds of the mass of the people we may have had in Mexico in the time of Diaz or Madero we have now lost; military men think we have lost more than we can get back in fifty years, unless we win it back by war. Most of the educated people who are capable of appreciating our bona fides, our patience, and forbearance have left the country; the professional revolutionists, the peons, and the Indians remain.

THE POSSIBLE CONTINGENCIES

Now whatever may be his shortcomings, lack of courage is not among the failings of the Mexican. He cannot shoot, but he can die. Once he is really stirred he will never quit, and there are several millions of him to be reckoned with. What the War Department was thinking about in March, then, was the possibility of invasion eventually leading to intervention. If that should happen they knew it would mean pulling General Pershing and his column back out of Chihuahua and going into Mexico on an entirely different plan. Ten thousand men might be enough for a punitive expedition. But intervention, implying occupation and the securing of peace and good order in Mexico, would mean, at the lowest estimate, 350,000 men. That was what the General Staff was thinking about in March, not about Villa. They were wondering where they were going to get those 350,000 men, as they thankfully accepted a resolution authorizing 20,000 recruits and listened to Chairman Hay engineering a political bill through Congress which would leave the Army, as a useful national agent for offensive defense, practically in the condition in which Villa's Columbus raid discovered it.

SHALL WE HAVE RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT?

V. THE PORK BARREL IN OUR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

HOW THE SAME INSIDIOUS SPIRIT THAT WASTES MILLIONS OF DOLLARS OF THE PUBLIC MONEY EVERY YEAR RECENTLY MANIFESTED ITSELF IN CONGRESS IN THE VOTE ON THE QUESTION OF ARMED MERCHANTMEN

THE United States has just passed through one of the greatest legislative crises of its history. The Congressional Library has hunted for episodes that correspond with the attempt of certain Congressmen and Senators to tie the hands of their President in his negotiations with Germany over the illegal use of submarines. Our legislative annals, however, contain no similar incidents. The Sixty-fourth Congress is the first that ever showed a disposition to surrender American rights at the dictation of a foreign Power; the first that, in the course of the most delicate diplomatic negotiations, attempted to throw its influence against its own Government and to champion a country that had murdered American citizens.

What does this Congressional attitude really indicate? In the last few months an expression, already a part of our political vocabulary, has passed into the everyday vocabulary of the American people. That expression is "pork barrel." Most of us associate the term with pensions, river and harbor improvements, public buildings, garden seeds, war claims, army posts, and navy yards. Fundamentally, "pork barrel" signifies that tendency of the legislator to do certain acts that are pleasing, or which he thinks are pleasing, to his constituents, or to a segment at least of his constituents.

This tendency has now manifested itself in Congressional meddling with foreign affairs. In their eagerness to cultivate votes in their districts, particular statesmen have not hesitated to endanger the honor of their country. Probably a few Congressmen, in voting on the side of Germany, acted conscientiously; it is impossible, however, to regard the majority so charitably.

I have already shown that Congress, in its present organization, makes no provision for leadership on a national scale. But governments, like other organizations, must have leadership. Somewhere a directing mind must pilot the ship of state. The present Administration, more than any in our history, has emphasized the fact that our system, despite all attempts to split this leadership in three parts—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial—really centres it in one place, and that the White House.

President Wilson has always represented this idea of the Presidential leadership. He has recently given the Nation a masterly illustration of the power of the Chief Magistrate; fundamentally, however, his conception is nothing new. His attempts to lead his party represent no sudden passion for political domination; they represent the convictions of a lifetime. His first book, "Congressional Government," written when Mr. Wilson was twenty-nine, was a plea directed against the pedantic interpretation of constitutional powers which has become traditional in the American mind. His work on "Constitutional Government in the United States," published in 1908, before the White House had become a possibility, even more emphatically maintained the same ideas.

The men who framed the Constitution sat at the feet of Montesquieu, a French philosopher whose book contained a famous description of the English system as divided into three parts, legislative, executive, and judicial. In reality this learned

Frenchman perpetrated, all unconsciously, one of the greatest hoaxes in history. He saw the King with an ostensible veto power on legislation; the Parliament apparently separated from this executive; and the judicial system distinct from both. But Montesquieu's mistake, as political philosophers have since pointed out, was in accepting surface appearances for the fact. For, even in the eighteenth century, the form of the English Constitution was little more than a form. The King's veto on legislation had long been extinct; and a parliamentary committee, known as the cabinet, was exercising both legislative and executive functions. Montesquieu's idea of the separation of the powers, however, had become part and parcel of democratic political thought—the one essential of government without which liberty could not exist. The framers of our Federal Constitution, therefore, incorporated this arrangement as the basis of that instrument; the makers of the state constitutions have followed their example. Every schoolboy is now taught to regard this separation as the one circumstance that saves us from tyranny. Mr. Wilson, as a political student, was one of the first to submit this solemn arrangement to close scrutiny—to question whether, after all, it promoted liberty and democratic efficiency. His conclusion was that it had precisely the contrary effect. It merely destroyed political leadership and prevented anything in the way of centralized responsibility. It frequently gave us a President belonging to one party and a legislature belonging to another; even when the same party controls both branches, the tendency of the Executive to separate himself from Congress results in a divided head. In the White House there is one leader; in the Senate another; in the House another each jealously regarding his prerogatives and resenting encroachment or "usurpation." Unified leadership there must be, however, somewhere, or chaos rules. The states have developed this leadership in a sinister way. In few have the executive and legislative powers been kept separate, according to the "literary theory." Political bosses and machines, developing outside of constitutions, have controlled both. The boss system in politics does provide a unified leadership, but it is irresponsible, unofficial, constantly works in the dark, and inevitably produces gigantic corruption.

MR. WILSON A BELIEVER IN LEADERSHIP

As governor of New Jersey, Mr. Wilson introduced this new conception of political leadership. In his view, the governor was more than a mere coördinate branch. He had more important things to do than to sit majestically in the solitude of his own office and view detachedly the course of administration and legislation. His real job was to assert his centralized authority in virile fashion and to make his party the spokesman of public opinion in all that affected the welfare of the state. Mr. Wilson took this position from the start; he asked the votes of the people on the distinct promise that, if elected, he should regard himself as their leader in both the executive and legislative branches. In the campaign his opponent, a strict constructionist of the traditional kind, struck an attitude and said that, if elected, he would be a "constitutional governor." By this he meant that he would hold himself aloof in the cloister of his executive power and carefully refrain from exercising any leadership. Mr. Wilson promptly took his stand: if that was what was meant by a "constitutional governor," he promised the people that he would be an "unconstitutional" one. He was as good as his word. For during his term as governor the leadership resided, not in an outside boss, or collection of bosses, but in the governor's room. He kept constantly in touch with the leaders in the legislature, assumed the leadership in framing the party measures, and furnished the driving power in getting these measures upon the statute book. As a profound Democrat, Mr. Wilson recognized only one source of power—and that was the people's will. He worked constantly in touch with public opinion, and, as long as this public opinion supported him, he considered himself completely armed against all forces insidiously working in the private interest. Mr. Wilson carried his leadership to the point of personally appearing before the

party caucus and vigorously and successfully appealing for the party measures.

Mr. Wilson transported this same idea of executive leadership to Washington. Other Presidents, notably Roosevelt, have asserted a similar conception of the office, in acts if not in words: but no one before Wilson had quite so completely thought the matter out. The Presidency is the one political office for which the American people have developed anything in the nature of reverence. The President, in their minds, is some one set apart, breathing a rarefied atmosphere and possessed of wisdom and power to which no one else can pretend. Congressmen and Senators are mere chaff when compared with him. The Congressman represents a microscopic part of our national territory known as the district. Only the people of this district elect a Congressman; they are the only ones who know him and have much interest in what he says or does. Occasionally, it is true—and it was truer fifty or a hundred years ago than now—a Congressman does rise above this commonplace level, and, by virtue of his talents and character, does impress a wider constituency. However, this happens only occasionally. The Senator, again, represents the state. His position greatly outranks the Congressman's; still, his fame only occasionally extends outside the borders of his larger community.

HOW THE PEOPLE REGARD THE PRESIDENCY

There is only one person in the American Government whom all the people have jointly had a hand in selecting; only one, that is, who represents the whole Nation. Constitution or no constitution, the people regard the President as the head of administration and look to him to make their will effective. A President is a success or failure according to the success or failure of the legislative programme which is passed in his administration. Everything he does interests us. What Congress says or does interests us hardly at all. The people look to the White House for leadership, not to the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. In reality the Constitution, as well as the popular voice, has made him leader, and in asserting his leadership he does not violate this document, even technically. The Constitution makes it the President's duty to recommend legislation and gives him the right to veto; it is, therefore, preposterous to insist that executive initiative is "usurpation" and encroachment "on the legislative power." This contention is particularly preposterous since the average Congressman and Senator notoriously spends his time not on national but on local issues.

The successes of Mr. Wilson's administration find their explanation in this courageous assertion of the Presidential leadership. When he has failed he has failed because he has temporarily abandoned this leadership and left Congress to flounder about without a rudder. In obtaining tariff revision, the new currency law, and the Federal Reserve Act—in practically all domestic questions—Mr. Wilson has given the Nation a splendid illustration of a resolute captain at the head of the Nation. In failing to assert this same championship of public opinion in the improvement of our military and naval defenses, his administration has been a disappointment. In refusing to back up Mr. Garrison and in letting Congress, almost without guidance, transform our Army into another gigantic pork barrel; in retaining as Secretary of the Navy so absurd a person as Mr. Josephus Daniels in face of an almost universal popular demand that this post, the most important of all at this moment, be filled by a man of great intelligence and energy—these are the details in which the President has proved false to his own conception of his office. In his recent stand for American rights, however, he has asserted once more his leadership, with results that have thrilled the Nation.

VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

According to the Wilsonian theory, the President's duty, in this as in all other large matters, was to make effective the popular will. What, then, was the popular will on this great question of American rights? Did the American people stand upon the unquestioned principles of international law, or were they prepared to waive these principles in the interest of the Kaiser? This particular question

struck deep at the issue that lies at the base of the European war. Whether Americans should travel on armed merchantmen was merely a detail. No one, not even Germany, disputed the legal point involved. For centuries merchant ships had had the right to carry defensive guns without acquiring the status of war vessels. Germany merely contended that the point was academic; that, since the development of new methods of warfare made the old rule obsolete, she could ignore it. What the Central Empires really demanded was the right to change international law whenever international law conflicted with their military advantage. That idea has apparently dominated German military philosophy all through the war. Stripped of all its fine-spun arguments, it means that a nation at war is justified in doing anything to win. On this ground Germany justifies her invasion of Belgium, the bombardment of unfortified towns, Zeppelin raids, the burning of Louvain, the massacre and violation of Belgian women and children, gas bombs, and the sinking of the *Lusitania*. All these things, the German legal authorities will admit, controverted international law, as international law had painfully developed through the centuries. Since such violation helped Germany, however—or German militarists believed that they did—they were justified. Should the American people acknowledge this contention?

THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE

In asking us to waive the right to travel on armed merchantmen, Germany really asked us to approve all the violations of international law committed since the war began. Had Mr. Wilson agreed to this demand, he could never press the *Lusitania* case—for here the fundamental point was whether Germany could abandon the accepted rules of warfare on the plea of military necessity. He would find himself prevented from pressing his demands against England for her violation of the laws of blockade; herein, also, England claimed that new conditions of warfare justified such violations. Where did the American people stand on this issue? What did public opinion in this country say when asked whether the President should stand for international law or abandon it? This question answers itself. Americans have almost unanimously condemned these depredations from the first. The American press, almost with one voice, insisted that we should uphold neutral rights. Had the President desired additional evidence, his triumphant speaking tour in the Middle West—a region regarded as somewhat doubtful on his foreign policy—abundantly reassured him.

NATIONAL VS. SECTIONAL INTERESTS

But the average Congressman does not see the problem in this comprehensive fashion. He does not listen to the Nation. He sees merely a "deestrict"; and his chief ambition, unhappily, is reëlection. Only the votes of his constituents can keep him uninterruptedly at Washington. He has the same incentive to please these constituents that the average salary-dependent individual has to stand well with the hand that feeds him. He behaves at Washington with an eye constantly on next November's election. His tendency is to divide his constituents into so many "segments," each of which is to be cultivated. The mass of legislation every session reflects this Congressional psychology. The House of Commons handles only a few hundred bills every year, whereas our Congress considers about 30,000. The explanation is plain: Parliament deals only with matters of national or imperial consequence. The 30,000 bills that engage the attention of Washington have almost exclusively a political or personal character, and represent the efforts of individual Congressmen to please their districts. Thus nearly 20,000 are bills which place selected individuals on the national pension lists. About 5,000 provide for dredging creeks, rivers, and harbors. A mass of others grant public buildings to communities that do not need them. Others appropriate federal money for the payment of claims—many illusory in character—against the Government. Properly all these matters are no legitimate concern of Congress—they are merely details of administration which the executive departments should attend to. This

tice, however, has developed in Con- ; a demoralizing tendency to pander to ities. Almost any group that makes ise can attract a Congressman's atten- A half dozen telegrams and a few rs will scare the average Congressman.

PROFESSIONAL GERMAN PROPAGANDA

early every Congressional district, pt those in the South, has a consider- proportion of German-Americans. e possess far more than others; there few, however, that do not contain a ain proportion. According to the pre- ng system, these voters have personal ns upon their representatives. Since day Congress came together last ember, this German element has con- ed an active propaganda. More ac- tely expressed, perhaps, a propaganda been conducted in its name, for there is o reason to assume that the millions of ty and law-abiding Germans in this try, the mass of whom have testified heir patriotism on critical occasions, ly champion the cause of Germany nst the United States. There is, ever, a professional element that is atriotically active. It seeks to compel Government to abandon neutrality in nterest of the German Empire. It has led Congress with petitions demanding mbargo on the shipment of munitions. enly announces its intention to "swing German vote" against President Wil- in the coming campaign. Its main quarters, the German-American Alli- , is avowedly a political organization. s spokesmen denounce the President in ar language; its emissaries are actively noning strength for next fall's election; journalistic advocates are abusing rica and its leading public men in a that, in a less open-minded nation, d cause public disorder. These gen- en began to assail Congressmen as soon he question of armed merchantmen me an active one. The usual "back " in the shape of telegrams, letters, personal visits, began to frighten the al legislators. An investigation—I myself seen specimens of these com- ications—usually disclosed an identity rasing and authorship which indicated that the campaign, though active, represented no great spontaneity. It was manufactured public opinion of the most diaphanous kind. Yet it had its influence. Indeed, affected by this as well as by their general attitude of accommodation toward constituents, the mass of Congressmen gave way. The German-American vote, in their eyes, now took on stupendous proportions. Through the majority leaders, Congress formally notified the President that it overwhelmingly disapproved his German policy. An inexperienced Texan Congressman, hitherto unknown to fame, suddenly found himself an international figure. He had introduced a resolution which essentially denounced the President's policy, formally abandoned the principles of international law and humanity, and enrolled the representatives of the American people on the side of Germany. The question presented by the Washington situation was simply this: does the American Congress stand with their President or the Kaiser? Champ Clark, Senator Kern, Mr. Kitchin, the recognized leaders in both houses, declared that, on a "showdown," both House and Senate would vote against their own President. Humiliating as the statement is, they probably spoke the truth.

THE VOICE OF THE PORK BARREL

My point, however, is that the House and the Senate did not represent public opinion. Most Congressmen and Senators were thinking, not of national honor and right, but of a particular segment of their districts. The pork barrel spirit controlled their behavior—their districts, as a mass, did not endorse their attitude; but they imagined, perhaps mistakenly, that a particular group of voters did. As a consequence, the foreign policy of the Nation was rapidly going upon the rocks. The American people, because their Congress did not represent public opinion, had no political leadership. Germany, which had shown some disposition to acknowledge the American contention, suddenly changed its attitude. The most reactionary thinkers at the Imperial Court discovered that the American Congress was working on its side. It was then that Mr. Wilson again

proved true to his fine conception of his office. As leadership did not exist in Congress, American public opinion must find its spokesman somewhere. The wave of indignation that swelled from all parts of the country disclosed that Congress was opposing the finest instincts of the people. Mr. Wilson accepted the Congressional challenge. He demanded that the members stand up and take their side, either with him or with the enemies of the country. The leaders—Messrs. Kern, Clark, Kitchin—had said that two-thirds of the members of both chambers would vote against him. Very well, answered Mr. Wilson, stand up like men and do it! For himself he was prepared to meet the test. There was every reason why Mr. Wilson could afford to take this stand. The fact that he spoke for at least 90 million Americans made his strength irresistible. Not a few professional agitators, but the hearty demands of an outraged American public—these were the people the President was hearing from. Evidently the Executive had sufficient authority for "encroaching" on the prerogatives of the legislature.

Most Congressmen of his own party went scurrying on the President's side as soon as he stated the issue in this definite fashion. Even Senator Gore, who sponsored the scuttle policy in the Senate, foreseeing defeat, attempted to save his Senatorial skin by radically amending his resolution. The Senate situation illustrated the tendency of Senators to adjust nicely their obligations as statesmen and the practical exigencies of domestic politics. Men like Senators Kern and Hitchcock, although they voted for the President's contention, made speeches against it. No one wishes unnecessarily to assail the motives of these statesmen. Not improbably there were those who talked and voted from conscientious motives. The official vote, however, contains certain suggestive facts. If we consult a Government map, we shall find a well-defined zone of German population. Outside of New York City, the great states of the Middle West and the Mississippi Valley are the great American Germania. It includes Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, and North and South Dakota. Of these, Iowa, Nebraska, Minnesota, and Wisconsin registered solid votes in the House in favor of Germany. Illinois cast eighteen votes in the House for the Kaiser and seven for Wilson. Both North and South Dakota lined up against the American contention. The behavior of Presidential candidates, of the "favorite son" type, is similarly significant. The Senate contains five men—Weeks, Borah, Cummins, La Follette, and Sherman—who had attained some prominence in this connection. All but one—Weeks—took their stand against the President. Senator Cummins is almost ostentatiously a pro-German candidate; he has recently "cashed in" a microscopic profit in the "Presidential primaries" of Minnesota. The House also contains several men who, more or less vaguely, have received "mentions" for the Presidency—such as Cannon and Mann. The gentlemen also took the side most pleasing—or which they thought was most pleasing—to their German-American constituents. With every endeavor to be charitable, therefore, the conclusion is irresistible that the pork barrel tendency—this time appearing in especially abhorrent form—influenced many votes. When every Congressman and one Senator—Mr. La Follette—of Wisconsin, our banner German state, voted against their President it is too much to believe that the "folks at home" did not influence their action.

This latest Congressional episode, therefore, is not one that the American people can particularly rejoice in. It has served one great purpose, however, in emphasizing once more the importance of centralized leadership in our governmental system. Fortunately we had a President who fully understood the dignity and responsibility of his office; only Mr. Wilson's supreme intelligence, however, saved us from a great national calamity. Under less commanding leadership, the Nation would have found itself insulted and disregarded, and a situation would have rapidly developed that must have inevitably ended in war. When the history of these times is written Mr. Wilson's heroic stand will be seen in the full perspective as perhaps the one event that most successfully made for peace.

SALONIKI, CHECKMATE OF GERMAN DIPLOMACY

UNITY OF DIPLOMATIC ACTION OF THE ENTENTE ALLIES SECURED AT LAST BY THE EXTINCTION OF SERBIA, WHICH PROVED TO ALL OF THEM THE ESSENTIAL IDENTITY OF THEIR INTERESTS IN THE WORLD WAR—THE MEETING OF THE EMPERORS AT NISH AND OTHER CHAPTERS OF SECRET HISTORY

BY

W. MORTON FULLERTON

NEW Year's morning, 1916, broke at Saloniki over a spectacle of pathetic grandeur. A driving rain had settled over the city and the Gulf; yet the Thessalonian crowd began to assemble at an early hour in Liberty Square. At nine o'clock two companies of Greek infantry lined up along the quay. Through the mist all eyes were directed to a small warship anchored in the offing. It was a destroyer flying the tri-color flag of France, and Rumor had rightly reported its identity. It was the *Mameluk* just in from Avlona, and every man, woman, and child in the Greek seaport, now become, by a whim of Destiny, a fortress of the Entente Powers, knew that King Peter of Serbia was on board.

The exiled sovereign of a martyred nation, hunted by the Bulgar and the German from his palace at Belgrad across his ravaged kingdom; driven from Serbian city to Serbian city into the perilous alien snow of the Albanian uplands; unsuccored by Allies who had sworn in their Parliaments to befriend him, even betrayed by one of them, the very King whose soldiers now stood on the landing stage of Saloniki at attention, impatient to do him honor, was at last about to end his dolorous long calvary, a refugee in the improvised camp which the French and the British had established on Greek soil! Not an acre of Serbian land that was not held by the enemy. But at Saloniki, if King Peter were to die, his body would, at all events, be in safe and respectful keeping. Here were generals and admirals of France and England. Here at Saloniki King Peter would stand at the portal of his ruined kingdom. The great river, the Vardar, that emptied into the Gulf, there a little to the west, was the shortest road, now the only road, leading into Serbia.

A small boat put off from the destroyer. The crowd and the Greek infantry come to do King Peter honor waited in the beating rain. . . . But what was this surprise? The boat was not making for the quay. It was being steered somewhere toward the coast, well to the east of Saloniki. . . . Had King Constantine really supposed that King Peter had come to Saloniki to salute the Greek flag? . . . The boat moved rapidly on its way. Its destination was now clear. A few moments later the aged sovereign, bent, broken, enveloped in the long military cloak of a Serbian general, disembarked at the edge of the garden of the Serbian Consulate. One of the few eye-witnesses has left on record this historic page:

> All the rare spectators wept and I myself was deeply stirred by the aspect of this King who, ten years before, in full force of life and vigor, had received me in his *Konak* of Belgrad, and whom I now beheld again, crushed by destiny, yet so great in his distress that as he passed before us all heads were bowed, either from respect, or pity, or from a sense of shame.

King Peter, an exile at Saloniki; remnants of the shattered Serbian army and the Serbian Government at Corfu, invited there by England and France and Russia—the guarantors and protectors of Grecian independence, the guardians of its neutrality—but established there without the

acquiescence of the King and Government of Greece; Mount Lovchen, the "Serbian Olympus"—as King Nicholas called it in January, 1913, in a famous telegram to the *Temps*—in the possession of the Austrians, that Lovchen which, as the King added, was "more precious to the Montenegrins than a colossal diamond would be"; King Nicholas himself an exile at Lyons; heroic Montenegro, which for five centuries had preserved its freedom against the whole might of the Turkish Empire, become the prey of the Austro-Germans; control of the sea in the Eastern Adriatic from Pola to the Bocche di Cattaro in the hands, not of England, nor of France—nor yet of Italy! —but of Austria; the King of Italy, in the second week of the New Year, 1916, hastening back to Rome, after eight months' absence at the front because, with Serbia destroyed, the Lovchen fallen, Montenegro crushed, "Sacred Egoism"—as Italy had grandiosely defined its principle of action in the early days of the war—was really in need of a confessor!

THE FATEFUL "GOEBEN" AND "BRESLAU"

This is a list of grave events. But it is merely the crisp catalogue mention of certain fatal links in one of the characteristic sections of that chain of Determinism of which the first link is the entrance into the Dardanelles on August 10, 1914, of the two German battleships, the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*. No date in the World War, save that epoch-making week of the battle of the Marne, possesses the significance of the 10th of August, 1914, when the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* claimed shelter in the Dardanelles, by complicity with that adventurer of genius, Enver Bey. When, on the morrow, Sir Edward Grey learned of this event, he telegraphed to the British Agent at Constantinople, Mr. Beaumont, instructing him to inform the Turkish Government that England expected the Porte either to disarm these battleships or to send them on their way within twenty-four hours. A few moments later Sir Edward Grey received telegraphically from Constantinople—the telegrams must have crossed—the news that the Ottoman Government had "just bought" the *Goeben* and the *Breslau!* . . . Within less than a week more than forty mines were laid in the Dardanelles, and on August 19th, Sir L. Mallet, the British Ambassador, was so concerned as to the strange behavior of the Ottoman Government that he telegraphed to London asking for the despatch of a British fleet. The pretext given was the prevention of a possible *coup d'état* "with the aid of the *Goeben*, in coöperation with the military authorities under German influence, which, said he, "*has complete control.*"

THE PENALTY OF IRRESOLUTION

Now, if the Allied fleets had, indeed, been instantly ordered to follow up the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* into the Dardanelles; if, better still, the British admiral in Malta waters, before the arrival of these battleships in the Dardanelles, had obeyed the orders of his chief, the French Admiral, Boué de Lapeyrère—who was then in the Western Mediterranean, and who wired to his colleague, then his subordinate, that he counted on him to watch the German ships—and if the British admiral had not decided, for technical reasons, after a long night's meditation, to make no efforts to prevent the German ships from passing, the World War would probably have ended before Christmas, 1915. But the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* entered the Dardanelles, and the representatives of the Entente Powers at Constantinople, in the same breath with which they reported to their chiefs in London, Paris, and Petrograd their anxieties as to the mystifying machinations of the Germans and their Young Turk accomplices, urged upon their several governments every form of patience and procrastination in dealing with the Turkish Government. The Powers even went so far as to seek to conciliate that Government by offering to abolish the famous *Capitulations*, which, in some form or other, ever since the thirteenth century, had defined the rights of Christians and the Europeans in the Ottoman Empire; and they promised to insure to the Ottoman Empire its complete independence and integrity after the war. The result of this shilly-shallying policy of the diplomatic triumvirate of the Triple Entente, Grey, Poincaré, Sazonoff—a policy naïvely con-

d to the world in each successive ment in a certain British Blue Book—inevitable. By the time M. Delcassé office on August 26, 1914, the whole n of the Dardanelles, Constantinople, the Bosporus had virtually become ner of the German Empire.

TURKEY LOST TO THE ALLIES

ırkey was irrevocably lost to the Allies n nine weeks. It was on November that Great Britain declared war on ey and formally annexed Cyprus. In dealings with the Young Turk Govent the three Foreign Offices, in fact, carried guilelessness and longanimity st to the point of frivolity. The ity of this judgment is admissible one considers the prodigious consecces of the policy of the Powers in ion upon the development of the t War. It cannot be over-emphasized if the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* had been lown by the British Admiral before reached the Dardanelles, or that if, after these vessels penetrated Ottowaters, Sir Edward Grey, President aré, and M. Sazonoff had had the nce of mind and the statesmanlike ve" to force the Dardanelles in the of the German battleships, Turkey d never have gone to war; the British Lord of the Admiralty would never been tempted to regard a Dardanexpedition as "a legitimate war le," (Mr. Churchill's own expression s speech in the House of Commons, mber 15, 1915), and the world would been spared the horrors and glories llipoli and Anzac; the Fra Angelico macy of the Entente Powers in the ns, characterized by Bulgaria's proan action and by the masterly proan inactivity of Greece, would have no excuse for being; the Entente rs would not have exposed themselves e ironic taunts of King Constantine: Balkan policy of the Allies was at no a very definite one. . . . Before n bind ourselves to a fixed and irable programme we are desirous of ing the programme which the Allies drawn up for themselves"; the soil of would not have been overrun by the German and Bulgarian invader, and the bright and priceless jewel of Mount Lovchen would never have fallen from the King of Montenegro's crown.

I have defined in a previous chapter (see "The Balkan Cauldron," WORLD'S WORK, February, 1916) the essential nature of the diplomatic incompetency of the Entente Powers in their treatment of the problem of the Balkans. It was pointed out that their sole aim should have been to maintain the Treaty of Bukharest, which had established in the Balkans a provisional peace after the Second Balkan, or Inter-Balkan, War. The Entente Powers undertook, on the contrary, to revise the Treaty of Bukharest—though revision was tantamount to abolishing it, to making of it a "scrap of paper"—in the interests of a utopian ideal, the reconstruction of a Balkan Confederation. This was in itself a puerile dream. It was an attempt to square the circle, strangely persisted in by grown men who were paid by three great nations to do the international business of those nations in a businesslike way. Moreover, the pursuit of such a will-o-the-wisp had an inevitable inconvenience which should have sufficed to prevent the Entente Powers from embarking on an adventure so wild: it pointed out the way to the German Foreign Office; it even seemed to challenge the Germans to a tug-of-war contest, with Ferdinand of Bulgaria tied to the middle of the rope. And, indeed, Turkey fallen, they lost no time in seeking to foment a third Balkan War.

What were the advantages, and what were the disadvantages, of such a plan from the point of view of German interests?

From the point of view of the Central Powers the plan for the creation of a Second Inter-Balkan War, or a Third Balkan War, was no doubt a seductive gamble. The chances in favor of successful consequences from such a venture were many. But there were immediate grave risks involved even in the German plan, and to insure its mathematical success the finest constructive imagination was required.

The excellent Pan-German logic of the plan we shall see later on. We shall see why the immediate disadvantages were bravely ignored in view of the grandiose

combination of which the plan formed an integral part. But for the success of this more remote grand combination it was necessary that the subordinate plan also should be entirely successful, and the certainty of such success was so much contingent on so many uncertainties that the scheme could not, after all, be regarded as other than merely a seductive gamble.

WHY GERMANY CRUSHED SERBIA

The main object of the German plan was, of course, the embarrassment of the Allies, the weakening of the unity of the Coalition, and this was a sound strategic idea enough, for even if the Allies held together, it tended to woo them from their predominant front—and that, indeed, it partially succeeded in doing—without involving for Germany any corresponding serious violation of excellent Jominesque and Napoleonic principles; it was an essential part of the plan, indeed, that, inasmuch as the heavy work was to be done by Bulgaria, Germany need not divert too large an army from her main lines. The plan, moreover, seemed to the German General Staff to have not merely the immediate advantage of crushing Serbia, and the probable virtue of distracting France and England, and the possible merit of making confusion worse confounded in the councils of the Coalition; it had as well the possible merit of deciding Rumania and Greece to rally to the Central Powers. What Berlin forgot was that the very success of the plan was bound to entail inconveniences of another kind, inconveniences which a fine imagination capable of a statesman's real foresight should have detected in good time. *It called for a checkmate*, and, in consequence, any serious checkmate—a move, for instance, of the Allies to Saloniki, provided they could establish there a solid base—was certain to nullify all the political and most of the strategic objects aimed at by the fomenting of a Third Balkan War.

In other words, although Austria and Germany, thanks to Bulgarian perfidy to the Slav cause, could no doubt look forward to annihilating the particular nation, Serbia, that had always blocked the road to the Ægean, real success in that "punitive" operation must be achieved only at a terrible loss, if into the vacuum of this assassinated people's territory flowed, without an instant's delay, the army corps of the Allies—or any other army corps!—substituting for the Serbs a more redoubtable obstacle still to the long-projected Pan-German design on Saloniki! At all events, it was singularly to be wanting in imagination not to foresee that, from the sole point of view of Austro-German interests, there could be no advantage whatever in facilitating the formation of a Greater Bulgaria, overlapping the soil of Macedonian Serbia, since such a Bulgaria would obviously be even less tractable than Serbia herself had been for generations in helping to further the old Austro-German dreams of securing an outlet in the Mediterranean. What could it profit to Austria and to Germany to shatter provisionally the projects of the Southern Slavs if they failed to secure at the same time the main object, nay, the sole object, to which destruction of this Slav nationality was subordinated?

THE RISE OF TSAR FERDINAND

Bent on wreaking vengeance on the little state whose national idealism had been an offense to them, the Pan-Germans and the Hungarians of Berlin, Vienna, and Budapest failed, in a word, to calculate the consequences of their complicity with such a monarch as Ferdinand of Coburg, Tsar of the Bulgars. They had wantonly lifted him to a dignity that made him a far more dangerous neighbor than a Peter of Serbia had ever been or had ever dreamed of being. They had also, it should not be forgotten, by the same token, revived the bitter, almost vendetta, hatreds between Bulgaria and Greece. This latter consequence, perhaps, was one that Austria and Germany might convince themselves to be not altogether too unfavorable to their interests; but such a result could have no useful influence on the conduct of the war, and it was, in fact, an excellent reason, as far as it went, why Greece and Rumania should tend to draw nearer together. Did not Rumania perceive already, in the excessive expansion of Bulgaria, the best of pretexts for remorse at

not having worked more actively, at the outbreak of the war, in favor of the maintenance of that Treaty of Bukharest which, if it had not established a real balance of power in the Balkans, had at all events established a temporary peace, and had, at the same time, secured for Rumania a position of acknowledged moral superiority, just above and just outside the pale of the Balkan peoples?

The truth of certain of these observations—the accuracy, notably, that Berlin had wantonly lifted Ferdinand of Coburg to a dignity that made him a far more dangerous neighbor than Peter of Serbia—was quickly revealed to the Prussian War Lord after the downfall of Serbia.

SERBIA WIPED FROM THE MAP

The first stages of the Germano-Bulgarian plan had succeeded with startling rapidity. The Austro-Germans began their invasion of Serbia on October 6, 1915. Three days later they occupied Belgrad, while three days later still—the Constitutional Government of Greece, the Venizelos Cabinet, having been forced by a *coup d'état* of the Sovereign to resign—Greece refused to come to the rescue of her ally, Serbia. On October 14th, Bulgaria joined the pack thirsting for Serbia's blood. By November 5th, Nish, the second Serbian capital, had fallen to the Bulgars. By November 23d, Mitrovitza and Prishtina were in the possession of the Bulgars, and the Serbian army was in full retreat toward the Albanian frontier. Within the next ten days Prizrend and Monastir had fallen, and the French and British troops that had advanced on their chivalrous expedition into the uplands behind Saloniki, in the forlorn hope of succoring Serbia, were beating a hasty and perilous retreat, parallel with that of the Serbs, toward the shelter of the great Greek port.

Thus, within a little more than nine weeks, the battering-ram of the Austro-Bulgarian armies, and particularly of the Bulgarian army, had swept Serbian soil clean of its rightful owners. Serbia had been so completely overrun that the Vienna Government informed the Washington Government that the American consuls there must be withdrawn, Serbia having ceased to be an independent Power. Serbia, as a whole, had, indeed, all but suffered the storied fate of Jericho.

Yet now began in the ranks of the enemy a period of no less startling silence. While the governments and parliaments and peoples of the West were waiting in anguish for news of the Franco-British expeditionary corps retiring before the Bulgars on Saloniki—the spy-infested metropolis of a doubtful region of the uncertain territory of Greece—the Austrians and the Bulgars and the Germans and the Turks had stopped their pursuit at the Greek frontier. They had called a halt close up under that frontier on December 12th. Yet every rational military consideration should have impelled them to push steadily forward, at whatever cost, in order to crush the Franco-British troops and keep the promise to King Constantine to fling them into the sea. But the days went by, and the weeks went by, in halcyon calm. There was no sign of activity either on the Serbo-Greek or on the Bulgaro-Greek frontier. The Allies, meanwhile, under General Sarrail, were enjoying unhoped for delay for converting Saloniki into an impregnable fortress.

THE OMINOUS PAUSE BEFORE SALONIKI

What was the cause of this strange paralysis of the invading armies, this wondrous blunder of the victorious Germans and Bulgars? Greece, to be sure, was "neutral." But no alleged consideration of that sort was likely to weigh heavily with the violators of the neutrality of Belgium, nor yet with the Bulgarian officers whom King Constantine had ejected from Saloniki during the Turco-Balkan War. What, then, arrested the Germans and the Bulgars on the Vardar, where the great river penetrated into Hellenic territory? Doubts as to the potential attitude of Rumania, but above all the new mood of the wily Bulgarian Tsar. Ferdinand had fulfilled not only his part of the bargain with the German Emperor for the destruction of Serbia, but also his engagements toward his alienated subjects. He had restored Bulgarian prestige, which he himself had wrecked in the first Inter-Balkan War, yet he now began to sulk.

In an incredibly short time he had become Lord of Macedonia. The dreams of his people had been fulfilled. Greater Bulgaria was a glorious reality. Sacred union ruled at Sofia. Once again the vainglorious monarch beheld himself the object of the acclamations of a grateful nation. But that nation was exhausted by the grievous sacrifices of their last prodigious military effort. The Bulgars had been ready to die for the idea of planting the Bulgarian flag among the unredeemed cities of Macedonia and Serbia. They were not so ready to continue a war merely for the aggrandizement of the Hohenzollern. Ferdinand's personal ambitions, however, were still unassuaged, and of this fact a no less crafty monarch than he was aware. William claimed further services. Was it or was it not to Ferdinand's interest to render them? At all events, how much William had need of him Ferdinand well knew. And now, moreover, at last, he could dictate his terms. He, the Coburg, could address the Hohenzollern, equal to equal. Wonderful moment, that permitted him to leave William in the lurch or to stand by him to the end! But if William meant to use him still, William must pay his price. A new compact was necessary. Oh, it was not merely a matter of a field-marshal's baton, and of military baubles. Those honors and decorations must be made the outward and visible signs of the Kaiser's solemn complicity for the attainment of the Tsar's most ambitious dreams.

THE MEETING OF EMPERORS AT NISH

Only three years before, during the Turco-Balkan War, Ferdinand had beheld on the horizon the minarets of Constantinople. The crown of Constantine had seemed just within his reach. Then suddenly the veto of Russia had halted him in the trenches of Chatalja. Russia paralyzed the arm already extended to grasp the crown. Now again the gleam of that crown—a great Macedonian, perhaps a great Bulgar, Alexander the Great, had also followed the lure of the Eastern mirage—offered itself to his vision. Ferdinand conceived a plan worthy of the solemn hour. He would meet the German Emperor at Nish, in the birthplace of Constantine the Great, and he would make pointed allusion there to the imperial city on the Bosporus. His voice would quickly reach the ears of the great Emperor's royal namesake at Athens, that King Constantine of Greece who had coveted no less ardently than he the heritage of Byzantium. He would wring from William the Second a promise of acquiescence in the only plan that could now save the fortune of the Hohenzollerns, the creation of a Greater Bulgaria reaching from Albania to the Golden Horn.

Such was the significance of the historic meeting of the Kaiser and King Ferdinand at Nish in January, 1916. The pact there sealed was a revised version of a certain grandiose, mysterious project evolved, just before the Great War, at Konopicht, where the Kaiser met the Archduke Francis Ferdinand. When the Archduke was murdered by the Bosniac schoolboy at Sarajevo the Kaiser exclaimed: "Everything will now have to be done over again!" In King Ferdinand the Kaiser flattered himself that he had found for the dead Archduke an ideal substitute. . . . But at Bukharest there was another Ferdinand, who still maintained a sinister silence! Who knew what his choice might be? And there at Saloniki, too, were the French and the English, nearly 300,000 strong.

Yes, there were the Allies at Saloniki—two of them, at all events!—and if their move thither had been a curiously hesitating one, the consequences of that move now, on the international chessboard, seemed singularly to forebode an approaching checkmate.

It has been seen what Germany's object was in creating the diversion of a Third Balkan War. She counted, at all events, on embarrassing the Allies, on weakening the Coalition of the Liberal Powers. But it was clear that the grandiose plan had not evolved quite as Germany had intended. When the Entente Powers perceived that their action in the Balkans had magnificently contributed to the replanting there of all those seeds of anarchy which Berlin and Vienna and Budapest had assiduously watered, when they saw that even they themselves had failed to

avert another Inter-Balkan war favorable to Bulgaria and the Pan-Germans, then at last the Allied Powers awoke to the real nature of the Great War. They finally saw that it was an immense political conflict for the balance of power, not only in Europe but throughout the world; that it was a repetition, on even a greater scale, of the Seven Years' War of the eighteenth century; and that, however little the soldiers in the trenches in Flanders or Poland were likely to understand the practical significance of a Saloniki expedition, it was nevertheless necessary, after the series of unspeakable blunders that had led up to the Third Balkan War and the destruction of Serbia and Montenegro, for the great Liberal Powers to go to Saloniki and to stay there—or to hand over the East for generations to the domination of Berlin.

Thus, the dilly-dallying policy of the Entente in its dealings with the Turks, and the neglect of the great central verity that Serbia was the keystone of the arch of the European edifice, were integrally bound up with the facts which engendered the events that led up to the terrifying situation of October and November, 1915, when England and France and Russia and Italy seemed, to those who knew, about to fall asunder, when Germany was ingeniously contriving to make a separate peace with this or that signatory of the Pact of London (September 5, 1914), and when only a complete and heroic change of method saved the cause of the Allies.

ENTENTE DIPLOMACY GROWS FIRMER

On December 20, 1915, Mr. Lloyd-George made the following striking remark in the House of Commons: "In this war the elements that make for success in a short war were with our enemies; all the advantages that make for victory in a long war were ours—and they still are. Better preparation before the war, *interior lines, unity of command*—those belonged to the enemy. . . . We have the command of the sea, and, above all, we have the better cause."

Nothing could be more admirable than this statement; but the strategic advantages possessed by the enemy were not confined to the sphere of military matters. In that of diplomacy as well the enemy possessed advantages of exactly the same sort. Nearly all the failures of the diplomacy of the Quadruple Entente Powers may be set down to their diplomatic non-preparation before the war, and to the belated, roundabout, and discordant activity of their several Foreign Offices, and the lack of unity of command during the war. The risks of such happy-go-lucky and spasmodic action were, no doubt, diminished by the lucky fact that—despite the submarine—the Allies always possessed the command of the sea, and that they were fighting obviously, as Mr. Lloyd-George says, "for a better cause." This latter consideration was, indeed, no mere sentimental element, but a positive, material one in the case of a long war. But the truth remains that it was just this well-known inability of coalitions to coördinate their movements which partially paralyzed the efficiency of the Triple Entente diplomacy during the first eighteen months of the great World War. *Quick, direct, effective action along interior lines was, for many months, impossible,* because there was no unity of command, and if the most eminent member of the Areopagus, M. Delcassé, decided, at a certain heart-breaking moment, that he could no longer assume responsibility for French diplomacy, it was because he had become all but mortally exhausted by the really distressing spectacle of four nations veering and plunging like so many segments of a Chinese kite to their common doom. The crass self-sufficiency of one, the petty jealousy or distrust of a second, and the inopportune inertia of the national pride of them all prevented them from working out an all-embracing common policy which would permit them to dictate diplomatic strategy to Germany and relieve them of the humiliation of following the Prussian beck and call, in dispersed formation, all round the planet.

As I have just said, only a complete and heroic change of method saved the cause of the Allies. In three stormy Councils of War in Paris, Calais, and London, it was finally resolved to meet the Balkan advance of the Central Powers by the checkmate of Saloniki. The arguments of a Joffre pleading anxiously the interests of

the particular front for which he was responsible, the suggestions of a Kitchener ready to sacrifice the Balkans to a Syrian expedition which would cut the Germans from all access to the Nile, went down before the double eloquence of Mr. Lloyd-George and M. Briand, who, having, in the spring of 1915, before it was "too late," urged upon their colleagues the advantages of an immediate Balkan expedition in order to protect Serbia and to overawe Bulgaria, were now able to emphasize the authority of their counsel by a vigorous "We told you so"!

In these meetings the Saloniki expedition became a definite, irrevocable fact. The several governments awoke to the perception that they were face to face with problems of world-wide strategy. They now saw clearly at last that the projects of Pan-Germanism were the keynote of Prussian strategy; that, though the Power that had captured Antwerp and the Belgian coast line had failed to enter Paris and Calais, it was still logically aiming at Trieste and Saloniki. It still meant to crush the Southern Slavs. It was scheming to render Austria only a German protectorate. It was, above all, following down the Danube the grandiose Pan-German perspective of the Bagdad Railway, glancing the while with fixed vision now toward Suez, now toward Teheran, and applauding the gruesome orgies of the Turks in the Armenian highlands.

GERMANY'S POLITICAL OBJECTIVE

While Germany held the millions of the French, the British, and the Russians behind virtually rigid lines, miles beyond her own frontier, she was following out logically the whole programme of her Pan-Germans, as that programme had been audaciously developed in the works of a Frenssen, a Bernhardi, a Paul Rohrbach, and pooh-poohed by an over-candid, over-civilized world as so much harmless fustian.

At the outbreak of the war Germany alone had a political object, a far-reaching plan. She willed her aggression in order to realize that plan in a sleeping or indifferent Europe. This superior self-consciousness assured her strength. It was only little by little, as the war proceeded, that the other Great Powers acquired a clear notion of the German plan and of the world interests at stake. At the outset, indeed, each of the Powers, save Italy, was fighting for its life, and too preoccupied to give much time to meditation on the larger aspects of the struggle.

The preoccupation of the different nations by their urgent national interests on their several fronts inevitably remained for a time with each of them a fixed idea. Normal consciousness of the complete world situation was obliterated. The Serbian expedition of Germany and Bulgaria was the sudden shock that, by a natural association of ideas, revived the memory of the original cause of the World War, namely Austria's suggestive attack on Serbia. Even Italy, who made her own war in her own way, and who ought to have been expected to discern the real scope of Germany's wanton aggression, reached the light at a late hour.

ITALY'S HESITATION

The case of Italy is peculiarly significant. When French and British troops landed on October 5th at Saloniki, with the avowed object of coming to the rescue of Serbia, exposed to an Austro-German and Bulgarian invasion, it was not overlooked either in Paris or in London, nor yet in Rome, that Italy was conspicuously absent. The days went by and still Italy remained silent. Even a portion of the Italian press put the question, "Why?" It was not easy to reply: "Italy has not enough men to act beyond her frontiers," for none of the belligerents had more reserves than she. Was it because she had not declared war on Germany? Whatever the reason, Italy seemed to say: "Why aggrandize Serbia? But above all, why aggrandize Greece? Why, indeed, should we, Italy, join the Allies? Don't we know that in general the Triple Entente seeks to aggrandize Greece at our expense? Don't we know that, in order to counter balance Italy, the Triple Entente has always favored the expansion of Greece in the Eastern Mediterranean, even facilitating a revival of the traditional Hellenic thalassocraty? The access of Serbia to the Adriatic is perhaps no serious menace

either to Italy or to Greece. But the arrival of the Serbs on the coast of our inner Latin sea is, after all, an event that cannot fail to excite the commercial imagination of the Greek trader, and a far-seeing diplomacy will tend to dictate to the Greek rulers a policy of particularly cordial coöperation with the Serbs. Greece is a rival of ours, and she will find it to her advantage to maintain with Serbia a solid economic alliance, the counterpart of that remarkable political and military alliance which proved so effective in the Second Balkan War. At the same time, in the interests of the balance of power in the Mediterranean, France, England, and Russia—above all, France and Russia, who are so dependent for the transport of the Black Sea corn in the Greek coasters—will, no doubt, feel that they are failing in perspicacity if they neglect to do all they can to secure for Greece a fair field, in face of Italy, for the free play of her commercial energy and of her trading instincts. In fact, we Italians had, only the other day (on October 17th), an inkling of what England, at all events, is capable of, when she offered Cyprus to Greece! Turkey agreed in 1878 to allow England to 'occupy and administer' Cyprus, solely on the understanding that if 'any attempt were ever made by Russia to seize any portion of the Asiatic territories of the Sultan,' England would help the Sultan to defend such territories by arms. In fact, from the 4th of June, 1878, to the 5th of November, 1914, when England celebrated Guy Fawkes's Day by declaring war on Turkey and annexing Cyprus, Turkey and Great Britain were united by a defensive alliance, the point of which was openly directed against Russia. Sir Edward Grey may have reasoned, logically enough, that once England broke her alliance by making war on Turkey, the guarantee of the alliance, Cyprus, was abolished—the jewel dropped automatically, as it were, from the British Imperial crown. But an England capable of not picking that jewel up, an England capable even of kicking it aside, while saying to Greece, 'You may have it!' is an England against whom no too many precautions should be taken by us Italians! We want Balkan balance of power, and we might be willing to back the Allies in order to prevent Bulgarian domination of the Balkans. Did not we prove it in our Green Book? But we do not want to join in any plan that will give Serbia a moral hegemony based on the extinction of Bulgaria as a nation."

ITALY IN HARMONY WITH ITS ALLIES

Such was the Italian state of mind during the critical hours when France and England were wrestling with the problem: "Shall we or shall we not remain at Saloniki?" History cannot blink the fact that not until the temporary fate of the Serbs was sealed; not until the victories of the Bulgarian army, aided by the Germans, seemed to forecast the preëmption of the whole of Macedonia by the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs, and the Bulgars; not until the most sacred interests of Italy in the Balkans and on the Adriatic—the very objects that had driven her into war—seemed likely to be shattered, simultaneously with the downfall of Serbia and the menace to Montenegro, did Italy make up her mind to act in complete harmony with the Allies.

It should not be overlooked, to be sure, that only a few weeks before the fall of Serbia, in late October, 1915, the British Admiralty announced that a certain number of German submarines had run the gauntlet of the destroyers of Gibraltar, and had penetrated the Mediterranean. The military and trade routes in the Latin Sea were in danger. A few days later a French steamer, then a British transport, then in quick succession a half dozen merchant vessels were torpedoed. Finally, an Italian transatlantic liner, the *Ancona*, was attacked and sunk off Sardinia while steaming westward, loaded with emigrants for the United States.

Furthermore, at this moment, happily for the success of Italian national ideals, the three Powers of the Triple Entente had already become so irritated with the Greece of King Constantine—after having humored the Greece of Venizelos—that their sentiments toward that country were as distrustful as those of Italy had ever been. The course of events had thus

swept the ground clear for the deployment of Italian national ambitions. In December, 1915, Italian statesmen had the best of reasons for feeling quite differently with regard to Greece, with regard to Serbia, with regard to France and England, with regard to the whole problem of the national conduct of Italy in the Great War than they felt on October 5th, when the Allies, invited by M. Venizelos, landed, for form's sake, at Saloniki, or than they felt during the long summer months of 1915, when the same Powers of the Entente were appealing to them to make inconvenient sacrifices to Serbia and Greece, their potential rivals, in order to facilitate the reconstruction of a United States of Balkany, which their political common sense had long convinced them to be a hopeless utopia. The change in Italian sentiment, due to the altered world situation, was reflected instantly and logically.

SIGNOR SONNINO'S STATEMENT

On the 1st of December, 1915, the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Signor Sonnino, made in the Italian Chamber a remarkable statement. After having declared that Italy had pursued in the Balkans its traditional policy, as based on the principle of nationalities and of the independence of the Balkan people, and that Italian action had been "intensely" directed toward that end, in full agreement with the Allies (sic), the Minister said: "And thus have we been persuaded of the necessity of making public and solemn affirmation of the solidarity existing between the Allies, by renewing, as it were, the agreement signed by France, England and Russia on the 5th of September, 1914, and to which Japan subsequently adhered. Our formal adhesion has just been made in London. . . . The political and economic independence of Serbia is one of the corner-stones of Italian policy in the Balkans. It responds to a vital necessity of the very existence of Italy as a Great Power. The political and economic subjection of Serbia by Austria-Hungary would be tantamount to a grave and constant peril for Italy. It would be the construction of an insuperable barrier to our economic expansion on the opposite shores of the Adriatic. . . . In agreement with our Allies, we regard as an indefeasible end in this war the restoration of the heroic Serbian people in the plenitude of their independence. (Loud and prolonged cheering, deputies rising in their places and crying, "Long live Serbia!") The presence of our flag on the opposite shore of the Adriatic ("Hear, hear!") will reaffirm the traditional policy of Italy as regards Albania, *which represents to-day, as in the past, an interest of primary importance for us, inasmuch as its fate is intimately bound up with the equilibrium of the Adriatic. It is a matter of the gravest importance for Italy to maintain the independence of the Albanian people.* . . . The strategic defense of the Adriatic constitutes, indeed, one of the principal bases of our political action. It is for Italy a vital necessity, an absolute necessity of legitimate defense to aim in the Adriatic at a balance of power which will compensate us for the unfavorable configuration of our eastern shore line."

The upshot of the deplorable and often fastidious negotiations of the Allies with the faithless kings of the Balkans had thus been to afford Italy one more opportunity for the triumph of her national policies. With quick resolution she seized the event. She signed the Pact of London, promising not to make peace separately during the present war. . . . But she signed it for compensations of the most characteristic "sacred egoism" sort. She became the ally of the Allies, but she took Albania.

ITALY AND MONTENEGRO

Alas, she had forgotten beforehand to take Cattaro, and the result has been seen—the loss of one of her best friends in Europe and of one of the corner-stones of Italian continental policy, Montenegro. Yet, when the Austrian forces that had just scaled the heights of the Black Mountain and driven King Nicholas from his capital, Cettinge, plunged southward through Scutari along the Montenegrin coast-line into Albania, they were, after all, only applying somewhat belatedly the spirit of the Treaty of Berlin in so far as it concerned the Montenegrin region;

and if Italian public opinion thereby received a painful shock, this was partially because it had been misinformed, or inadequately informed, by the Italian Government as to the exact international status of the Adriatic question. As a matter of fact what Austria really did when she captured Scutari and Antivari, and marched on Durazzo, was to interpret Clause 29 of the Berlin Treaty in a somewhat unexpectedly high-handed fashion. At the same time she tore up a very important but little known agreement that she had made with Italy in 1909—an agreement that had virtually nullified all the advantages that the Treaty of Berlin possessed for Austria as regards the Eastern Adriatic. Clause 29 of the Treaty in question declared, indeed, that Montenegro should be called upon to "come to terms with Austria-Hungary as to the right of constructing and maintaining a route and a railway across the new Montenegrin territory"; and by the same treaty Italy had beheld closed against her all the Adriatic doors of the Balkans. The port of Antivari was given to Montenegro and all Montenegrin waters were shut to the war vessels of the nations, yet the maritime policing of the Montenegrin coast-line was handed over to Austria, and Austria—not Italy—was permitted to "accord her consular protection to the Montenegrin merchant flag."

This state of things, so humiliating for Italy, remained for thirty-one years the law of the Adriatic. In March, 1909, when Austria raised the question of the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Signor Tittoni, who was then Italian Foreign Minister, seized the opportunity thus presented in order to alter this situation.

Germany had induced Paris, London, and St. Petersburg to acquiesce in the infringement of the Treaty of Berlin. Italy alone objected. Signor Tittoni insisted that Italy's acquiescence in Austria's action in Bosnia and Herzegovina must be subordinated to the previous fulfilment by Austria-Hungary of her promise relative to the freedom of Montenegrin waters. Italy won her point. On March 22d Count d'Aehrenthal informed the Powers that Austria-Hungary renounced her rights as defined by Clause 29 of the Treaty of Berlin, "in conformity with an agreement concluded between the Government of Vienna and that of Rome." Thus in this operation, in which Italy made for the first time effective application of Clause 7 of the Treaty of the Triple Alliance, obliging the partners to that pact to concert in case of any projected modification of the *status quo* in the Balkans, Rome not only advanced her project of ejecting Austria from the Adriatic, but also affirmed her independence as a member of the Triple Alliance, and likewise prepared the way for the definitive escape from that Alliance which she finally accomplished in the spring of 1915, when she denounced her treaty with the Central Powers and declared war against Austria.

UNITY OF ACTION AT LAST

Nevertheless, the fall of Montenegro was for the Italian people a severe blow. They began to ask themselves if the Pact of London was sufficient. They saw at last that what they had called "our war" was, after all, part of the "one-and-only" World War. The scales fell from their eyes. "Give us unity of action!" they cried; "Let us hang together to the end!" In fact, the revelation, as has been seen, was becoming general; it was not confined to Italy, but for Italy it was particularly dazzling.

Now, at last, before the evidence of facts there was no longer any time for academic debate of the question that had so deeply harassed the Consulta before the war: "Whom must we most dread, the Pan-Germans or the Southern Slavs?" Italy now perceived that she had been ill-advised in the spring of 1915, to haggle so insistently with the Triple Entente over the destiny of that portion of the Adriatic coast-line coveted by the Southern Slavs. She had compelled France and England and Russia to force Serbia and the Croats and the Montenegrins to sacrifice to her their main outlets to the sea. Would not a more enlightened self-interest have led her, in the spring of 1915, to encourage the Allies to despatch to the Danube two or three hundred thousand soldiers, in order to help the Serbs in a vigorous

offensive against the Austrians, while Russia was still in the Carpathians, and while Bulgaria still hesitated? If she had acted with this foresight; if, that is, so acting, the Allies had heeded her—though the Allies, as I have shown, had hardened their hearts to any appeal seeking to distract them from their dream of reviving a Balkan Confederation—Mackensen's terrible drive in Russia would have been prevented and the Tsar of the Bulgars would never have betrayed the cause of the Slavs. But now the Italians perceived that, contrary to the proverb, bygones are never bygones, that the womb of Time is big with bygones that are bound sooner or later to come to maturity. The Italians had annexed Albania on paper; they were even at Avlona, and in the hinterland. But the Greek Parliament was cheering to the echo the "deputies of North Epirus"—*Southern Albania*—finally granted the honors of admission to that body, notwithstanding the veto of the Great Powers at the Conference of London, and Austria was almost at Durazzo. King Nicholas was saying his prayers at La Fourvière in Lyons. The Serbian army was in Corfu. Bulgaria was making for the Adriatic coastline. William and Ferdinand were drinking to the health of Constantine the Great at Nish. What more natural than that an Italian Minister, Signor Martini, should be commissioned to seize this series of events in order to go to Florence and to announce that Italy would continue the war "until, safe within her sea, she possessed the frontier that Dante had traced."

> . . . . *Pola, presso del Quarnero,*
> *Che Italia chiude e suoi termini bagna.*

("Pola, near the Quarnero, which closes Italy and bathes her frontiers.") If, in the early springtime of 1915, Dante had been taken as an arbiter in the dispute between Italy, the Triple Entente, and the Southern Slavs, the course of events would have been far different. Only a few months before this significant utterance Italy had claimed a third of the shore-line of the Adriatic! On February 9, 1916, the French Prime Minister, M. Briand, left Paris for Rome and the Italian front, on a visit to the people and Government of Italy and to Italy's King. Simultaneously with the arrival of the French Prime Minister in Rome, the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* published a decree prohibiting the exportation of German products into Italy: Italy had bolted the portals of the St. Gothard. On the evening of the 12th, the Rome newspapers contained an official note stating that a conference had been held that morning between the French Prime Minister, M. Briand, M. Bourgeois, Minister of State, M. Barrère, the French Ambassador, and the Italian Ministers, Signors Salandra and Sonnino. At that conference an agreement had been reached "as to the necessity of a closer coördination of the efforts of the Allies, with a view to securing a perfect unity of action and to convening in Paris as soon as possible a Conference of the Allies." "The labors of this Conference," continued the Note, "will be preceded by a preliminary reunion of the General Staffs." At noon on the same day, in the great hall of the Villa Umberto, the Ministers already named and the Ambassadors of the four Powers that had signed with Italy the solemn Pact of London sat down to a memorable banquet. At the close of the banquet, Signor Salandra rose and declared amid cheers that "the two sister nations had rediscovered (sic) one another," and he added: "The efforts of the Allied Governments, acting in wise concert both in the political and in the military spheres, are supported by the enthusiasm of their peoples, whose determination to win is bound to shatter all obstacles." M. Briand replied: "Among our enemies the coördination of effort is dictated and imposed by their very geographical conditions. In the camp of the Allies such coördination could only be the result of a higher inspiration and of a deliberate will, conscious of its duties in the service of the noblest of ideals."

Evidently, "Sacred Union" had acquired a new sense and had found its "confessor." Time and the Force of Things had done their work. International Union was now the watchword. . . . One more turn of the screw and Italy would be at war with Germany.

WHY I BELIEVE IN HIGH WAGES

SOUND BUSINESS POLICY OF PAYING EMPLOYEES AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE—THE FECT ON THE HEALTH, SPIRITS, AND PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY OF THE WORKERS

BY

JAMES COUZENS

NCE we see in the relation of capital to labor the relation of man to man, and see it clearly, we can approach our labor prob- intelligently. The human element or is by far the most important in ess and industry—and usually the o be considered. Most employers of everything else first. They go at pains to select a proper location heir factory or their store. They l the best modern machinery and ment. They endeavor to make sure nple capital for operation. They le abundant supplies of material. arrange for adequate transportation ies. They study their market. For things they will hire experienced and priced managers and advisers; they even spend money on what they call ncy. Then they will announce that have so many "jobs" open for any- who wants them at such-and-such a f pay; and from that day on their yees mean no more to them than a n number of "hands" whose exist- s human beings is remembered only gh the periodical necessity of signing roll. But if they employ horses will insist that the horses be kept in working condition.

s a hopeful sign that more and more yers, hitherto apparently indifferent needs, feelings, health, and happiness ir men, are manifesting an interest lfare work. They are contributing liberally to charities, some of which, oxical as it is, may be called upon re for their own workmen or their nen's families; they are financing promoting welfare organizations in own plants; they are making im- ments in factory conditions; if statistics are worth anything, the income of the average wage-earner is steadily rising. But all this is only a beginning of what industry and business should and can and will, I believe, eventually do by way of combating poverty and ameliorating social unrest. It is not charity that is needed to make self-supporting and self-respecting citizens: it is work and a living wage.

What is a living wage? It certainly is not determined by the fact that the average laborer used to get less than he gets now, encouraging though that may seem to be. It is not the average wage that counts with the individual workman; it is what he, as an individual, actually receives. What is his "bit"? If it is not enough to provide properly for his wife and family and give them some of the comforts of life it ought to be, and we may expect to hear from him until it is. Sometimes when I look at the palace of a merchant prince or an industrial magnate whose employees are living within reaching distance of the bread line I wonder that we do not hear about it much more frequently than we do.

I am not talking pure philanthropy now, good as that is, nor even justice, good as that is. I am talking sound business as I understand it. It is my experience that it pays to pay good wages. It pays because a workman is a human being and will work harder to make a high wage than a low one. We have proved that in the Ford Motor Company. We have done more business and made larger profits while paying our employees five dollars a day or more than we ever did in the days of lower wages.

At this point, of course, I meet the usual criticism that "everybody cannot do what the Ford company does." I am quite aware of that fact and quite as insistent

on my argument. I am not arguing that every employer should pay a five-dollar-a-day wage. I am not attempting to prescribe any stated wage for all employers to pay or for any individual employer to pay. I am simply arguing that as a general rule in any well organized plant, the higher the wages paid the better the work is bound to be—better in quality of product and better in volume of production. The employer who assumes that he can get the best possible service from his employees by paying the lowest wage they will work for is unquestionably right in his theory that every man who sells his service should render his employer the best service he can; but that employer neglects the all-important human element in labor. The employee may actually do his best; but if he is not in good health, if some member of his family is ill, if his mind and his nerves are distraught with any one of a thousand anxieties incident to comparative penury, he cannot do his best no matter how he tries. Men with any sense of service or responsibility to duty are simply not built otherwise. Or the employee may be free of all anxiety, he may think he is doing an honest day's work, he may be earning all his employer expects him to earn for his wage, and still he may not be producing the best that is in him. He needs an incentive to freshen his interest and arouse his ambition. That is the human element in labor, too. You can drive a horse or you can speed up a machine, but if you are going to get the best possible service from a wage worker you must remember he is a man and treat him as a man. That is why no concern ever shared its profits with a horse or a machine, but only with its men.

And yet, when I argue that employers should pay their employees as liberally as is reasonably possible, I am told that if the more successful employers in any line of manufacture or merchandising were to pay such wages as they could afford to pay, some employees would be getting more than other employees in the same line of work. This, we hear, would amount to injustice. The labor market would be so disturbed that our whole industrial system would be knocked out of gear. I confess I am not very much alarmed about our industrial system on that score—else I might be worried over the equal injustice of paying larger returns to capital from some factories than from others in the same line of production. I am more alarmed about an industrial system that fails to protect the man engaged in it against want, temporary or permanent, against unemployment, against sickness, or against old age. That is the kind of an industrial system that breeds discontent and unhappiness and strikes and all manner of wasteful wars between capital and labor. We were not always able to pay five dollars a day in the Ford company, but from the day we began business we always paid better than the prevailing wage for automobile workers, and during my thirteen years as general manager we never encountered a serious strike.

DO HIGHER WAGES FOMENT TROUBLE?

To this policy another objection is raised. We are told that it is unfair to other manufacturers who are desirous of conducting a legitimate business for any concern to pay such high wages as to create discontent and foment labor trouble in other factories that cannot pay as well. We are told that the workingman is inclined to believe that if one concern can pay more another can, and that he will always be dissatisfied with the employer who does not pay the highest wage. Detroit employers can testify that no such misgivings have been justified in Detroit, despite two years of Ford wages; and it seems to me that the employer who advances that objection is over-rating the importance of his own welfare and underrating the intelligence of the workingman. The workingman will soon learn, if he does not already know, whether his employer is giving him a square deal or not; and the workingman who knows he is getting a square deal from his employer is not likely to make trouble for him. As for the employer, it is up to him to meet competition in wages as in everything else, and if he cannot survive on that basis the sooner he goes out of business the better for himself, for his employees, for his community, and for his country.

e is no law of God or man by which hant or manufacturer is guaranteed ion against his own incapacity. is nothing sacrosanct about manu- ıg or merchandising. There is ın any way of knowing beforehand r a man is endowed with the talents ry to engage in any business. We ninimum standard for doctors and ; and dentists and teachers before nit them to practise. In Michigan) insist that nurses, opticians, ac- ıts, veterinarians, and barbers shall ıtrate their qualifications before re let loose on the public. Many ı turn out to be failures, too, despite training; yet nobody thinks of ng their successful competitors. ı the ambitious aspirant in the field ness, however, the state does not l any demonstration of qualifica- t all, and for the very good reason ere does not seem to be any way of t. If he has sufficient capital to rith, or an influential relative to n in a commanding position, he is l to practise. Why his competitors be asked to worry about his suc- something I am quite unable to and. He fails, as a matter of fact, ften than he succeeds, and if the vaited for the derelicts to raise the d of wages it would be a long wait. r from it being in any degree wrong merchant or manufacturer to raise ges of his own employees to any e sees fit, it is essentially right. To ıt there shall be no wider distri- of wealth among wage earners than have until such time as the general wages in all industry can be raised y to postpone action and encourage etence. There is a simpler process hat. Let all employers who are) raise wages raise them. The vill be that other employers will be ed to meet the raise, or retire in f somebody who knows how, and ial unrest will begin to disappear. s with the idea of doing our part to ıe problem of industrial unrest as of improving our business that we hed, two years ago, the five-dollar- vage in the Ford company for all employees who had been with us six months or more. We believed that in this way we would not only intensify the interest of our employees in their work, increase the efficiency of the plant, and spread the doctrine of high wages, but we would also benefit to a large extent commercially by the wide publicity which such an unusual programme would bring us. Our experience during the last two years has fully justified our judgment both in efficiency and publicity.

THE BLINDNESS OF SELFISHNESS

I said I was not talking pure philanthropy in arguing for high wages. But obviously the man whose soul is darkened by selfishness or class prejudice cannot grasp this vision of the new day of industry. For instance, a friend of mine with extraordinary skill in factory management was endeavoring to reduce the cost of converting a ton of water into steam. He bought the most modern machinery for the purpose. He analyzed his problem in the most scientific way. He brought into play every atom of knowledge he possessed, and he secured a substantial saving in the production of steam. But he still felt that the cost ought to be lower. So he told the men in the boiler room that he would split "fifty-fifty" with them on all they saved below the minimum cost he had reached. The first year they cut expense $32,000 below his minimum, and he divided $16,000 among them. I was telling this story to another manufacturer, and his first remark was, "But how long does he have to keep giving them that money?"

What he lacked, you see, was heart action. He could understand the science of it, and the good business policy involved, but he could not appreciate the philosophy of separating himself from half the money the men had saved, and which nobody else in the plant could have saved, and which the men themselves did not know they could save until they found themselves partners in the firm.

For the employer who is doing his best for his men and can do no more I have nothing but sympathy. There is no more disgrace in failing as a manufacturer or

merchant than in failing as a musician, a blacksmith, a writer, or anything else. Failure is only an indication that, if you have done your best, you are a misfit. There is no rule of thumb by which all employers in all lines may guarantee themselves success in their relations with their men any more than there is any hard and fast rule by which they may guide themselves to financial success. Legislation cannot do it. Legislation is only a clumsy and usually ineffective substitute for wisdom in these things. The futility of relying on some new law to correct every human ill is pretty generally recognized. What we have in our hearts counts for more than anything we can put on the statute books. Every employer must work out his own salvation. But since there is competition among workingmen for the best jobs, he cannot object if there is competition among employers for the best workingmen. And that employer will have the best workingmen who accords his workingmen the best treatment, provided always that the added efficiency of the workingmen is not diminished or nullified by unwise or improvident management in other respects.

BETTER TREATMENT, BETTER WORKMEN

I do not mean that it is necessary or desirable for any employer to increase wages merely for the purpose of raiding the plants of his competitors and securing the most productive workers. When the Ford company put its minimum wage up to five dollars a day, it did not discharge a single man, nor did it take men away from other shops. I mean that any employer can, and should, improve the standard of his employees by treating them more like human beings than like machines, thus reviving something of the spirit of coöperation and friendliness and mutual loyalty that began to disappear with the creation of great corporations. So long as it can be said that "a corporation has no soul" we need not look for any more "soul" quality in the factory than in the head office. The corporation that treats every employee as if he were an individual and an entity instead of a number will soon find that it has a soul, and can do things which its less intelligent competitor cannot do. Instead of constant strife from its employees, it will find loyalty and, if need be, sacrifice.

Such a corporation will see that the sick wife or ailing child of an employee will have proper medical attendance, though it would do much better by paying the employee wages that will enable him to secure proper medical attendance himself. Such a corporation will not let an employee lie ill at home for weeks without seeing that he is cared for, if for no other reason than that a trained worker is a better asset than a "green" hand. Such a corporation will not throw an unsatisfactory worker into the street without trying to find some place in its organization where he will be useful, if for no other reason than that his weaknesses are better known than a newcomer's. Such a corporation will help reclaim the world's unfortunates and delinquents by giving them a chance—97 per cent. of the ex-convicts employed by the Ford company have made good, though 45 per cent. of them required a good deal of attention and patience. Such a corporation will even find some way of caring for its share of the world's incompetents, for Society must care for them anyhow and must add to the corporation's tax roll if provision is not made for them on the pay roll. But these things are not likely to happen in any plant without heart action behind them. Where they are inspired by dollars and cents alone, the human spirit is missing and their effect is discounted. System alone is not enough in any kind of dealing with human beings.

POVERTY THE GREATEST ENEMY

See what an opportunity is open to the American employer. Is it too much to say that the future of the United States lies entirely in his hands? Gorgas, prince of sanitarians, warns us that "poverty is, after all, the greatest enemy to the health and well-being of the human race," and points to the remedy:

> All increase of wages tends directly toward the decrease of poverty, and therefore to the improvement of health conditions. . . . After we have once corrected our social con-

; so that we all get natural wages, the g poverty of the higher civilizations will ıtly alleviated.

ıt is the answer to the labor agitator demands that the trade union shall control of business for the benefit of wage workers. The wage worker only for self-preservation, which is rst law of Nature, and if his welfare ured in terms even more liberal than ks he will have nothing to fight about. bor union ever came into being until borer saw danger ahead.

r need any employer confuse himself a definition of "natural wages." ows what it costs for a man to live upport a family or other dependents and to keep them in good health. Let him provide for that at least as solicitously as he provides for every other element in his business, and let him share with every man as much more as he earns, not forgetting that success as an employer comes from the heart as well as from the head.

There is play enough in such a programme for our vaunted American initiative and enterprise. The weak employer will go to the wall, as he should; and the battle will be to the strong, as it should be; and the follies of Socialism and the terrors of anarchy will fade away in an industrial system that guarantees to every man, rich or poor, a fair field and a square deal.

"WE DEMAND"

II. SOFT COAL, WAGES, AND THE PUBLIC

THE BITUMINOUS MINERS WORK AND LIVE, AND WHY THEY PERIODICALLY ASK FOR RE PAY—THE PUBLIC'S INTEREST IN THE CHRONIC UNREST IN THE COAL FIELDS

BY

GUY W. McCONNELL

ast month Mr. McConnell's article on conditions in the anthracite fields was published in the D'S WORK. *At that time the same threat of a big strike hung over the bituminous fields—a threat repeated every few years and that as regularly paralyzes local business, affects business somewhat r the country, and ends in a rise in wages and in the price of coal. The public interest enters nd Mr. McConnell's article is an attempt to analyze the conditions at the mines that cause this : unrest.*—THE EDITORS.

ONE night last March, about the natural-gas grate in the Pantall Hotel, in the bituminous coal-mining town of Punxsutawney, a number of ing salesmen were loafing in a group, ıanging heavily upon their hands.

ɔ-night, all over the soft-coal field," the missionary of the big tobacco ıny whose new brand we were smok- ɔ the man selling baby carriages, ı here in western Pennsylvania down st Virginia and from western Maryut to Illinois, there are 10,000 fellows same position as ourselves, tied up els, twirling their thumbs."

"Business bad?" I ventured to inquire.

"Uncertain," replied the Victrola record agent. "Down in New York right now the usual biennial wage scale conference is on between the Association of Bituminous Coal Operators and the United Mine Workers of America. Until our trade knows whether it's going to be strike, wage concession, or nothing at all, they won't buy stock."

We all turned as a case beer distributor from Pittsburg hurried in from the street. "News!" he cried. "The night telegraph operator at the station has an Associated Press report from the New York conference. On the first of April the soft coal

miners will get a wage increase. At least 5 per cent. This affects 350,000 men. Hurrah! Everybody's happy, now!"

"Everybody?" queried an observer with irony, as the group broke up, each salesman seeking a blank on which to wire his house that trade soon would be elastic once more. "How about the fellow who fires his boiler with steam coal? He must pay the price!"

"In 1915, about 430,000,000 short tons of soft coal were mined," the district secretary of the operators' association had said, in conversation with me earlier in the day. "Compliance with union demands will run up the cost of this coal at the mines easily 25 cents a ton, including the expense of new mining equipment made necessary by a 'mine-run basis' of wage payment, together with about 5 cents a ton for insurance under the new workmen's compensation law. Our 1916 labor bills alone will be advanced not less than $10,000,000."

Now the official announcement of President White of the coal workers' union declares: "All my people demand is a chance to live in decency, comfort, and security. The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that a man cannot support his family and do this for less than $750 a year."

This is his statement, notwithstanding that under the working agreement which expired at the end of March the "full working year" wages of even a day laborer in the soft-coal industry amounted to $789.36.

Therefore, what is really the financial problem of these wardens of the Nation's commercial and industrial heat, which every so often is flung at the coal user for solution by burdening the operating expense of his own business with advanced coal prices?

"UNIONISM" NOT SOLID

In the anthracite field, the problem of the miner at work, in all disputes, is solved by a court of last resort, composed of operators, miners, and a neutral umpire. But in the soft-coal fields there is no such general "Board of Conciliation." Each mining company, frequently each of the different mines of one corporation, and the workers in its employ ordinarily battle out their troubles among themselves.

Although there are twice as many soft- as hard-coal workers, there is a varying degree of union interest among them, solid in some sections, weak in others, and divided elsewhere.

Instead, therefore, of one element of labor, as in the anthracite field, here I found, in seeking to comprehend the story, that unionism is not solid even in so-called "union" mines; that many of the largest operations are in distinctly "non-union" mines; and that even in these times, when the cry of labor shortage is heard everywhere, the small, neutral operator gets all the "help" he needs, and at his own figure, too.

THE CHANGING CONDITIONS

If the individual operator were a leading element in the soft-coal industry, my investigation would not have been made. He is not. Every year sees his type dwindling, humanly yielding to the temptation to turn a neat bargain with his virgin property in a mining land deal with the powerful coal mining companies. Gradually he is being eliminated from the industrial factions, until to-day 75 per cent. of our bituminous coal is mined by large aggregations of concerted capital in whose hands rest the fortunes of the worker.

Thus, the pleasant labor conditions of yesterday in the individually owned mines may to-morrow have undergone a radical change, dependent entirely upon the operating policy of the incoming management.

"How, then, is the social condition of the wage earner affected by these constantly shifting ownership deals?" I asked a prominent lawyer in Du Bois, who for many years has practised for both sides.

"He gets more pay," was the answer. "Even those big interests which refuse to recognize the union pay the union scale. In these parts, this is 72 cents a ton against from 45 cents to 60 cents paid by the small owner, according to his ability to haggle with the applicant for a job."

"Why, in view of this, is he so badly in need of this recently awarded wage advance?" I inquired.

After a slight hesitation, the lawyer re-

'One reason—to equalize loss of
e to idleness."
because of car shortage?" I queried.
always. When the demand for
s off, the mines shut down."
public wants a better excuse than
f those, in these busy times, when
e running full all over the country,"
n return for that.
n let the public find some way to
up local strikes"! he retorted.
would do more to keep these men
employed than anything else I

ERAL" AND "DISTRICT" STRIKES

eral" strikes and "district" strikes
is true, in recent years been few
soft-coal fields, thanks to the re-
g influence of the heads of the
I union body. But there is a seri-
ammatory disturbance every now
n at this or that mine which affects
le social structure.
cause? "Outrageous union de-
" was the hot declaration of the
tendent of one of the Berwind-
collieries in lower Pennsylvania, in
ome I visited over a Sunday. For
time the mines of this company in
localities were infested with ambi-
nion organizers whose oratory and
-heart talks were inciting the new
n of rebellion in the sensitive minds
mmigrants new in the country to
the gold in the coal lured them.
lisaffection in one part of a mine
like disease to all others.
e and again, when we had rush
o fill, and plenty of cars standing
the sidings," said my friend, the
tendent, "these interruptions over
details would cause us to lose
ds of dollars a day and the waiting
er to damn the coal companies and
oads and to threaten, through their
ngressmen, a federal investigation
'coal trust'!"
ly, this company, not long since,
union situation into its own hands,
ily notifying its mine officials to
all rails, take out the engines, and
e plants down tight!" It was in
d of winter. Christmas, with its financial drains, was approaching. After much parley, the older heads among the mine workers prevailed. That one idle month cost the wage earners about $20,000 at each of the mines, and it resulted in unionism being exterminated. The union body is entirely ignored by this and many other big coal companies, for reasons similar to those described, while union men may receive employment. They pay what wages they please, not less than the union scale, often more if the man seeking a job looks like an asset for the place.

These little strikes, of which the general public hears little or nothing at all, popping up now in this section, now in that, have, indeed, absorbed no small percentage of the mine workers' pay, so that by the time he gets out of the financial difficulty into which he is thrown during the "settlement" his clamor for more money is of necessity.

IGNORANT FOREIGN LABOR ROBBED

"Admitting this as true," said a union miner to me, over in the Indiana district, "we've had to get even with the grafters in the coal companies who have drained our ignorant foreign classes of large sums of wage money."

"Grafters—what sort of graft?" I queried.

"Have you ever heard of mine foremen selling jobs at so much per to new men?" he asked, in bitterness, adding explosively, "and the Court legalizing such extortion too!"

It is true. This thing came out openly in the anthracite field, only a few weeks before, in the County of Luzerne; and I found that it has been practised among the bituminous men, also, despite the effort of the companies to "shield" or "eradicate" the cause.

This species of graft has cropped out in other ways which deplete the earnings of these miners. The mine-working element coming to this land of the free householder is an easy mark for speculative "under" officials of the mines or the company storekeepers, or their John Doe lieutenant, a community "promoter." Differing from the anthracite groups, where the mines are actually in and down under the surface of the ground on which rests the town where

the miners live, bituminous coal is dug out from under the crest and sides of hills and rolling plateaus in "spots," some wider and more "fertile" than others, throughout the mineral districts. Around these "spots" the "settlement" is built. Sometimes this happens to be on the edge of a town which, topographically adapted, becomes a thriving commercial centre. More often, however, the mines and miners' homes are several miles beyond the community proper, which may be pivotal to a number of collieries. In the intervening open country, many real estate schemes have been perpetrated upon the home-seeking foreigners for some of whom there might be insufficient "company" housing facilities.

THE REAL ESTATE GRAFTERS

One afternoon, some little while past, on a Saturday holiday, there was observed a trio staking an open plot in the neighborhood of the Knoxville plant, two spectators, a Hungarian and his wife, excitedly looking on. In a few minutes the deal was closed for a cash-down payment of $25 and a written agreement to pay bi-monthly instalments of $10. The John Hopf family were the dazed and elated possessors of their first American investment, where, when all paid for, a house would be erected and their hearthstone of civilization laid.

John was a five-ton-a-day pick miner on a 60-cent scale. For some time, regularly, his wages were good, so he did not default in his realty payments. He had a dry working-place, in fact as many places as he could work. Something, meanwhile, in the family financing made it impossible on one occasion for John to pay up to the real estate dealers. Immediately he was shifted to a wet and tough portion of the mine where almost insurmountable physical conditions reduced his production, and consequently his wages ran lower. Further settlement upon the property purchased was now impossible. It reverted, according to the understanding, to the original holders.

Favoritism in working space applies also to the family man miner who buys liberally from the "company store" which, now disappearing in the hard-coal country, thrives and flourishes in the scattered isolation of the soft-coal settlements. Company store extortion in a way has been curtailed by the union, which in many soft-coal states has forced laws through the legislatures prohibiting coal companies from holding up more than two weeks of a worker's pay. But let the dealings at the store drop off! The mine worker hears of it at the mine when the foreman shifts him, "of necessity of course," to one of the less desirable "banks."

"You must certainly know of these impositions upon your working people for which the public ultimately pays through repeated wage advances," I said boldly to the president of one of the largest operating companies in the country.

"We both know and deplore," said he frankly and seriously. "Every case brought to our attention is made a severe example to our entire management force. These are some of the reasons why, in the operation of my industries, I 'recognize' the union, with whom we coöperate constantly in wiping these practices out."

"The grafter is always with us," say the clergy, itinerants to be met on horseback here and there about; "the foreigner is a child—to be educated."

"By the time he becomes practical," moralizes the broader minded union official, "he either goes back to the old country to stay—rich, according to his idea of wealth—or, recently, he has been called back to fight in the war."

"How about our native labor—where has it gone to?" I asked a grizzly veteran.

"To easier and less hazardous trades," he replied; "and our sons are too good to work in the mines!"

Thus are the conditions among these coal workers, indispensable as they are to the life and welfare of the Nation, whether they work on a "tonnage" basis or by the "car"; whether "contractors" or "per diem" men. Regardless of compensation for eight hours or longer, making so much less or so much more and eager to develop socially and adopt native customs, they, like their deeper digging brothers in the anthracite soil, seem to be little better off to-day than when the bow of their immigrant ship sailed into port, under the beaming eye of the Goddess of Liberty. What,

Courtesy of the National Child Labor Committee

THE ENTRANCE TO A SOFT-COAL MINE

In many bituminous mines the coal is dug out from under the crest and sides of hills and from rolling plateaus, and is much nearer the surface than is anthracite

AN ENTRANCE THROUGH A SHAFT

This is the usual form of entrance to anthracite mines, but is less common in the soft-coal region. This difference is only one of dozens of differences in conditions of work in the two kinds of coal fields that are reflected in differences in the demands made by the labor unions

AT THE TOP OF A MINE

Although there are twice as many soft- as hard-coal workers, the unions among the former are by no means as strong as among the latter

Courtesy of the National Child Labor Committee

AT THE BOTTOM OF A MINE

Under the small independent mine owners the workers generally receive better treatment, though often less pay, work under better conditions, and are more contented than in the collieries of big companies

IN THE HEART OF A COAL MINE

Courtesy of the National Child Labor Committee

In the anthracite-coal fields disputes are settled by a "Board of Conciliation" composed of representatives of the operators and of the mine workers and a neutral umpire. But in the soft-coal regions the individual company and its employees battle out their troubles among themselves

Courtesy of the National Child Labor Committee

LOADING COAL AT A SMALL MINE

The soft-coal miners have heretofore been paid for every ton of actual coal mined, as determined after dirt and rocks have been sieved out of it. This method of payment was a long-standing grievance to the miners

LOADING COAL AT A LARGE MINE

The soft-coal miner prefers payment by "mine run," that is, per carload of material mined, regardless of the amount of actual coal contained in a car. A similar rule is in force in the anthracite regions

MINERS' HOMES

The soft-coal companies, as a rule, erect tenements for the mine workers which rent for from $7 to $9 a month. Many companies also maintain endowed schools for the miners' wives and children

therefore, may the public expect to hear of these dependents in the future?

Here, in the concluding pages of the picture, may be afforded some relief from the shadows in the story of the past.

For one thing, the future of the mining industry every year depends less upon man labor. Not long ago, the old time method of undercutting the coal by pick and wedge was universal, about five tons a day being a fair day's job, regardless of working-hour restrictions, the incision being about

A BITUMINOUS MINING TOWN

Unlike anthracite mining towns, which are generally built on the land over the mine itself, the soft-coal village may be located at some distance from the mine. This condition creates a different social situation in the two regions, affecting especially such questions as the "company store"

Courtesy of *Coal Age*

DRILLING BY HAND

The old and slow method of mining coal which is being superseded by machine drilling. Machinery is making the mining industry every year less dependent upon man labor, and its use is one of the standing grievances of the miners

three feet; then came the compressed air pick or puncher, boring a four-and-one-half-foot hole, increasing the tonnage loosened by the one blast of powder; finally in many of the larger operations, in the heavy producing sections of West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and the Middle states, the electrical cutter, "sawing" a seven-foot hole, was introduced, making possible the cutting and scraping by two men of from seventy-five to one hundred tons a day, a loader being equal, under the eight-hour shift, to about ten tons.

This mining of the coal by machinery, a festering union sore, has greatly reduced the number of men needed, has largely increased the tonnage possibilities in a more limited length of working time, and its saving, over the older and more cumbersome methods, is about seven and one half cents a ton.

In mines where this operation has been brought up to date, as in the Adrian and Florence of the R. P. C. & I., where I landed on my first morning in these fields, man labor has been cut more than in half, so that here, in times of labor shortage for any cause—be it strike, restricted immigration, or what—paralysis in the industry need not necessarily follow.

At such collieries, too, the modernizing has not been entirely confined to the coal mine itself. Here, as in certain places in the hard-coal field, I found model tenements, renting from $7 to $9 to each family, where the social restraint is more likely to keep the pestiferous but necessary "boarder" from running away with the housewife—a custom ordinarily so prevalent in mining camps, and so disastrous to the hoarded savings of the bereft husband and to the moral atmosphere of the settlement generally. In many of the little cities adjacent to these plants, I found en-

Courtesy of the National Child Labor Committee

DRILLING COAL BY MACHINERY

By the use of this and other labor-saving methods, the amount of coal cut each day has increased in many mines from about five tons by one man to approximately one hundred tons by two

dowed schools in which the miner's wife and daughter may study the domestic sciences; and training schools for the young men and boys. There are many splendidly equipped hospitals with a "full" medical aid fund to which each mine worker contributes ten cents a month and, usually, a dollar a month for the physician who cares for all the members of his family without further cost.

"Social legislation" in the form of workmen's compensation insurance is now effective in all bituminous states, the first immediate effect of which has been a widespread "Safety First" movement, and, as a result, the figures for 1915 show that, compared with the previous year's record, one additional life to every 4,000 mine employees was saved.

"Saving lives to reduce compensation claims" is doubtless the motive behind this expensive "safety" campaign and, as usual, the union does not think that it goes far enough. A district convention which I attended near Pittsburg, in February, recommended that "a law be passed to safeguard the lives of practical miners against impractical miners being dumped into the country from all parts of Europe."

Perhaps of the 146 delegates representing 40,000 mine workers present at the time that resolution was adopted without discussion not one was from an isolated mine town near Charleston, W. Va., where, one evening, I curiously followed what seemed to be the entire mining population to the town hall to see what was going on within.

The hall was jammed to overflowing on the outside steps. It was to be a gala night for everybody. I crowded into the house as it suddenly grew dark and silent.

On the rude stage was a moving-picture panel, a lecturer with a pointer standing toward the left. Film after film, depicting the social and working life of the miner, was thrown on the screen, the interpreter des-

cribing, in various languages, important accident preventives. The ill effects of the saloon were revealed in a tragic picture story. The "good" husband, the "saving" wife, the little children going well clad to school, told a still different tale. Everything that the district convention desired to "law" about was there with telling simplicity understood and treasured by every spectator. And for once, union man and non-union man huddled close and tense, side by side on the rough benches in that hall, forgot that they were enemies and that they had grievances against the very company which was in this way teaching them the rudiments at least of how to be able and prosperous miners.

The following are to my mind the most significant outstanding facts in the bituminous coal situation:

1. The wage earner in the gradually passing "small" and "independent" mine is prosperous and contented;

2. Owing to shifting ownership conditions unionism is not uniformly solid. The mine is restless under its tutelage.

MINERS' WIVES

They are usually the bankers of the family and check the extravagances of their husbands. The mine worker is generally "hard up" because neither the union nor the company teaches him to spend his money to the best advantage

3. Even where unionism is dominant, "working evils" have kept the wage earner poor.

4. Only by closer coördination between capital and labor, regardless of unionism, possible through social legislation, can the social standard be raised.

5. The mine worker is hard up because neither the operator nor the union teaches him to spend his money wisely.

HENRY MORGENTHAU, DIPLOMAT

HIS REMARKABLE SUCCESS AS AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO CONSTANTINOPLE UNDER THE TRYING CONDITIONS OF THE WORLD WAR—THE JEWISH REPRESENTATIVE OF A CHRISTIAN NATION WHO WAS INVITED TO BECOME A CABINET MINISTER OF THE CHIEF INDEPENDENT MOSLEM POWER—HIS EXPERIENCES IN SAFEGUARDING CIVILIAN CITIZENS OF HOSTILE NATIONS IN TURKEY

BY

BURTON J. HENDRICK

AN ENGLISH cynic once described an ambassador as "an honest man, sent abroad to lie for the good of his country." The European war, which has upset many traditions, has demolished this one also. American "shirt sleeve" diplomacy, long the abomination of Europe, has abundantly justified itself by its results.

Fifty years ago a nine-year-old Jewish boy from Germany, poor and friendless, arrived at New York City. With his family, he proposed to tempt fortune in the United States. In February of the present year, this same immigrant boy, rich, successful, flattered by all the courts of Europe—now American Ambassador at Constantinople—sailed once more into New York Harbor. His arrival this time presented quite a contrast to that of fifty years ago. The leading citizens of New York organized a special committee to

AT THE AMERICAN CONSULATE IN JERUSALEM
The ladies in the picture are Mrs. Morgenthau and Miss Ruth Morgenthau

THE FUNERAL OF THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR IN CONSTANTINOPLE

The late Baron von Wangenheim, who died last October. Mr. Morgenthau (in civilian full dress) walking with Enver Pasha, the revolutionist who has been for the last few years the real ruler of Turkey

receive him. Americans came from all over the land to thank him for personal services to friends and relatives—usually for actually saving human life. All kinds of organizations, religious, commercial, philanthropic, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, kept him busy for the ensuing weeks with banquets and testimonials, vainly attempting to express their thankfulness and pride in his achievements. The State Department at Washington contains many documents from the foreign chancelleries describing in detail their poignant obligations. The House of Commons, in England, and the Chamber of Deputies, in France, have placed their thanks upon their public records; and the several colored state papers, white, green, or yellow, dealing with the situation in Constantinople, have made his diplomatic services part of the history of the Great War.

Yet Mr. Henry Morgenthau, who has added this brilliant chapter to American diplomacy, is a "shirt sleeve Ambassador." Not in a literal sense, indeed, for he is a gentleman of education and breeding, but in the sense in which the phrase implies directness, honesty, despatch, a refusal to beat about the bush, an avoid-

WITH MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL FAMILY
Mr. Morgenthau taking coffee with the Sultan's son-in-law (left) and a prince of the imperial family

AT THE FRENCH HOSPITAL IN CONSTANTINOPLE
This hospital was placed in the charge of the American Ambassador, with his wife as the active manager

IN THE AMERICAN WARD OF A TURKISH HOSPITAL
Throughout their stay in Constantinople, both Mr. and Mrs. Morgenthau have played an important rôle in all matters that pertain to the relief of war sufferers

ENTERTAINING UNITED STATES SAILORS
The crew of the *Scorpion*, an American naval ship stationed at Constantinople

AT THE GIRLS' COLLEGE IN CONSTANTINOPLE
Whose privileges Mr. Morgenthau retained, although the original intention of the Turkish Government was to close it. The group contains several Turkish girls unveiled

MR. MORGENTHAU AT HIS DESK

The American Embassy in Constantinople has been called the "Embassy of Embassies," as it has had the interests of nine nations in charge

THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN CONSTANTINOPLE

Mr. Morgenthau succeeded because he abandoned the traditional arts of the diplomat and applied plain American sense to problems of great difficulty. His work as Ambassador to Turkey is an example of "shirt sleeve diplomacy" at its best

IN ANCIENT PALESTINE

Mr. Morgenthau conversing with Samaritan high priests on Mount Gerizim, about twenty-seven miles north of Jerusalem

ON TOUR IN PALESTINE

When Mr. Morgenthau, at the invitation of the Turkish Government, studied the economic condition of the country and recommended ways and means of rebuilding its resources.

WITH THE EX-MINISTER OF COMMERCE
The Turks tried in vain to get Mr. Morgenthau to accept a place in their cabinet as Minister of Commerce and Agriculture

THE EX-ITALIAN AMBASSADOR TO TURKEY
One of the diplomats whom Mr. Morgenthau safely got out of Constantinople when Turkey entered the war

ance of tiresome indirection, a tendency to know what you want and a determination to get it. When appointed by President Wilson, Mr. Morgenthau knew nothing of traditional diplomacy. Protocols, *notes verbales*, precedents, *démarches*, *aides-mémoires*, and all the rest of the diplomatic jargon had never entered his consciousness. His main equipment was supreme common sense. He had knocked against the hard experiences of commercial life in New York and had fought his way from obscurity to great business success. That tells the diplomatic story. He had energy, adroitness in managing men, intelligence, and patriotic devotion to his country. He took this equipment and nothing more to Constantinople. From the first he regarded his job as a business operation. Like a good business man he studied it in all its details. Before going to the East, he visited the European capitals, calling upon the Turkish officials and generally familiarizing himself with the atmosphere of his duties. Too many American ambassadors have regarded their positions merely as social opportunities; a diplomatic post chiefly signifies dinners, receptions, associations with European society: Mr. Morgenthau regarded it chiefly as a place to work. This new conception, strangely enough, favorably impressed the Turks, whose diplomacy, for the last fifty years, has not distinguished itself by an absence of guile. Their country, however, had recently passed through devastating experiences. It had fought three wars in as many years, its finances were ruined, and its industries and agriculture were at a standstill. A general air of depression and hopelessness, therefore, everywhere prevailed. The Turkish statesmen, worn out by several centuries of European diplomacy, turned with relief to this sample of the American art. Here was a man who was not seeking political advantage—not planning the dismemberment of their country, not seeking to undermine the Turkish empire by a foreign loan or a railroad concession. He had no interest in training up a huge Turkish army which his own nation might subsequently use; the reconstruction of the Turkish navy, necessarily entailing contracts for battleships, did not arouse his particular enthusiasm. Here, however, was a country with an enormously rich territory and a half-starved population. That appealed to his American business sense. The Turkish officials, seeking a

out of their troubles—what they ted above all was five years of re- ration—appreciated his undiplomatic est and eagerly asked him for assist- and advice. At their suggestion he e a tour of Asiatic Turkey, and sub- ed a report on conditions and reforms. ey, he told the Government, occupied h the position of the American South- states after the Civil War; the process ejuvenation, like that which took in this country, must be slow and ful. He offered his assistance in in- ting the people, who then cultivated about 10 per cent. of their land, in rican agricultural methods; he would them to introduce American agri- ral machinery, he would even secure ooperation of American money. The s had never known an ambassador that. Mr. Morgenthau's recommen- ns delighted them.

OME JOIN THE TURKISH CABINET"

ey made him a proposition the like hich no diplomat, American or Euro- , had ever before received.

Come join the Turkish cabinet," the rs urged. "We will make you Min- of Commerce and Agriculture."

t Mr. Morgenthau mildly protested he was American Ambassador and no intention of resigning.

'ou can keep that place," they urged, don't object to that."

t the American declined. He had ntention of becoming Morgenthau a. This anecdote, however, largely ins his subsequent success. He laid asis of his usefulness, which was the al and matter-of-fact relations he lished with the ruling powers, in the that preceded the outbreak of war. ly a man whom the Turks themselves d to make a part of their Govern- would certainly enjoy unusual ad- ges in any crisis.

d the crisis certainly came. Many s have found their way to the United s describing Mr. Morgenthau's ods in handling the interests suddenly sted to him by Turkey's entrance into var. Most of them give a false im- ion. They portray an aggressive, militant American bursting in upon the Turkish officials, practically shaking his fists in their faces and threatening war unless his requests were complied with. This picture is entirely false. Mr. Morgenthau was energetic and insistent, but his was not the energy and the insistence of the bully. Realizing that the Turkish officials occupied a position even more difficult than his own, he assumed that they desired to behave justly and to do nothing that would outrage the sympathy of mankind. They had often told him that they admired America and that they aspired to win the good-will of the American people. Mr. Morgenthau, in a thousand delicate negotiations, played upon this cue. One story, which has gained wide circulation, relates that Mr. Morgenthau, on the day when the Turkish officials held up the train that was to take the English and French refugees from Constantinople, threatened to demand his passports. That is precisely the procedure that the American Ambassador did not adopt. The real story not only illustrates his straightforward and informal methods of diplomacy, but it is much more interesting than the current fiction.

HELPING THE REFUGEES

When the Turkish Government entered the war, Mr. Morgenthau found himself the protector of eight different peoples. His immediate problem was safely to get the enemy ambassadors and citizens out of Constantinople. The Government agreed to furnish two trains, one for the embassy staffs and one for the refugees. After some difficulty, the ambassadors and their suites got away. Suddenly, however, the Turkish Government held up the second train. The refugees, huddled together at the railroad station, suddenly learned that orders had been issued to give no more passports and not to honor those already issued. Apparently the Turks had decided to keep in their power the English, French, and other nationals suddenly caught in their capital by war. What they intended to do with their prisoners is not clear. Perhaps they intended to hold them as hostages, as guarantees of decent treatment for their own people in enemy

countries. Probably the Government had not decided this question itself and simply purposed to hold the refugees until it could reach some decision. But the moment was an exciting one for the people concerned; Constantinople, at that time, with a populace inflamed against the English and French, held all kinds of terrors. The refugees had abandoned their homes and learned nothing of this change of policy until they had gathered at the station, waiting for the train, where Mr. Morgenthau had gone to see them safely off. He immediately reassured the panicky crowds and made his way to the home of Talaat Bey, Minister of the Interior, the man who, with Enver Pasha, practically rules the Turkish Empire.

MR. MORGENTHAU AND TALAAT BEY

Mr. Morgenthau and Talaat were already excellent friends. Talaat's career, in many of its details, would remind an American of home, for he is a politician built much on the American plan. Like many of our statesmen, Talaat started life humbly; he was a telegraph operator in Adrianople, and rose, by native wit, energy, and forcefulness, to a position of dominance in Turkey. Mr. Morgenthau, by a mixture of sound advice and good humor, had already established the most informal relations with this Turkish leader. The two men could sit down, talk things over man to man, even laugh and joke—Mr. Morgenthau sometimes humorously referred to the fact that Talaat, besides being Secretary of the Interior, temporarily held three other portfolios. "Won't you intercede for me with the Minister of Marine?" he would ask—this functionary being Talaat himself. The American had also learned how to get along with Talaat in his more forbidding moods. Sometimes, when he visited this Turkish leader, he would find him sitting at his desk, with his wrists planted on the table, shouting "No! No!" almost before the American Ambassador could open his mouth. But Mr. Morgenthau would sit quietly at his side. "First of all, Your Excellency," he would begin, "please take those wrists off the table. They annoy me." Then the Minister's face would relax, he would burst into a loud laugh, and negotiable relations would be at once reëstablished. At other times Mr. Morgenthau, instead of calling in state, after the approved diplomatic fashion, would conduct his negotiations via telephone. Again, like a New York business man putting through an important deal, the Ambassador would invite the Minister to lunch. Both Talaat and Enver, the other strong man in the Duumvirate, enjoyed these new methods. "No man, Mr. Ambassador," Enver once remarked, "talks to me in so personal a way as you do. I am sure Emperor William has no one who can talk to him as you do to me."

This friendly intimacy had its advantages on this critical night. Mr. Morgenthau now went directly to the Minister's house. Talaat had retired, but Mr. Morgenthau was immediately shown his way to the bedchamber. For hours the representatives of two great nations, one clad in his pajamas, discussed the future of the foreign refugees. Talaat protested that they had not paid their taxes, but Mr. Morgenthau pushed this aside, saying that he would be responsible for any unpaid taxes.

But Mr. Morgenthau insisted on one fact. The Turkish Government had given its promise; what a mistake it would be to break such a promise at the start! He particularly emphasized the bad impression this would create in the United States. Finally the Minister gave way. In his room was the telegraph instrument with which he had once earned his living; in the delicate position of affairs in Turkey, Talaat prefers to do his own telegraphing! With Mr. Morgenthau sitting at his elbow, he called up his associate Enver and the Chief of Police, and made arrangements for the departure of the foreigners. They all got safely away next day.

AMERICAN BUSINESS IN DIPLOMACY

Mr. Morgenthau, insinuating and persuasive as he was, could become insistent and unyielding on occasion. His American business training had taught him to keep steadily on the job—not to accept promises for performances, but personally to see things through. Here, for example, is a

: suggestive not so much of traditional ıacy as of American business. Mr. genthau was one day sitting with at, discussing informally general mat- when Talaat's telephone rang. "It's ou, Mr. Ambassador," he said, hand- him the receiver. Mr. Morgenthau ed that friends of Sir Edwin Pears, of the most distinguished Englishmen urkey, had been scouring Constanti- : for the American Ambassador. Sir in, among other services, had first of all led the world, in 1876, by describing 'Bulgarian Atrocities" in the London *News*. The Turkish police, Mr. genthau now learned over the tele- e, had arrested Sir Edwin. But the man with whom Mr. Morgenthau then engaged, Talaat Bey, had ıised him that Sir Edwin Pears should ɔe disturbed. In his quick, impulsive Mr. Morgenthau turned to Talaat.

SAVING SIR EDWIN PEARS

'ou have violated your word of honor!" ıid. "You have arrested Sir Edwin s. I am going to have him out and him back in my motor car. You ged your word to me as Ambassador ıe United States, and I intend that to be respected."

dri Bey, the commissioner of police, sent for, and a lively conference took . Bedri agreed to release the Eng- ıan, on condition that he leave Con- inople, in forty-eight hours.

ıbsurd!" said Mr. Morgenthau, "I him now and I am going to take him me. I am going now to the American assy. If Sir Edwin Pears is not home quarter past six, I shall return and ll not leave this place until I have with me."

mping into his automobile, Mr. Mor- ıau rushed over to Pera, where he l Sir Edwin's daughter. "I am keep- ıy chauffeur ready," he told her. "I wait until 6:15 precisely, and, unless ıave telephoned me by that time that father is safely home, I shall drive and get him myself."

five minutes past six, Mr. Morgen- s telephone rang. Miss Pears in- ɔd him that her father had just arrived.

The telephone played an important part in this rescue as it did in many others. And the mere fact that Mr. Morgenthau had a telephone emphasized that he was an ambassador of a novel kind. When he reached Constantinople, only the Turkish officials had telephones—the Government had never consented to their general use. But how can an up-to-date American exist without a telephone? Mr. Morgenthau succeeded in getting telephones into the Embassy, and the innovation became general. One night, soon after Turkey's entrance into the war, the legal adviser to the American Embassy, Mr. Schmavonian, called up the Ambassador. "My telephone is in!" he exclaimed delightedly—a timely bit of enthusiasm which had an important bearing upon the events of the next day.

THE FRENCH NUNS

Mrs. Morgenthau awoke early and told her husband that she had a feeling, or presentiment, that things were not going well with the French nuns. "That's strange," he said, "I have had that same idea myself. Let's go up and see if anything is wrong." These French nuns had for years conducted a girls' school on the Cathedral grounds. As French women and enemies they now had no rights in Turkey, and they had in charge nearly a hundred girls, whose position was likewise precarious. The crisis had arrived on the very morning when Mr. and Mrs. Morgenthau, guided apparently by a happy instinct, reached the building. Six Turkish policemen had just taken possession, had put all the children into the street, and forced all the nuns into two rooms. The intention was to force the nuns to leave immediately and to take possession of the property. Mr. Morgenthau at once set to work on the telephone. He called up Mr. Schmavonian, who soon came over with the chief of police, Bedri Bey. Another telephone located Talaat Bey just as he was having his morning massage. Mr. Morgenthau spent two hours arguing with Bedri, locating Turkish officials on the telephone, and persuading them to desist from their barbarous enterprise. As a result the nuns, instead of having to leave immediately, even without their religious

garb, had ten days to settle their affairs, Mr. Morgenthau arranging these details.

Business talents were especially desirable ambassadorial qualifications in these days. The Turk is a born bargainer; he carries the spirit of the bazaar into his diplomatic arrangements and loves to haggle over details even when human life is involved. This characteristic constantly came to the front. The experience of two Englishmen, set aside to be shot in reprisal for the killing, by the English fleet, of two Turks at Alexandretta, illustrates this almost tragically. As soon as he heard of this programme, Mr. Morgenthau made one of his friendly calls on Enver Pasha, the Turkish Minister of War.

BARGAINING WITH THE TURK

"This will never do," he said. "You must not let it happen. I look to you to stop it."

The two men argued the question for some time.

"There is one way to stop it," Enver said finally. "There is such a thing, you know, as paying a sum of money."

That certainly was a purely business proposition.

"All right, how much?" asked the Ambassador.

"Oh, well, a nominal sum. Djemal will fix it."

The Ambassador consented and the men were released.

Mr. Morgenthau soon heard from Djemal, who said that 1,000 pounds was expected for each man. The transaction, that is, would cost nearly $10,000.

"Your Excellency must have made a mistake," returned Mr. Morgenthau. "You mean 1,000 piastres, not 1,000 pounds."

As a piastre is about one one-hundredth part of a pound, the discrepancy was quite pronounced.

"Not at all," was the reply. "I mean 1,000 pounds—that is, 100,000 piastres."

After a prolonged dispute, the amount was fixed at 100 pounds a man.

On another occasion the Papal Representative, Monsignor Dolci, dropped in at the American Embassy for tea. He was greatly elated over his success in interceding for Lieutenant Fitzgerald, an English submarine commander who had been captured by the Turks. The young man was engaged to the daughter of the English envoy to the Vatican.

"Enver has done me a great favor," he told Mr. Morgenthau. "Out of special consideration for the Pope, he is going to show particular kindness to Lieutenant Fitzgerald."

"Lieutenant Fitzgerald?" replied the Ambassador. "Don't you know he has been in a dungeon for ten days?"

The Papal diplomat did not know this and was greatly alarmed at the news. Again it was a case of reprisal. A story having reached Constantinople that the English were maltreating certain Turkish prisoners at Cairo, Enver decided that two Englishmen must go into a dungeon in retaliation. Several had drawn lots to see which should have this experience, and fate had picked on Lieutenant Fitzgerald as one of them. The Papal envoy implored the American Ambassador to use his good offices with Enver. The Cairo story, when Mr. Morgenthau investigated it, turned out to be untrue.

"This whole proceeding is a shame," he told the Minister of War. "Here are these two nice fellows shut up in a dirty dungeon —and for nothing. You have made a great mistake—the Cairo story is all false."

"Well, what can I do about it?" asked Enver of Mr. Morgenthau.

TURKISH REPARATION FOR MISTAKES

"You should make full reparation; you certainly owe them an apology. I think that you ought to give these boys the freedom of the city for ten days."

The irresistible tendency to bargain showed itself once more.

"I'll give them the freedom for five days," said Enver.

"No, no!" insisted the Ambassador, "you must make it ten."

The point was finally compromised at eight! The released officers had a fine time. The Girls' College gave them a reception, and all Constantinople society turned out to make their eight days' freedom one round of festivities. When it was over, the Englishmen said that they would

be glad to go into the dungeon for another ten days if they could have another time like that on emerging.

One day a tumultuous crowd of foreigners besieged the American Embassy. They were pleading for Mr. Morgenthau's intercession against the latest German-Turkish coup. The English fleet was then bombarding the Dardanelles, and, according to the Turkish claim, attacking unfortified towns. There were then from 2,000 to 3,000 Allied citizens in Constantinople. They now learned that they were all to be sent to the town of Gallipoli as targets for the English and French warships. It was an ingenious German scheme to discourage the English blockading fleet, not unlike the stationing of Belgian men and women in front of the advancing German armies in Belgium. As usual, Mr. Morgenthau called up Enver on the telephone. But Enver was "very busy" and could not make an appointment.

MR. MORGENTHAU'S PERSUASIONS

"At four o'clock," he said, "I have to attend a council of the Ministry."

"Very well," answered Mr. Morgenthau, "I'll meet you at the council room."

At this Enver yielded and set three-thirty as his meeting time. To Mr. Morgenthau's remonstrances he said that his act was an entirely legitimate reprisal. "You tell the British Admiral what we are going to do," he said, "and he'll stop bombarding these unfortified places. Besides, I've given my word to the army and I cannot break it."

"But you certainly don't mean to send 2,000 innocent civilians down there," protested the Ambassador.

Enver finally consented to send only fifty and that the youngest men be selected. They had interesting experiences which have been described in the press. What the newspapers have not revealed was Mr. Morgenthau's constant attempts to get them back. He prodded Enver every day on this subject, giving him no rest.

"They've been down there long enough," he would say to the Turkish War Minister. "You have redeemed your promise to the army. Now let them come back."

"Just one day more!" Enver would say.

This haggling for the lives of the civilians finally resulted in another victory for Mr. Morgenthau. His persuasions brought the party back without the loss of a man.

This Enver Pasha, with whom Mr. Morgenthau had these almost daily dealings, was quite a different man from Talaat. He had been educated at Berlin, and, fortunately for the American Ambassador, spoke German fluently. Any one who reads Turkish history for the last eight years—the Young Turk movement, the deposition of Abdul Hamid, the Turkish revolution, and the Balkan wars—constantly meets the name of Enver. This statesman has one ruling idea—that he is a man of destiny, a man almost Divinely appointed to regenerate his country. In his working room he sits with a large picture of Napoleon on one side and one of Frederick the Great on the other. These men are his heroes, and what Napoleon did for France and Frederick for Prussia Enver aspires to do for Turkey. There is, indeed, something in common between his career and that of the Corsican. Like Napoleon, Enver came into power on the crest of a revolution. Like Napoleon, he succeeded in turning this revolution into a personal asset. Both men became powerful first as military men. Enver, no less than Napoleon, has had youth on his side. Napoleon, at the age of thirty, became the dictator of France; Enver, who is now one of the two masters of Turkey, is only thirty-four. And in the fact that Turkey defeated the English at the Dardanelles and forced their withdrawal Enver sees a military triumph that is almost Napoleonic in its proportions.

SAVING THE AMERICAN COLLEGES

From the first Enver and Mr. Morgenthau have had the most genial intercourse. This friendly association in itself explains the Ambassador's success in saving the American educational institutions in Turkey not only from embarrassment but perhaps from confiscation. The Turks have always regarded these colleges with suspicion. They have never understood why Americans should spend millions building beautiful buildings in so far away a country as their own. They have sus-

pected political purposes; as Europeans obtained their entering wedges with a bank or a railroad, the Americans were seeking to squeeze themselves in with a Robert College. This feeling prevailed when Mr. Morgenthau arrived, and one of his first tasks was to disabuse the Turkish mind of this idea. He persuaded Enver and his associates that these institutions represented pure philanthropy—that American millionaires, absurd as the idea seemed in Turkish eyes, really enjoyed spending money that way. This new understanding had important results, especially after Turkey abolished the Capitulations. These really constituted the treaties which, for centuries, have defined the rights of Europeans—later of Americans—in the Turkish Empire. This abolition, so far as the American colleges were concerned, practically removed the jurisdiction of the American Government and made them essentially part of the Turkish educational system. Under this régime the institutions could not have existed; they would have had to close. Mr. Morgenthau's greatest service, perhaps, was that he persuaded the Turkish officials to permit not only American, but even German and Austrian schools, to continue their work as before. He sealed his compact by taking Enver and ostentatiously calling on Robert College on October 1st, the day the Capitulations were abrogated. From this signal the masses learned that the Minister was friendly and that the college must be left alone. As a complete protection to the Girls' College, Mr. Morgenthau established his summer Embassy in one of the college buildings. The sight of Enver, with his suite, taking tea in this institution was not only one of the greatest triumphs of Mr. Morgenthau's personal diplomacy but gave the college complete immunity. No Turk would even have thought of molesting the place after these evidences of official favor.

MR. MORGENTHAU'S INFLUENCE PERSONAL

And I cannot too much insist that these favors were all personal. The Turks showed their good-will not necessarily to the United States but to Mr. Morgenthau. "I am doing this for you, Mr. Ambassador," they would say when granting his requests. When he succeeded in getting money to the Evelina Rothschild Girls' School at Jerusalem, the message came back from Djemal Pasha, "Tell Mr. Morgenthau that I am doing this for him." The Turk is essentially a human being; legal abstractions do not impress him; the American Government is not a populous and rich country located several thousand miles away; it is the energetic, persuasive, conciliatory, good-natured, altogether likable person who bears the title of Ambassador. "I love the American Ambassador," the Sultan remarked, as quoted by a high Turkish official. "I see no Ambassador except Mr. Morgenthau." Certainly the things these officials would do for Mr. Morgenthau—favors not required by ordinary diplomatic courtesy—have no other explanation.

Syria and Palestine contained many Russian Jews. The principles of warfare demanded that the Russian subjects either leave the country or become Turkish subjects. But that process involved great difficulties. It required a money payment which few of these refugees had; it also included military service. As a favor to Mr. Morgenthau, the Government permitted these Jews to become citizens without the payment of the usual tax and remitted the obligation of military service for a year. As many, despite these favors, wished to leave Turkey, particular facilities were given the Ambassador to transport them safely to Egypt, and to protect them from the Arabs of Jaffa, who were full of race prejudice.

If any one wishes further evidence of Mr. Morgenthau's success, existing conditions in Constantinople will furnish it. The condition of enemy aliens in that city is probably far more comfortable than in any other capital. Harshly as we think of the Turk, an Englishman suffers less inconvenience now in Stamboul than a German in London or a Russian in Berlin. At the beginning thousands of English and French left Constantinople, as already described. Many, however, are still undisturbed, and such as have business are still carrying it on. This latter fact is almost without parallel in war.

VERDUN AND ERZERUM

THE GERMAN AND RUSSIAN OFFENSIVES AGAINST TWO STRONGHOLDS OF PARAMOUNT STRATEGICAL IMPORTANCE—THE RELATIONS OF EACH SERIES OF OPERATIONS TO ITS PARTICULAR THEATRE AND TO THE WAR AS A WHOLE

IT IS a long, long way from Verdun to Erzerum, 2,500 miles as the aeroplane flies and many more by water and by land. Yet these two strongholds are intimately connected in the development of the world war. They have strong historical bonds; geographically they are similarly situated, each on the easternmost border of a belligerent State. Strategically, they mark the ends of a great military see-saw which pivots unsteadily in the Balkans. In France the fortified camp of Verdun formed the keystone in the great arch of French defense; far away in eastern Anatolia, under the shadow of the Caucasus Mountains, the ancient fortress of Erzerum is one of the determining positions on the Turkish road to India and on the Russian road, through western Asia Minor, to long-coveted Stamboul.

Lying, as it does, on the main road from Persia and Mesopotamia to the Black Sea, in a fertile region of eastern Anatolia, Erzerum from the remotest antiquity has been a place coveted by nations. From the sixteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth, when the Russian bear began to claw at its portals, Erzerum, 6,000 feet up in its mountain valley, enjoyed an unusually long period of peace and grew and prospered like the green bay tree. But since the beginning of the last century every generation of luckless Armenians has seen some kind of border warfare between their overlords, the Kurds and Ottomans, and the armies of the Great White Czar. In February, 1916, Muscovite banners flew once more from the city's broken walls while the dislodged Turks—now not alone but curiously allied with Christian Germanic Powers—prepared to renew the contest for its possession.

Verdun was also an ancient strong place of the Roman Empire in that vague territory, Gaul, which Cæsar first mapped and described. From time immemorial it has stood sentinel over the numerous roads which cross the Meuse River at that point in its journey toward the northern sea where its valley begins definitely to widen out. It is an example of the extraordinary fatality of history that Verdun should have been the place where what was eventually to become France definitely split apart from what was to be Germany. There, in 843 A. D., was signed the famous Treaty of Verdun between the sons of Charlemagne contesting the inheritance of the Holy Roman Empire. In that treaty the Teutonic principle of equal division among heirs triumphed over the Roman law of an indivisible sovereignty, and there at the crossing of the Meuse began the definite separation of the Gallic and German nationalities; modern Germany proclaims the date of 843 as the real beginning of her national existence.

So here is the fatefulness of history unfolding. As Verdun, after the argument of swords and javelins and battle axes, gave the Germans the beginnings of their nationality, so on February 21, 1916, to the terrific roar of the mightiest engines of war of all time, Teutonic troops blasted, charged, scrambled, and died for this ancient citadel, leaping toward their "place in the sun" which means for them the dominion of the world.

Crouching under her serried forts and back of earthworks which run like the furrows of a plowed field crescent-wise about the city, Verdun stood as the superlatively strong point in the defense of the whole Meuse River line. German control of the upper reaches of this stream, along with German control of its lower courses through the Ardenne and Belgium, would mean that the last great river barrier stretching squarely across their path be-

tween the Moselle and the Loire would be entirely removed.

Of the three great military obstacles to an army's advance, deserts, mountain lines, and rivers, the last are by far the most easily negotiated. In this particular case, however, where the slightest incident of terrain could be immediately turned to the advantage of one of these two most accomplished of tactical fighters, the importance of the long Meuse River line of defense for the French nation was greatly magnified in value. Between the Meuse and the Loire, as a glance at the map will make very clear, all the rivers run in the direction of Paris and their sources can be easily circumvented by an enemy who is advancing into France from the Palatinate and Lorraine.

Both Verdun and Erzerum are, then, for the reasons briefly suggested, fortresses of great importance to the localities which they are charged with guarding. The importance which each bears to the whole war is an entirely different thing. Verdun was flush against the heart of the French defense, exemplified by the main French army massed to hold it. Erzerum is more than 800 miles away from the centre of the Turkish military structure and was covered, in February, by only about one fifth of the Ottoman main army. A great decision near Verdun over either army, whether French or German, would have a deciding influence on the continental war, whereas the destruction of the entire Turkish or Russian Caucasus armies would have only a very remote bearing on the main struggle. The French front is the decisive theatre.

WHAT ERZERUM MEANS

The position of Erzerum in its strategic relation to either the Turkish or Russian campaign in Armenia, Kurdistan, the Caucasus, and to any joint Russo-British operations in Mesopotamia was and is more important than any other one position in that whole theatre. The position of this ancient stronghold has always had a dual strategic personality: First, it acts as a direct bar to an advance from the Caucasus through Armenia in the direction of Anatolia and the Bosporus, in very much the same way that Przemysl barred the roads along the northern Carpathians against the Russians in Galicia; secondly, it controls the roads from Armenia toward Persia, acting thus as a flanking position, much as Plevna flanked the line of Russian advance into Thrace, in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–78.

So long as Erzerum remained in Turkish hands, covered by a strong field army, the Russians could neither advance directly into Armenia nor could they launch any sustained offensive from the Caucasus into northern Persia without the danger of being attacked in flank and rear. Therefore it was all-important for the Russians to capture Erzerum and very necessary indeed for the Turks to hold it.

As a defensive position for the Russians the configuration of the ground at Erzerum is not tactically so favorable as it was for the Turks, but it covers the important road crossings that have been mentioned above and deprives the Turks of the works, stores, and arsenal which they had created and maintained there at the cost of enormous labor.

THE IMPORTANCE OF ERZERUM TO RUSSIA

As a point of departure or as a link in Russian offense the position must be analyzed according to the particular use to be made of it. On the basis of a campaign westward through Anatolia its value is limited. The reasons are fairly obvious. The nearest point on their railroad through Kars is about one hundred miles of tumultuous mountains away eastward. Northward toward the Black Sea the high range of the Pontine Mountains parallels the southern shore of that sea, rendering heavy transport across it, except along the single good road from Trebizond, almost prohibitively difficult. It will thus be evident that, even though the Russians hold the Black Sea sufficiently to transport all their stores across it, they are still confronted with the difficulty of these Pontine trails to negotiate in order to reach a westward-moving army based on Erzerum.

The capture of the important Black Sea port of Trebizond became a necessary sequence of the conquering of Erzerum, because from Trebizond the excellent road just mentioned runs by easy grades 140

THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR

After the capture of Erzerum the Russian forces pushed on in three columns, one toward Trebizond, the second toward Erzingan and Sivas, where the main Turkish army had its base, and the third column southward to Mush and Bitlis. The capture of Erzerum and the advance into Asia Minor enabled the Russians to capture Kermanshah, in Persia, and to turn westward toward Bagdad, with the aim of coöperating with the British in Mesopotamia

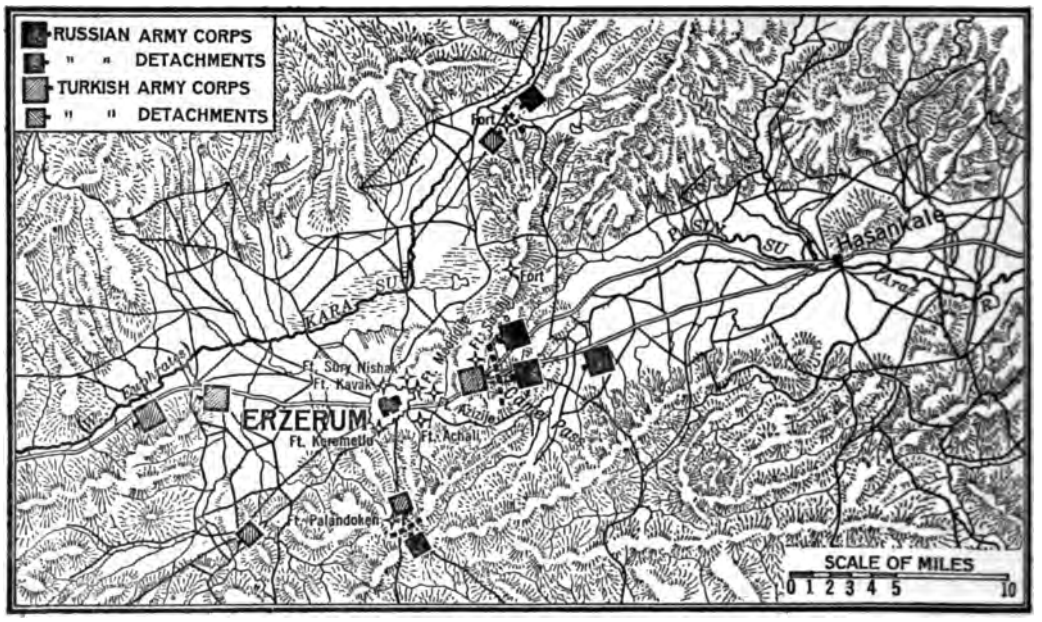
miles southeastward into the fortress. At the beginning of the war the Turks had hoped to retain control of the Black Sea so as to ship supplies by water from Constantinople to Trebizond. When that control was lost the position of the Turkish army in the Caucasus became very difficult, because it was next to impossible to supply it with munitions. The closest railroad point was nearly 300 miles to the south over bad roads which ran across difficult mountain passes, exposed the whole way to a flank attack from the enemy. An almost equally impossible route for supplies lay from the vicinity of Angora, a rail head more than 400 miles to the west of Erzerum, in the centre of Anatolia.

It is when we turn southward that we find the greatest value of this Russian conquest, but here again there are geographical barriers in the way. South of Erzerum, at distances varying from fifty to one hundred miles, the high ridges of the Armenian Taurus, involved and complex as are the Balkans, act in the double capacity of confining agents for Russian army corps campaigning southward, and as naturally good defensive lines for the Bagdad Railway running at their feet.

A knowledge of the strategic conditions thus briefly reviewed thrown upon the topographical background of eastern Anatolia, which may be best appreciated after an examination of the chart on page 114, ought to give a sound idea of the Russian accomplishment on the easternmost front of the Great War. It ought also to throw into proper relief the problems which confronted both the Russian and the Turco-German staffs as spring crept slowly over Asia Minor at the end of March.

There are three roads which lead through the southern and eastern mountains encircling Erzerum: one comes out of the northeast from Olti; another runs up from the city of Mush, in the south. The main high road from Kars across the mountains eastward winds in by way of Deve Boyoun—the "Camel's Pass" this is called. Each one of these three gaps in the hills was fortified with ancient permanent works and new temporary works which the Turks had hurriedly made during the last year. The Camel's Pass, which is the lowest and most accessible, was most strongly fortified; the southern, although closer to the city than the other two, was the most difficult to attack.

All former invasions of the Erzerum Valley from the east have come along the



ERZERUM, FEBRUARY 11TH - 16TH

The Russians, who in the early part of February had pushed back the Turkish detachments that opposed them, after a remarkable advance through the mountains in the dead of winter, reached the main Turkish position at Deve Boyoun (the "Camel's Pass") on February 11th. By February 14th the main position fell to their assault and the Turkish forces were in retreat at all points. Of the three passes in the ridges covering Erzerum, the Russians chose the centre one because, although it was the most heavily fortified of the three, its fall would at once paralyze the Turkish resistance. It also was approached by the best road. On February 16th, the Russians occupied the town, destroying the Turkish rear guard left to cover the retreat. With the exception of this rear guard and about 250 pieces of artillery of various ages the Turks made good their escape, realizing that if they allowed themselves to be shut up in their fortifications they would lose their whole command. They retired with their main force straight westward toward Erzingan and Sivas. A detachment went to Trebizond and another retreated south to Diarbekir. The Turkish army in this area on the 1st of April was refitting at Sivas, while the Russians had pushed about 100 miles out from Erzerum in all directions. Up to the 1st of April they had made no decided advance to the west in large force

centre road from Kars, and it was rightly expected that this would be the road taken by the Grand Duke. In addition to the first line works along this main pass, strong secondary positions extended back to the city on both sides of the main road. The city itself was surrounded by a continuous parapet, intended by the ancients to hold off raiding columns of cavalry, but good for nothing else.

Along this high road from Kars through the Camel's Pass, through and over the Turks' defenses, the Russian main advance drove clear into the citadel, while small detachments covered the flanks of that line of attack to the north and south. To accomplish their objective, the Russians made their way through mountain passes at altitudes of from 6,000 to 9,000 feet above sea level, in the dead of a Caucasian winter, through deep snows and extreme cold. Early in February, their advance guards had driven back Turkish detachments along the frontier. The Ottoman forces, as soon as they discovered the magnitude of the Russian movement, fell back gradually on to their main positions. Deve Boyoun was first attacked on February 11th, and, by the 14th, the two most important works had been carried by assault. Realizing the hopelessness of their positions, the Turks thereupon promptly evacuated Erzerum and withdrew in a general direction westward, leaving a strong rear guard to delay their opponents.

On February 16th, the Russians triumphantly occupied the city of Erzerum and, streaming through it, spread out north and south in pursuit of the retreating

s. The main body of the Ottoman held on straight west for Erzingan beyond, while smaller detachments ıted north toward Trebizond and ıward on the road to Diarbekir. The ish rearguard, fighting very stub- y, was badly cut up and several ıand men of it captured. A few before the occupation, the Turks removed the bulk of their military s from Erzerum, but the Russians sted a very useful amount of them, ding about 250 cannon of various ; and ages.

anks to the effectiveness of the delay y bought by their rearguard, the forces of the Turks got clear away. Russians, although they pressed their ntage with great vigor, were held y increasing difficulties in their com- cations and prevailing bad weather, n spite of any and all obstacles, their nce detachments before the end of h had occupied Baiburt and the of the Chorok River, seventy-five northwest of Erzerum on the road rebizond. Close on the heels of the s, they took Erzingan, an important ion already referred to, 110 miles west rzerum, on the high road to Sivas. ıe south, Russian divisions took and both Mush and Bitlis, with the ing and tributary districts of these cities west of Lake Van and under hadow of the Armenian Taurus, the mountain wall which stretched across pathway toward the copper mines arbekir and the Bagdad Railway.

THE RUSSIAN ADVANCE

ed thus from the Turkish menace of um on their right flank, the Russian nce into Persia was pushed with great and success. They promptly took arge city of Kermanshah, a Turkish quarters and basis of anti-Russian an propaganda, only 170 miles away ıe road to Bagdad. In front of this ernmost detachment of the Russian s still lay, in April, the formidable cle of the Karind Pass in the Dalahu ıtains, strongly held by the Turks.

e effect of the fall of Erzerum, then, ugh a great tribute to Russian energy and persistence, had not by the end of March resulted in anything decisive in that theatre of war. It will have great significance for the Russians only in case they are able to follow up their success. By the first of April this ability naturally remained to be proved. Up to that time they had still been unable to capture the Black Sea port of Trebizond, and in the direction of their other offensive operations to the west and south they were confronted by mountain ranges almost as difficult as those effectively confronting the armies of Italy. The Turks held the passes of these mountain ranges in familiar territory, and under cover of them they were able to manœuvre undisturbed.

THE VALUE OF VERDUN

With this brief glimpse through the back door of the war, let us turn now to its main gateway, to its chief focus. To appreciate what Verdun means in a military sense we must get out of our minds the idea of the city or of the fortress itself; Verdun must acquire for us a far wider significance. When military organizations such as those of France or Germany take the offensive, no matter how small the operations may be, there is always behind them and animating them the essential object of the destruction of the hostile main army. Political conditions, the capture of a city, the occupation of territory, the acquisition of material, the administration of all State matters are subordinate to this one thing. If the hostile main army is destroyed or irreparably broken the invaded country lies at the conquerors' feet; they may then go where they choose; they have the power then of life and death over the inhabitants and their government; all the resources of that country are thenceforward in their hands.

It was for such a purpose that the superb French attacks of September and October, 1915, were launched, the purpose of destroying the German main army. Now as has been many times explained in these articles, the true line of a determinative French offensive—that is to say, the line along which, if successful, they would reap the maximum benefit—lies from the Verdun area to the northeast

by way of the valley of the Moselle River to the Rhine. This is the "Trèves Gap" route, the shortest line into the heart of Germany. Could the French once possess themselves of that line, which as a prerequisite would require the reduction of the German fortress of Metz, the whole German force in western France and Belgium would be turned out of its position and made to retire because its vital arteries of supply would be threatened.

Conversely, the shortest line from Germany to the heart of military France lies across this Verdun area and for this reason the main body of the French army has been crouching behind it these many months. It is an axiom of strategy that whenever possible the shortest line is always followed to the heart of the enemy's defense and his main army forced to give decisive battle. At the beginning of the present war, the strategic deployment of the main French army was made in the area immediately behind these eastern barrier forts, and all arrangements and plans by the French Staff have always taken primarily into consideration that this line of advance was the most probable one on the part of Germany.

In their great autumn offensive, already alluded to, the French attacked the Germans in the Artois and Champagne districts, with a view not only of making them reinforce these lines and, by breaking in on each side of this Teutonic salient, of destroying what could be drawn into that sector; their main idea was to follow up the initial operations in Champagne by launching a great offensive from the Verdun area against the German keypoint of Metz with the object of seizing the line of the Moselle and the Trèves Gap. But the French attacks in Artois and Champagne were so decisively beaten back that the attempt against Metz was either abandoned or postponed. Certainly it was never started.

THE ANTICIPATED COUNTER STROKE

After the failure of this French offensive, it became evident that before long the Germans would try a main attack in their turn against the whole French position. In this theatre they had not attempted any general offensive since the first great drive across Belgium and France in August, 1914, which was stopped short and turned back at the Battle of the Marne. An attempt had been made since then to reach the Channel ports, but that was undertaken with only a comparatively small part of the forces on the extreme German right. In the intervening time the Russians had been beaten back on the eastern front and the offensive power largely taken out of their army; Serbian resistance had been beaten down and a road opened up through the Balkans into Turkey, thereby insuring much-needed supplies for the Central Powers so long as they could keep it open. By continuing threats against Egypt, by the success of their Turkish allies at the Dardanelles and in Mesopotamia, and by the continuance of unrest in Persia, Afghanistan, India, Greece, and about the Mediterranean in general, great numbers of the Entente Allies' troops had been drawn away into those theatres, while at the same time practically all the first line German and Austrian troops were released from the Balkans and their places taken by Bulgarian and Ottoman corps.

The combined effect and the interrelation of the different phases of this continuing threat were carefully explained in "The Road to Egypt and India" in the WORLD'S WORK for March. Once drawn into the Near East, these Entente troops could not be brought back again with any celerity to the French front. Short of India or South Africa they were about as far away from the decisive theatre of war as they could get.

WHY A WINTER CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE

When it came to planning further offensive movements—a winter campaign into Russia offering no advantages at all—the German Staff, in view of all the foregoing and whatever other reasons may have actuated them, determined on a winter campaign into France. Although much more difficult than a campaign in summer, the difficulties were not considered by any means insurmountable, and, moreover, the Germans believed that their seasoned troops (who had been

used to manœuvering constantly for several months in the Russian and Balkan theatres of operations) ought to have an advantage over French troops who had been confined to their trenches during the same period. Since the Battle of the Marne the French had engaged in no battles of manœuvre whatever, and the Germans rightly reasoned that whatever disadvantages this might imply for the excellently trained French army could much more probably be attributed to the partially trained British forces. Moreover, neither the French nor the British lines had ever been subjected to the full power of German and Austrian heavy artillery firing torpedo shell, by which means the Russian lines along the Dunajec at Gorlice and Tarnow, in the first days of May, 1915, had been broken and driven back. The Germans also well knew that they greatly outmatched the French in the number and calibres of their heavy artillery, and they believed they had a reasonable chance of gaining at least temporary control of the air at the main points of attack for the direction of their artillery fire. Further into the enemy's territory dirigibles were counted upon to do reconnaissance work as well as to attack railroad junctions, bridges, and lines of communications, thus retarding the manœuvering of French reserve units behind their front. In January, it may be remembered, most of the German first line army corps were withdrawn from the Polish front and from the Balkans to be given a much-needed rest at the end of their continuous Russian and Serbian campaigns. These army corps were to be used when needed on the French front.

THE GERMAN OBJECTIVE

In some ways conditions in early February might be compared to those obtaining at the beginning of the war; that is to say, the German main army was made available on the western front while smaller and secondary units of that army, with the main Austro-Hungarian forces, held the armies of Russia and Italy, both of which had been pretty well fought down. It is practically certain that Joffre and his staff knew all these things perfectly well, appreciated the causes, and anticipated the effect. But due to the great losses in personnel to which the French army has been subjected since the war began and because he had not yet the weight of heavy artillery he needed, Joffre could not, even had he so desired, forestall the Germans and himself take the offensive ahead of his opponent. Moreover, once the German intention to attack became clear—and it was perfectly clear to the French General Staff more than ten days before the first advance was made on Verdun—French strategy, staking its plans on the failure of the German effort, rightly anticipated opportunities for counter strokes. The only questions were where would the German preliminary attacks begin and where would their main attack fall.

THE DISPOSITION OF THE FRENCH ARMY

Now with regard to the disposition of the French main army, remember that the bulk of it lay behind the Verdun area. Its communications ran, not toward Paris, as the general impression goes, but south by west to the centre of France. In a military even more than in a social sense, Paris is no longer France. The armies draw their principal supplies and personnel from elsewhere, and the capital is merely a great fortress and *point d 'appui* behind the French left centre. Westward of the Paris meridian lay the British army covering the Channel ports and that part of the continent which is nearest to England. Germany has never for one moment abandoned the idea of possessing these ports and the strip of coast forming their hinterland; by gaining them submarine warfare would be immeasurably facilitated and a direct invasion of England itself brought within the realm of possibility. The British army, therefore, and rightly, will under no circumstances move away in bulk from these Channel ports but will defend them to the last.

Keeping these dispositions clearly in mind and remembering the reasons which made them necessary, the German objective looms up in its major definition. Could they succeed in driving the French back out of the Verdun area the retreat

or withdrawal would lie back on their lines of communication toward the southeast and, the British remaining where they were, the two main armies might be strategically separated, with the fortress at Paris as the stop-gap or connecting link between them.

THE GREAT FRENCH BOW

In a figure very typical of its great strength the French army lay in the shape of a bow, with one end on Compiégne, 55 miles northeast of Paris, the other end in front of the entrenched camp of Belfort, in the tip of Alsace on the Swiss frontier. The centre of this great drawn bow, where the grip of the archer holds it, was at Verdun. Opposite the two wings of the French bow are the most thoroughly developed lines of German debarkation: one, the old Metz-Strassburg line along which literally hundreds of thousands of troops can be entrained and detrained in two or three days; the other, developed since the war began, extending from Rheims on the Aisne to Péronne on the Somme River. Face to face with the French army alone, then, the Germans possessed a highly vitalized "enveloping front." True, the British army stretched around the German right flank, but this army had been "contained" and, unless it could uncover decidedly more ability for sustained offensive than anything it had hitherto shown, it could be isolated from the main plan of German offensive to the east.

Why, then, it may be asked, were the principal German attacks directed against the fortress of Verdun, presumably the strongest position on the entire western front, rather than against the flanks of the French army?

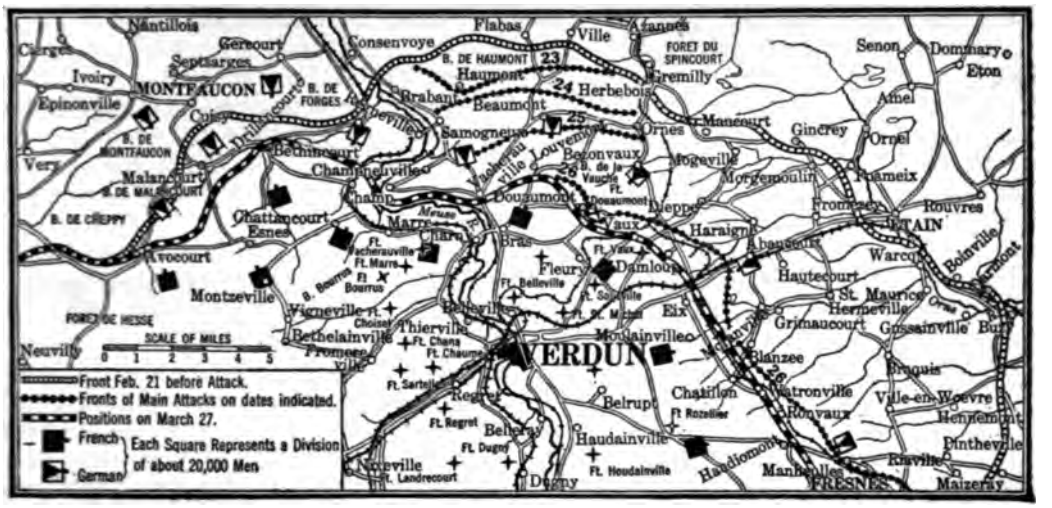
Here is the answer. In the first place, Verdun, as we have already pointed out, is the keypoint in the control of the line of the Meuse River. To hold it and its area the French were obliged to reinforce their centre: in other words, they were forced to draw the bulk of their main army within reach of the jaws of a characteristically planned German strategic vise. Once the French army could be so concentrated in defense the German object would be to smash in the Verdun salient and then invade it with terrific force on either flank. Any hope for success in this strategic trap depended upon the sustained probability of taking the fortress of Verdun and the line of the Meuse River which it dominated. These were the reasons why the German operations of the first month were aimed at the reduction of Verdun.

On the other hand—so Germany reasoned—should their attacks fail at last, enough ground to the front might still be gained in the most critical part of their own defensive line greatly to hamper the French in any future counter offensive. In addition—and still we are reasoning in German terms—if they, with their predominance of heavy artillery and troops, could not break through with their utmost endeavor and at whatever sacrifice, they might thereafter be correspondingly certain that no French and British attack could permanently shatter their own defense. Falling back, then, to the old deadlock on the western front with a sense of finality never before acknowledged, they would still have left some cards to play: a summer campaign into Russia or a direct smash at the Channel ports.

To recapitulate briefly, the purpose of the German attack against Verdun was to destroy the French army by dividing it from the British, holding the British, and concentrating on the French. With this conception of the strategic ideas underlying the German offensive of February and March, we may pass to a hasty review and estimate of the actual operations which were started against the fortress of Verdun on the 21st of February.

THE HEAVIEST FIGHTING OF THE WAR

Verdun, built on the banks of the Meuse, is surrounded by a circle of hills which average about 150 feet of elevation above the town itself. The main ridge of these hills, crowned by the strongest permanent French positions, lies in an arc traced on a five-mile diameter from the centre of the city. Twenty-four separate fortifications, with armored concrete works and mounting heavy guns of position, guard this line, and between them since the war



THE ATTACK ON VERDUN

The German assaults, which began against Verdun on February 21st, continued with unabated fury through the end of March. The advances made during this time are indicated on the diagram. They are the greatest advances that have been made by either side on the western front since the German advance into France in August, 1914. The Germans on the 1st of April confronted the French main positions east of the Meuse River, and were launching attacks west of the river so as to drive the French from such of their positions as could bring enfilading and reverse artillery fire to bear on the Germans east of the Meuse. The attacks and defense have been made with great determination by both sides and the battles resulting have been the greatest of the war. In spite of their great efforts the French were unable entirely to stop the German advance, which, although slow, kept going ahead. No decision had been arrived at up to the 1st of April

began the heaviest fieldworks possible have been constructed. Out in front of this main ridge of forts, to the points on the extreme front that for so many months were held by the French, successive lines of fieldworks strengthened every advantageous scrap of terrain available in the intervening four and a half to six miles.

Of this great spider's web the northeastern point formed more of a salient than any other part of the entrenched camp, and this angle terminated in the key fort of Douaumont.

From end to end the German front of attack reached all the way from the famous St. Mihiel salient, twenty miles to the south, and east of the Meuse around to west of the Meuse, the whole line with all its sinuosities covering about seventy-five miles of latent volcano. That region immediately north of the St. Mihiel salient around the town of Fresnes is so swampy in the early spring that it became extremely difficult to carry on a modern attack across it. For this reason the heavy German assaults of the Verdun attack were not delivered in that area.

During the first few days succeeding February 21st the main drive was directed against the northeast salient of the fortress defined by the fort of Douaumont and the fieldworks in front of it. To press their attacks home the Germans had reinforced this sector by four army corps which with their auxiliaries amounted to about 200,000 men. This number, added to the forces already deployed on this front, brought the total of German effort converged on Verdun up to about 520,000 men of all arms. The German artillery, brought up by railroads reaching every part of their lines in this area, represented the greatest amount of heavy siege ordnance ever gathered together in a single operation in the history of warfare. Their whole force of artillery in action consisted of more than 3,000 pieces of 3-inch calibre and over.

The French artillery, outside of their fortress pieces, consisted of 26-centimeter howitzers and 30-centimeter guns of modern design but comparatively few in number. Their main reliance lay in their pieces of smaller calibre, among which

their extremely efficient 75- and 115-millimeter calibre field guns greatly predominated. In this lighter artillery the French more than held their own, though the Germans outnumbered them greatly, as we have said, in heavy artillery. In aërial equipment the Germans, who had concentrated in this locality a great many of their new battle-planes of huge dimensions, were able at the beginning of their attack to obtain control of the air, which gave them a distinct advantage in the direction of their artillery fire.

AROUND DOUAUMONT

By the last of February, the French had been driven from all their advanced positions to their main line on the eastern front of the fortress and the strong, permanent work of Douaumont had been taken. The average advance here was about five miles. During March the Germans bent their efforts toward clearing the west bank of the Meuse, from that direction their lines immediately east of the river on the north front of the fortress being exposed to reverse fire from the French artillery. The combats resulting from these operations were the most severe of the whole war.

In their assaults on Verdun the Germans revealed nothing new in their methods of attack. They prologued every advance with terrific artillery preparation, and their infantry was never sent in until this was complete to the point of demolishment. All the time, contrary to their tactics during the rapid advance into Poland, they were exceedingly careful not to allow their infantry to get out of supporting distance from the artillery elements behind them. Thus, though they did not achieve results rapidly, they economized on losses, the better method against so expert an adversary as the French. All the German attacks were directed against local salients in the French lines, the final assaults being driven home from both flanks. This accounts for the comparatively large number of French prisoners taken, the apex of the salient being bitten off from the main line with numbers of unwounded combatants still within it.

Against these slow and stubborn assaults the French replied with great gallantry in repeated counter attacks which, although they were unsuccessful in driving their opponents back in their general advance, repeatedly succeeded in recovering ground temporarily occupied by the Germans. The French depended for defense on the so-called "barrage" or "curtain of fire" of their massed field artillery. When the Germans, after their terrific artillery preparation, sent their infantry forward in successive waves to occupy demolished trenches, the French gunners created in the border land to be crossed almost a solid wall of bursting shell while at the same time they sprayed down upon the lines of communication trenches, through which German reinforcements were being led up to the front lines, a secondary wall or curtain of continuous fire. At a preconcerted signal by telephone the gunners far to the rear lifted the front curtain of fire to allow vigorous counter charges of French infantry to be driven home on top of whatever Germans had come through the inferno, while they still maintained their second curtain on top of advancing relays back of the German lines. These tactics often proved successful whenever the Germans were not given time to consolidate their newly-won positions.

On the 1st of April the Germans had patiently worked their way to the French main positions east of the Meuse, and west of the river they had the main railroad supplying Verdun under the fire of their heavy artillery. To meet these steady advances the French had been forced to withdraw troops from the Artois district and other western portions of their line and to send them to the Verdun area.

MAN AND HIS MACHINES

A SIMPLE DIVING HOOD

FOR working under water at a depth of not more than thirty feet an apparatus has been perfected which consists of a metal hood, with a glass window in front and weights in front and back, and an air pump operated by hand. To go under water, all that is necessary is to put the hood over the head (it is not fastened down but is merely held in place by the weights), start the air pump, and sink into the water.

Surplus air escapes through holes around the edge of the hood and should the supply, of air suddenly cease from any cause whatsoever the diver need only throw off the hood and the natural buoyancy of his body will bring him to the surface to ascertain the reason for the stoppage of the air supply. The apparatus is of great value for the owners of small boats and yachts and has been successfully used in many shipyards for repairing or cleaning vessels, eliminating the expense of putting them into dry-dock.

PUTTING ON THE DIVING HOOD
No diving suit is necessary for working under water to a depth of thirty feet with this apparatus

IN NEPTUNE'S REALM
Life and vegetation under water may easily be studied by means of the new diving hood

ELECTRIC RADIATORS FOR AUTOMOBILES

A RADIATOR which has its coils filled with oil, and the oil heated by electricity, is a recent device for heating automobiles. The oil is non-corroding and non-freezible, and does not require renewing. Each radiator is a separate unit. An electric heating coil is contained in the bottom horizontal passage of the radiator, and the oil circulates through the vertical and the upper and lower horizontal passages.

QUEER CURRENT METER COMBINATION

A COMBINATION of primitive and modern equipment is shown in the illustration of a current meter installed by the Hydrographic Service of the Im-

AN ELECTRIC RADIATOR
For use in automobiles. Its coils are filled with oil and are heated by electricity

perial Russian Government in Turkestan. The current meter is of modern make, manufactured in America, but the winch is a relic of early days. Instead of being fitted with lever handles attached to the drum shaft, the winch is operated by means of pegs on a large wheel. Although primitive methods are still largely used in remote Turkestan, modern appliances are rapidly being introduced.

THE OLD AND THE NEW
A modern instrument for measuring the flow of a river used in connection with a primitive winch

AN ELECTRIC BRAKE FOR GASOLENE-DRIVEN AUTOMOBILES

AN ELECTRIC brake for gasolene-driven automobiles consists of a light, powerful motor, which, through suitable gearing, winds on a drum a steel cable attached to the brake equipment; and a controller placed within easy reach of the driver's hand. By simply moving his finger, the driver, through the motor, exerts from 1,000 to 2,500 pounds' pull on the brake rods. Such a great pull on the brake rods, with the resultant tightening of the bands about the drums, would cause the wheels to lock immediately, and the car would come to a dead stop, with the danger of a bad skid or upset, were it not for the fact that a film of oil is utilized between the parts coming in contact. While this film of oil, fed automatically between the brake band and the drum, is being destroyed by the high pressure, the car loses its momentum, and the shock of an instantaneous locking of the wheels is in this way avoided.

It can readily be understood that the electric brake is of special service when the driver of the automobile is a woman.

AN EASILY OPERATED BRAKE
An electric brake which is operated from the steering wheel of a gasolene-driven automobile

AN EXTENSIBLE PLATFORM

IN MOST railroad stations there is a space left between the station platform and the car door when the train has come to a stop. To overcome this difficulty one of the great Eastern railroads is trying out a new automatic extensible trap door.

In this device, when the trap is down the opening of the vestibule door causes the sliding portion of the car platform to extend, bridging the space between the station platform and the car, and the closing of the vestibule door automatically returns the extension under the car platform. When the extension is not needed, the connections can easily be thrown out of gear by means of a small handle set in the wall of the vestibule of the railroad car.

A SAFETY PLATFORM FOR TRAINS
Which automatically bridges the gap between station and car platform

A CONVENIENT METHOD OF HANDLING ASHES

AN EFFICIENT, clean, labor-saving device for removing ashes from furnaces consists of several corrugated iron ash cans mounted in a circle on a revolving frame sunk in a pit on a level with the floor. One side of this revolving frame lies under the furnace grate and is open to receive the ashes which fall into it. Through an opening under the grate it can be seen when a can is full and then the apparatus is revolved by a lever—it is so evenly mounted that a child can easily turn it—so that the full can may be removed and set out for the ash man and an empty can put in place under the open-

A ROTARY ASH RECEIVER
A clean and efficient device for removing ashes from the furnace

ing. In case a can is too full the surplus ashes are automatically scraped off into an empty can on revolving the apparatus.

This is not only a labor-saving device for collecting ashes, but it assists also in keeping furnace rooms clean.

AIDING AMERICAN MANUFACTURERS

IN AN attempt to awaken American manufacturers to the value of foreign trade, the United States Department of Commerce, through the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, has obtained from its commercial attachés, of whom there are ten stationed in various important trade centres throughout the world, samples of hardware from almost every country with specific data concerning the cost and selling price of each article. These samples, which range from ice-cream freezers to dog collars, have been on exhibition in New York City for the last few months, whence it is proposed to send the exhibit to various manufacturing centres of the United States so that other manufacturers and merchants may have an opportunity to study the display.

Because of this usefulness to manufacturers and others the Department of Commerce hopes to increase shortly the number of commercial attachés stationed throughout the world.

TO STIMULATE THE EXTENSION OF AMERICAN TRADE
Exhibit of samples of hardware from all over the world gathered by the Department of Commerce to encourage American manufacturers to seek foreign trade

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

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MR. JAMES W. GERARD

THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AT BERLIN, WHO HAS HAD TO BEAR A HEAVY BURDEN OF RESPONSIBILITY THROUGHOUT THE WAR AND MORE ESPECIALLY IN THE RECENT CRISIS OVER GERMANY'S METHOD OF SUBMARINE WARFARE

THE
WORLD'S WORK

JUNE, 1916

VOLUME XXXII NUMBER 2

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

ON SEPTEMBER 1st the German Government, through Count von Bernstorff, gave the United States Government the following pledge:

> Liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without safety of the lives of non-combatants, provided that the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance.

After several ships were sunk in defiance of this pledge, culminating with the torpedoing of the *Sussex*, the German Government, in answer to our ultimatum, said that the pledge of September 1st had not covered ships within the war zone established by Germany around the British Isles, but that the Government had now given submarine commanders instructions to respect our rights in all waters.

These instructions to the German submarine commanders cover the ground which we had thought had been covered before and which we wished finally settled. They were a little more explicit than the promises given after the *Arabic* sinking, but on the other hand they were not promises to us. They were instructions given to German commanders, and the note contained no assurances to us that these instructions will not be changed. On the contrary the note very distinctly intimated that they would be changed if we did not conduct our relations with England in a way satisfactory to Germany.

In answering our ultimatum Germany issued orders to fulfil our demands but in turn made demands on us and threatened to rescind them if we did not comply.

The President's reply to that note was prompt and to the point. It accepted the orders given to the submarine commanders as *bona fide*. And it notified Germany that these orders must be observed regardless of our dealings with England:

> In order . . . to avoid any possible misunderstanding, the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it cannot for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative.

This leaves the American people with the feeling that another submarine atrocity means action on our part. A year begun by the loss of the *Lusitania* and ushered out with the sinking of the *Sussex* should have exhausted the words of strict accountability and should have left us with the assurance that Germany will keep faith this time, and ready for action if she does not.

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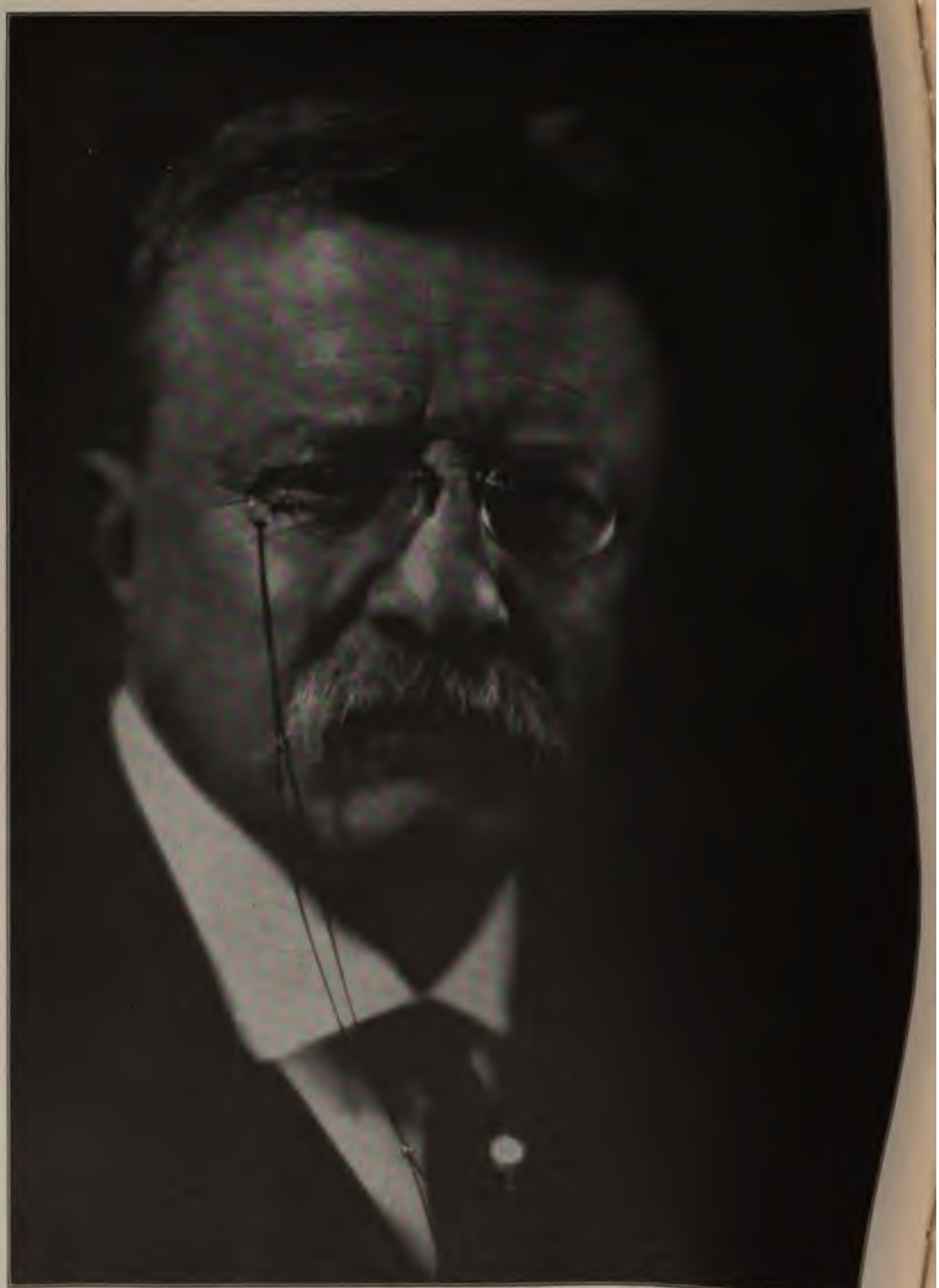

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COLONEL THEODORE ROOSEVELT

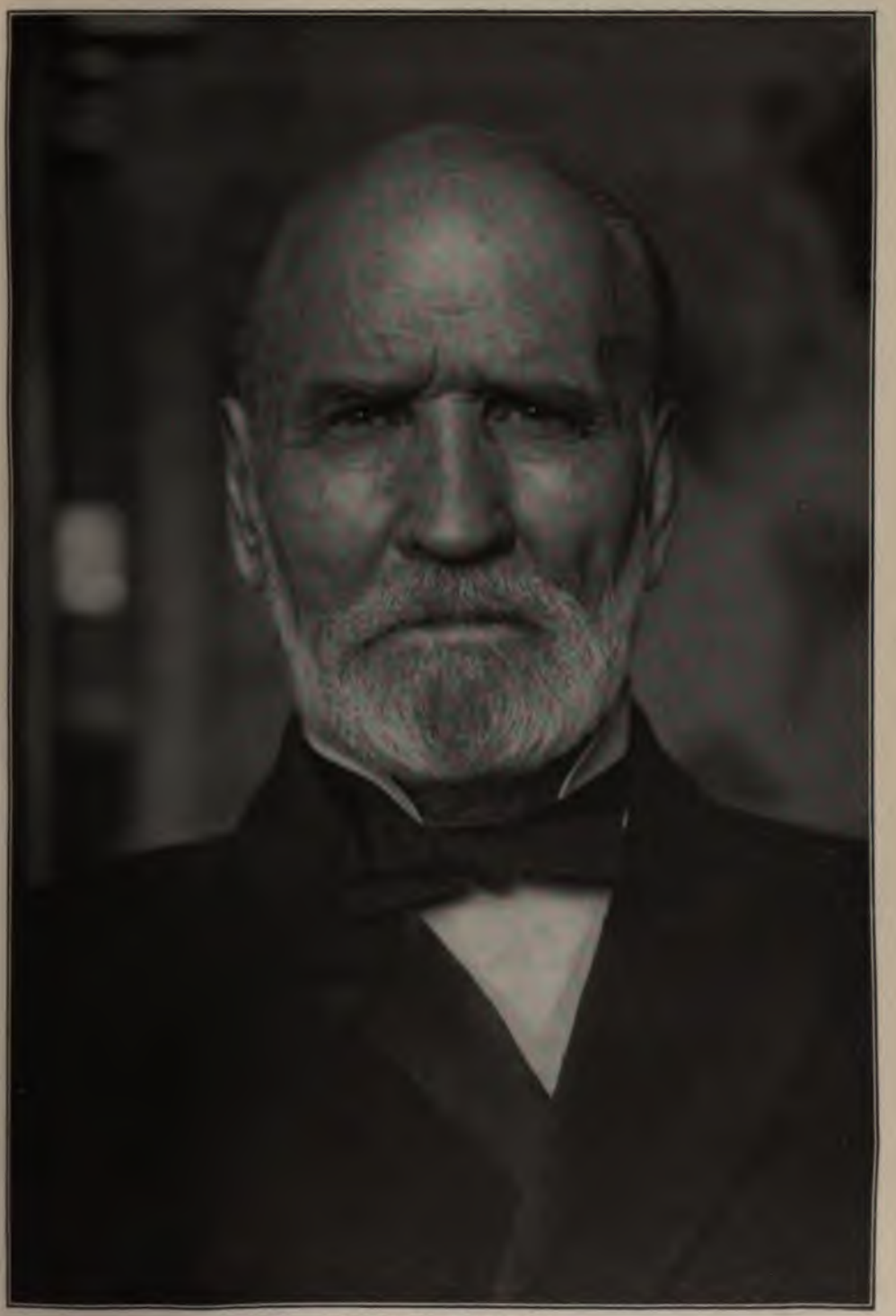
"Not only questions of elective and legislative machinery, but all questions of internal reform must stand second to our insistence that this is one nation, the American nation, not a mere tangle of quarreling nationalities, and second also to the duty of facing the fact that at present all moral sanctions and standards in international relations are imperiled, and that our prime duty is to fit ourselves to defend the lives of our people and the honor and vital interest of this nation"

COUNT SHIGENOBU OKUMA, PREMIER OF JAPAN

"We must at all costs fight against the Kaiser's spirit of conquest until we shall have crushed it. But when the spirit of conquest is crushed, the German people shall not be crushed with it. . . . Our attitude toward the American people will be the same. We shall attack any mistaken ideas or principles without mercy. We do not, of course, hate individuals. The time now has come when humanity should awaken. The present war has brought about the opportunity. We should free ourselves from the mistaken racial competition which has arisen from prejudice." [See "The March of Events"]

MR. HOPEWELL L. ROGERS

THE BUSINESS MANAGER OF THE CHICAGO "DAILY NEWS," WHO WAS RECENTLY ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS' ASSOCIATION AT ITS CONVENTION IN NEW YORK CITY



MR. JAMES WILSON

FORMER SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE, WHO WAS ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY, WHICH WAS RECENTLY FORMED IN NEW YORK TO IMPROVE AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

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THE NEW AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AT PETROGRAD

MR. JOHN E. REDMOND

THE LEADER OF THE IRISH NATIONALISTS IN THEIR STRUGGLE FOR HOME RULE, WHO DENOUNCED THE RECENT SINN FEIN RIOTS IN IRELAND AND DECLARED THAT HIS COUNTRY'S HOPE WAS THE TRIUMPH OF THE PRINCIPLES FOR WHICH THE ENTENTE ALLIES ARE FIGHTING

MR. GEORGE A. GASTON

PRESIDENT OF GASTON, WILLIAMS & WIGMORE, INC., OF NEW YORK, WHO, IN COÖPERATION WITH THE GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY, OF NEW YORK, HAVE ORGANIZED A NEW AMERICAN MERCHANT FLEET TO CARRY AMERICAN GOODS IN FOREIGN TRADE

MR. GEORGE J. BALDWIN

PRESIDENT OF THE PACIFIC MAIL STEAMSHIP COMPANY AND FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CORPORATION: THE FORMER BEING THE OWNERS OF ONE OF THE LARGEST MERCHANT FLEETS FLYING THE AMERICAN FLAG, AND THE LATTER THE LARGEST ORGANIZATION TO EXPAND AMERICAN FOREIGN TRADE

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LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GEORGE O. SQUIER

OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY SIGNAL CORPS, WHO RECENTLY DISCOVERED A NEW METHOD OF TRANSMITTING CABLE MESSAGES WHICH WILL INCREASE THE CAPACITY OF EACH CABLE FROM 50 TO 100 PER CENT. THIS AND HIS OTHER WIRE, CABLE, AND WIRELESS COMMUNICATION INVENTIONS HAVE PLACED HIM IN THE FOREFRONT OF TO-DAY'S INVENTORS

AT DOES THE REPUBLICAN PARTY STAND FOR?

HE Republican Party has taken on nearly all the attributes of an habitual opposition. It does not for anything in particular except a to office. Mr. Roosevelt is for unated Americanism. But Messrs. ins and La Follette are very favordisposed toward the Germanan vote. Mr. Root condemns the ent for not being vigorous enough iermany. Mr. Mann is on record : a diplomatic break with any nation ' cause, at present. The Republican n the McLemore and Gore resolu- ı the House and Senate was no more ic than the Democratic. The Old are in favor of restoring a high gain. Mr. Roosevelt says that this ing of the belly and unworthy of : consideration. Altogether the Re- ın Party stands for very little except that the President will hang himself ular favor in such a way that it can to office on his unpopularity. A hat seriously considered a candidate stice Hughes, when his beliefs on al questions of the day are unknown, ridently has no very firm convictions wn.

fundamental principles which the lican Party formulates for the compaign depended right up to the on the actions of the President. epublican Party as a whole has not e courage to make any set of princie campaign issue. It is a very divided party without much real hip and without a constructive nme.

istory, the task of the Republican ition of 1916 will be set down as to the task of the Democratic Con- ı of 1912. Each had to find a and a platform and make a working a party whose chief bond of union belief in the then ruling party and ent wish to succeed it in power. emocratic Convention in 1912 was ful. It nominated a man of leaderd ability who gained the public nce, won the election, and made his party into a working organism. Mr. Wilson was, of course, greatly helped in carrying the election by the split among his opponents. The Republican candidate this year will have no such help. Democratic politicians do not particularly care for the President, but they realize that he is their only possible candidate and he will, therefore, lead a united party. Mr. Bryan, the chief disturber of the Democratic Party, failed so miserably when in office that his power to harm the President is so small as largely to remove much of the joy of exercising it.

The President can appeal to the people on the extraordinary legislative record of his first two years and upon his persistence in keeping the country at peace. He has been so patient in the face of German atrocities that the Republicans can hardly make any capital out of a peace programme; and the President has used his great office so little to further the cause of preparedness that no opponent will be able to capture any votes by being less in favor of reorganizing our defenses than he has been. On the Mexican question, also, the Republicans will be confined almost entirely to stating what they would have done during the last four years if they had been in office or to urging more vigorous punitive measures. The former is not very effective, and the latter is hardly possible with the present size of our military forces.

The real platform of the Republicans is that the President has misjudged the number of American lives which the public was willing for Germany and Mexico to take, and that the public is more in earnest about national defense than is the present Administration.

A CONTINUING MEXICAN TROUBLE

THE difficulties of our relations with Mexico are not likely to be greatly decreased immediately, for they are the outgrowth of conditions which take a long time to change. As long as the turbulent elements in Northern Mexico are not restrained and as long as the prejudice against Americans remains, the possibilities

of trouble will flourish along the border. The present situation is further complicated by the fact that the *de facto* government of Carranza is *de facto* by courtesy only in Northern Mexico, so that it does not keep order along the border; and by the further fact that the total available Regular Army of the United States has not been sufficient to make good Carranza's deficiencies. Nor did the addition of the militia of the border states essentially change the situation.

The First Chief has been in a very delicate situation. To acquiesce in the operations of the American punitive expedition was to link his name with the foreigner and give his rivals an opportunity to proclaim themselves the real patriots who would resist rather than coöperate with foreign invaders. Yet flatly to oppose the American forces meant that he would ultimately follow the path of Huerta.

The American army likewise had an almost impossible task. They were ordered to take Villa, which meant a long and almost hopeless chase into a country which might suddenly at any time become actively hostile. The troops were to coöperate with Carranzista forces which were always inefficient and possibly treacherous. The almost inevitable clash occurred at Parral, and once the clash had come the inevitable concentration of the American forces took place. The Parral incident then seemed much like a victory over the Americans. Not long after this, at the very moment when Generals Scott and Obregon were making agreements for coöperation, a force of Mexican raiders crossed into the Big Bend country of Texas and, on a smaller scale, repeated Villa's exploit at Columbus. These Mexican raiders, moreover, came out of Chihuahua, which Carranza claimed to have completely under his control.

These facts confronted us with the necessity of maintaining military forces in occupation of large sections of Northern Mexico, for in no other way can we prevent the launching of raids against us from this Mexican territory. With the most careful handling by such a military diplomat as General Scott and with good luck it was possible that order might be restored along the border and our troops withdrawn to our side of the Rio Grande. But it was also possible that at any moment the country might turn against us actively, and the war which has threatened us with more or less immediateness for the last three years would be upon us. Withdrawing from Northern Mexico is much more difficult than withdrawing from Vera Cruz, for when we left the seaport we broke contact with the Mexicans there. Unfortunately that cannot be done by retiring behind the Rio Grande.

Yet our affairs on the border are in good hands, and the actions of our troops may be sufficiently wise and firm to convert the people in the occupied territory and to convince the leaders that coöperation with us is their one chance of remaining in power. But whatever else happens, the actions of our troops and of our Government must be sufficiently firm to make an effective end to raids into our territory.

PREPAREDNESS VERSUS MILITARISM

THE President, in speaking to a anti-militarist delegation that visited him, explained to them a thing which apparently is much misunderstood in this country.

He defined the difference between militarism and preparedness:

> I should say it was not inconsistent with the traditions of the country that the people should know how to take care of themselves; but it is inconsistent with the traditions of the country that their knowledge of arms should be used by a Governmental organization which would make and organize a great army subject to orders, to do what a particular group of men might at the time think it was best to have it do. That is the militarism of Europe, where a few persons can determine what an armed nation is to do. That is what I understand militarism to be.
>
> But a nation acquainted with arms is not a militaristic nation, unless there is somebody who can by an order determine what they shall all do with that force. I think we ought to be very careful not to let these different things seem as if they were the same.

To have militarism, then, you must the Government in the cont

persons who can determine what an armed nation is to do" or "somebody who can by an order determine what they shall all do with that force." In other words, to have militarism you must have an autocracy, a ruling "few," or an absolute monarchy, a "somebody" who can rule by order. In a democracy you cannot have militarism, for in a democracy there is no single ruler and no small ruling group.

There is much reason to think that there are a "few persons" representing industry and the army in such countries as Japan and Germany, who can and do determine what those nations are to do.

In France and Switzerland, on the other hand, the Army has no more control over the policy of the Government than our Army has over our Government, not as much as our army of the past, the G. A. R., has over us. Many people have thought of militarism and universal service as synonymous, because they often exist side by side. Both are present in the autocracies of Germany and Japan. There is universal service but not militarism in the republics of France and Switzerland.

If we are a real republic we need not fear militarism and should welcome universal training as the most democratic form of national defense and as being most consistent with the American tradition written in our bill of rights where every one is guaranteed the right to carry arms, certainly with the implication that he would know how to use them.

We could with perfect consistency to our Democratic ideals and much profit get into a condition where our President, instead of having to admit our inability to patrol the Mexican border, could truthfully make a statement comparable in democracy and self-respect to the following, taken from a speech of the Prime Minister of Australia:

> True, we were unprepared in a military sense. But . . . Australia has been able to do what she has done because we adopted as the corner-stone of our democratic edifices the system of compulsory military training. We believe that there is but one way by which a nation, being free, can remain so, and that is that every man shall not only be willing to defend his country, but be able to do so. And we think that if it is right, as it surely is, that a democracy should educate its citizens so that the franchise shall be wisely exercised—for government by the many if the many are not educated is a doubtful good—so we think that the State should train the citizen so that he may be able to defend his country, his home, and his liberties.
>
> The defense of one's country is the primary duty of citizenship. It is the first duty of free men.

OLD PAPER AND A NEW SPIRIT

THE changed conditions of industry developed by the war have caused a very serious shortage in the paper supplies of this country and the attending rising prices. The difficulties which the low stocks and high prices of paper put in the way of almost every kind of business activity are so serious that the Department of Commerce has been moved to distribute broadcast the following notice:

> *Please post in a conspicuous place.*
>
> DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
> WASHINGTON, D. C.
>
> **SHORTAGE OF PAPER MATERIAL**
>
> ***Save Your Waste Paper and Rags***
>
> **The attention of the Department of Commerce is called, by the president of a large paper manufacturing company, to the fact that there is a serious shortage of raw material for the manufacture of paper, including rags and old papers. He urges that the Department should make it known that the collecting and saving of rags and old papers would greatly better existing conditions for American manufacturers.**
>
> **Something like 15,000 tons of different kinds of paper and paper board are manufactured every day in the United States and a large proportion of this, after it has served its purpose, could be used over again in some class of paper. A large part of it, however, is either burned or otherwise wasted. This, of course, has to be replaced by new materials. In the early history of the paper industry publicity was given to the importance of saving rags. It is of scarcely less importance now. The Department of Commerce is glad to bring this matter to the attention of the public in the hope that practical results may flow from it. A little attention to the saving of rags and old papers will mean genuine relief to our paper industry and a diminishing drain upon our sources of supply for new materials.**
>
> **A list of dealers in paper stocks can be obtained from the local Chamber of Commerce or Board of Trade.**
>
> WILLIAM C. REDFIELD, Secretary.

Individual action based upon the Government's suggestion will not only help the paper situation but it will give a little valuable practice in individual coöperation with the Government which has wrought such savings in the warring nations abroad.

PROSPERITY STRIKES

THERE is almost a definite law governing the relation of strikes to prosperity. When good times come upon this country and prices and profits rise, an epidemic of strikes always follows. The workers wish a part of the increase. They feel that the employers can afford to give it to them. Moreover, in busy times it is harder for an employer to find men to take the places of strikers.

Within twelve months, company after company, realizing that labor demands would follow the unmistakable evidences of prosperity, warded off trouble by voluntary increases in wages, such as the $60,000,000 yearly increase in the payroll of the Steel Corporation. Many of these advances in pay were made from the better motive of fair treatment rather than merely from the desire to ward off trouble. But whatever actuated them, they did help prevent the spread of the strike fever.

Other companies, however, either could not or would not forestall the demands of the workers. Many kinds of business are in no condition to incur greater labor expenses, because the war prosperity has not been evenly distributed. High prices have hurt many businesses much more than they have helped them. Others that could afford concessions have been unwilling to make them. So this spring of prosperity finds the sky clouded over with labor troubles. Coal miners, railroad employees, subway diggers, shirtwaist makers—all kinds and conditions of labor have struck or threatened to strike.

And yet, despite the numbers of men and the amounts of money involved, the strikes of prosperity are not the most serious strikes that the country has to face. The bitter warfare between labor and capital comes when prosperity is on the ebb, when profits are small and employers begin to talk of reducing wages. When the manufacturer feels that he must reduce costs or shut up shop he is a hard man to fight, for he cannot afford to be beaten. Labor, on its side, will fight to the last ditch to hold the rate of pay which it achieved in good times, for even with it in force a reduced amount of work yields less money per week than busy times accustomed them to.

The strikes of prosperity are struggles for the division of rich spoils in which both sides can afford to be generous. The strikes of depression are struggles between starvation and bankruptcy—bitter fights in which neither side can afford to give in.

The present labor situation, therefore, as troubled as it appears, should not contain the germs of such violent strikes as are caused by periods of financial depression.

THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN

WHEN the Burnett Immigration Bill passed the House of Representatives, Baron Chinda, the Japanese Ambassador to the United States, immediately presented a protest because the bill contained a provision discriminating against Japanese immigration.

When the twenty-one demands which the Japanese made on China, early in 1915, became known the United States filed with the Japanese Government a protest against the pressing of all these demands.

Japan and the United States look very differently upon several questions. The Japanese laws do not allow any foreigners to acquire land or to become citizens of Japan. It is a restriction, but not discriminatory between one foreign nation and another. The United States, on the other hand, welcomes foreigners of almost every kind but Chinese and Japanese. This discrimination rankles in the very soul of Japan, for it is a country which is particularly sensitive to foreign opinion.

Japan also looks with little favor upon our possible domination of the Pacific. In 1898 she officially protested against our acquisition of Hawaii, and she looked with ill-concealed disapproval upon our capture and purchase of the Philippines.

Moreover, Japan does not believe in the Open Door and the integrity of China—policies which have been distinctively American. She paid lip allegiance to both policies when it was plain that partition of China would leave her little spoil and the door closed to her. As conditions have changed toward these Am

been reversed. Despite her promise e contrary she has closed the door of nerce in Korea and Manchuria and s doing her utmost to gain control much of China as she can.

ie rulers of Japan believe in the right- ness of conquest exactly as do the s of Germany. They believe, also, anything is right which adds to the s, territory, or power of the Japanese ire. And they have as clearly de- a policy for the control of the Orient ie most violent Pan-German had for amous *Drang Nach Osten.*

ie Japanese leaders and the Japanese ; are quite frank in their discussion ipan's mission to control the East— nore extreme papers even intimating India will sometime come under nese dominion. For despite an alliance one and a much heralded sentimental dship with the other, neither England :he United States is popular in Japan. the conflict between democracy and principles of nationality and self- mment on one side and the forces of cracy and the principle that might is on the other, Japan finds herself in :what uncongenial company. The al- e with England helped to give Japan atus in the East and afforded an ortunity for the capture of Kiao-chau. it now hampers Japanese ambitions, England as well as the United States ested against Japan's famous twenty- lemands on China.

it is hard for the trusting American l to believe that there is another on in the world seeking a place in the with as much determination and as scruples as Germany, a cursory glance apan's political record in the last ty years should convince us. If it not, we may have the information the pen of the Japanese Premier. Carl Crow, in his illuminating new , "Japan and America," writes:

December, 1914, the Tokyo magazine, *Nihon*, published an exhaustive review rrent political questions by Premier Count ia. After discussing in some detail the husian theory of population and some iples of evolution, he said:

hus those who are superior will govern those who are inferior. I believe within two or three centuries the world will have a few great governing countries and others will be governed by them, will pay homage to the mighty. In other words, about four or five great countries, each having a population of five hundred millions, will be developed, and the other countries will be attached to these great ones. For instance, England, Russia, Germany, and France may be such countries and there may be one or two other independent countries. In that event, woe to the nations which are governed. We should from now on prepare ourselves to become a governing nation and not a nation governed."

A little further on in this lengthy but remarkable article, the Premier frankly indicated the determination of Japan to settle differences with the United States, which, it will be noticed, was not included in the list of great nations which would survive the next few centuries. He said:

But we must at all costs fight against the Kaiser's spirit of conquest until we shall have crushed it. But when the spirit of conquest is crushed, the German people shall not be crushed with it. They will only free themselves from the wrong leaders, or be governed by those who have mended their ways. They will be able to show their worth in the future by developing a new civilization.

Our attitude toward the American people will be the same. We shall attack any mistaken ideas or principles without mercy. We do not, of course, hate individuals. The time now has come when humanity should awaken. The present war has brought about the opportunity. We should free ourselves from the mistaken racial competition which has arisen from prejudice. This is the great lesson to be learned from the war, and we hope that the United States, which is our good, friendly neighbor, will at once forget its unreasonable anti-Japanese sentiment which is based on prejudices.

In carrying out Japan's destiny to be one of the governing nations and for settling differences with other nations, the Japanese Government is both willing to break faith and to fight.

On August 15, 1914, Japan sent an ultimatum to Germany the second demand of which read:

The German Government, *with the object of its release to China*, shall hand over the leased territory of Kiao-chau to the Japanese Govern-

ment on or after September 15th, without condition and without compensation.

On August 24th Count Okuma cabled to the New York *Independent* an article in which he said:

As Premier of Japan, I have stated and I now again state to the people of America and of the world that Japan has no ulterior motive, no desire to secure more territory, no thought of depriving China or other peoples of anything which they now possess.

Nevertheless, when Japan obtained Kiao-chau, the pledge to return it to China was repudiated.

When the capture of Kiao-chau was completed Japan began the next move. She presented her celebrated twenty-one demands to China and threatened the Chinese if they divulged their contents. In the meanwhile Japan gave to the other Powers with whom it had treaties to protect the integrity of China what purported to be copies of these demands.

These memoranda, however, were very far from being the full demands. Their purpose was to allay suspicion in other countries, England particularly, until Japan could force the concessions from China, in the hope that it would then be too late for any other country to interfere.

There is no good end to be served by calling attention to these Japanese policies and practices except as they affect the United States. But it is of great importance for us to keep certain fundamental facts clearly in mind.

Japan believes that any war or any kind of diplomacy is justified if it helps Japan toward her destiny.

Japan believes that this destiny is the overlordship of the East, which includes domination of China and the end of the American policy of the Open Door.

Japan's possessions reach south almost to the Philippines now.

Japan holds a deep grievance against the United States on account of race discrimination.

In these circumstances it is plain that peace and friendship with Japan are sure only so long as international conditions or our own state of national defense makes demands or aggression by Japan seem likely to be ineffective.

THE RAILROADS AND INVESTORS

MR. IVY L. LEE, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, has set forth the present railroad difficulties in a succinct little pamphlet called "The Crux of the Railroad Difficulty." He points out:

That the gross and net earnings of the railroads in the United States in 1915 were the greatest in history.

That these earnings were made by working to the full limit and beyond the safe limit the transportation facilities of the country.

That despite this overwork the transportation machine has been inadequate and that its limitations restrict the commerce of the country.

Yet, despite the obvious deficiencies of the railroad equipment and trackage, there was less new building in 1915 than in any year since the Civil War. And this condition extends into this year.

The reason is that, despite the obvious need of new construction and the quantities of available money, the railroads, with all their needs, cannot get credit at reasonable rates. Railroad credit is as pressing a problem as rural credit. Mr. Lee and Mr. Otto H. Kahn and Mr. Frank Trumbull and almost every one else who knows anything about railroads say that the lack of railroad credit is due to the present chaos of regulation by forty-three state commissions and the Federal Interstate Commerce Commission. These commissions prescribe the kind of cars, number of train crew, hours of labor, style of car, kind of headlights, brakes, signals, etc., and the regulations of the different commissions are often, if not usually, contradictory. These regulations seriously affect, when they do not largely govern, the cost of operation. On the other hand, the commissions also fix the freight and passenger rates, which govern the income.

In other words, when a railroad goes to the investors for money for additions it has some such proposition as this:

"Gentlemen, we have a railroad in a good territory with more business in sight than we can handle, and we want you to put some of your money into additions and betterments so that we can take care

his additional business. The road is earning well and with these additions ıght to earn better."

It ought to," answers the canny in-or, "but will it? You cannot give ny assurance of the conditions under :h you will operate. Your line runs ugh five states, and there are, there-, five state commissions and the :ral commission, all of which can add our expenses and reduce your income. ɔuld be glad to invest in your railroad agement, but I have not the faith :he wisdom of six commissions to my money on them. I will put my ey in steel or something else."

› the railroad tries elsewhere. Again investor says: "No, there is too much lation for me. The majority of roads ıe Southwest is in the hands of a re-er from too much regulation and high ıce. You see, a lot of you railroad ws ran the finances of your business a bucket shop and gave the public impression that they were paying a of money for transportation which taken as loot." Now a wise investor be could tell which railroads were as railroads and which were run as ıet shops, but the public could not. the public authorized the commissions to squeeze the railroads so that there would not be any margin in the business for loot. The squeezing process has hurt everybody concerned, public, investors, railroads. But a man would rather suffer financial loss than be subject to loot. Now the worst trouble is that until the public gets back its confidence in the integrity of railroad management it will not try to stop the squeezing process. Then it will take a long time to translate their confidence into wise action by forty-three state commissions.

It is no wonder, then, that the railroad managers, investors, and that part of the public which has studied the subject want to consolidate all regulation in the hands of the Federal Government and make that regulation of such a character that the investor need not fear to put money into railroad securities and the public need not fear that it will have to pay a transportation tax for the benefit of high finance. On one side we need to regain confidence in railroad management, and on the other side we need to regain confidence in the public's attitude toward railroads. Both are improving slowly. The consolidation of all regulation under the Federal Government would help the process along tremendously.

WHEN IS A HIGH GRADE BOND CHEAP?

y month the WORLD'S WORK *publishes in this part of the magazine an article on experiences with investments and lessons to be drawn therefrom.*

A FEW weeks ago a man in Indiana wrote a letter to this department about certain phases of his experience that involved the question of the ionship between values and prices in nvestment market.

is purpose in writing was primarily to ire about a number of bonds of a ırupt railroad in the West whose price uations he had been watching for : time. There were two of the road's junior bonds in which he was especially interested. Regarding one of these, in particular—an issue of second mortgage 4 per cents., then quoted at considerably less than half their face value—he said: "I am inclined to think they are an excellent bargain for a man who can stay with them through the reorganization, but I should like to have you tell me how to judge."

He then went on to suggest the probable explanation of how he came to be giving consideration to securities of such char-

acter. "Some years ago," he said, "I became impressed favorably with a certain bond and got your opinion on it. I purchased $5,000 worth at 80, and have been getting my interest regularly ever since. The present market value of the bond is about 88.

"Most of the high grade bonds that I hold would show a loss, if I had to sell them now; whereas, most of the second and third grade bonds I hold would show a good profit."

And he added: "I attribute this situation to the fact that I have always been accustomed to purchase high grade bonds from time to time, 'at the market'; whereas I rarely touch a second or third grade bond, except after a severe decline, and then only after studying its merits closely."

Underlying the experience referred to here, and the inquiry which grew out of it, is a sound and practical theory of investment buying. The theory is that of employing a part of one's surplus capital in bonds of the kind which, while possessing ample basic security, have yet to attain their full growth and value.

The task of finding the really safe bond that offers good future prospects is, indeed, one to which most investors are tempted to turn their attention at some point in their experience. It is a task that is seldom easy of accomplishment, yet it is not as technical as it looks at first glance. To illustrate in a general way how the successful investor sets about such a task, a brief outline may be given of the kind of scrutiny which the railroad bonds referred to by the man in Indiana as having been bought a few years ago at 80 had to undergo.

HOW TO JUDGE A RAILROAD BOND

Such scrutiny is threefold: legal, financial, and personal. First, what claim have the bonds against the physical property of the railroad? The answer to this question shows what is called the "grade" of the bonds—their safety as to principal, as compared with other bonds of the same class. Second, what is the railroad's surplus income after paying all fixed charges, including bond interest, for the year? The simple ratio expressing the answer to this question is compared with similar figures for other railroads in the same territory, and leads to a judgment of the bonds' safety as to interest. Third, what kind of men are behind the railroad: what are their records for conducting the business of the road at low cost in the past, and what opportunities lie before them? The answer to this question supplies the "human equation" of the other two. One element that is behind every good investment is good management.

From the answers to these questions, the prospective buyer usually finds it possible to reach some quick conclusion as to the standing of the bonds, provisional, of course, on careful verification of figures and statements through his investment bankers. That done, he next looks for comparisons with other bonds of like grade, which will as a rule reveal both the cause and the extent of whatever gap there may be between market price and real value.

It is obvious, however, that this kind of scrutiny cannot be applied in a similar way to the defaulted bonds of bankrupt railroads. For the very conditions out of which bankruptcy usually arises deprive the investigator at once of two of his essential tests—those for safety of interest and the human equation. And experience has shown that the other test becomes complicated in these circumstances by such a maze of legal technicalities as to make it frequently little better than guesswork.

It is true that many people who bought such bonds at low prices during former periods of railroad receiverships made a great deal of money. They were people, however, who had the temperament as well as the resources to stand behind their securities and await results. Such buying in this category of securities is apt more often than not to lay up a heritage of disappointment for the average man.

But if the investor in question was running the risk of carrying this theory of buying too far in one direction, he had been guilty of the almost equally unfortunate error of failing to carry it far enough in the other. In fact, had he adhered strictly to the practice of buying "high grade" bonds "at the market," on the confident assumption that their price at the moment necessarily represented their

actual value, it is conceivable that he might have seen a precious amount of his capital slip through his hands.

There is always an ascertainable point at which the gilt-edge bond is "cheap" to buy for investment purposes. The market movements of such bonds, the kind that is bought by the savings banks, trustees, and other custodians of people's money, as well as by business men who require marketability and large borrowing power on their funds, are controlled by the current loaning rate for money and by general business conditions. These influences may act independently of each other, or they may act together, as at the present time.

The rule is that when industry is booming, and when interest rates are low, bonds of this grade are eagerly sought after by such buyers and are bid up to high prices. Or conversely, when industry is slack, and when money is tight and expensive to borrow, bonds of this grade are sold and their prices are depressed.

It is not difficult for the investor to make sure in which of these two investment periods he finds himself and to govern his buying accordingly. At a time like the present, for instance, even the most cautious investor might well consider the advisability of deferring, for a while at least, his purchases of gilt-edge bonds of the active market variety. Many of them, as the Indiana investor found, are low in comparison with former periods. But few of them are cheap.

THE MAILED FIST IN AMERICAN HISTORY

THE SAMOAN EPISODE, AND HOW A STORM AVERTED TROUBLE WITH THE UNITED STATES AND ENGLAND AGAINST GERMANY—PRINCE HENRY'S INSULT TO ADMIRAL DEWEY AT HONGKONG—THE PERIL OF A EUROPEAN COALITION AGAINST THE UNITED STATES IN THE SPANISH WAR, AND HOW ENGLAND PREVENTED IT—THE FAMOUS VON DIEDERICH INCIDENT AT MANILA BAY

BY

JAMES MIDDLETON

"AN AMERICAN representative, in presenting his letter of credence from the President of the United States to the ruler of the German Empire," says Andrew D. White, in his Autobiography, "has one advantage in the fact that he has an admirable topic ready to his hand, such as perhaps no other minister has. This boon was given us by Frederick the Great. He, among the first of continental rulers, recognized the States as an independent Power; and, therefore, every American minister since, including myself, has found it convenient, on presenting the President's autograph letter to the King or Emperor, to recall this event and to build upon it such an oratorical edifice as circumstances may warrant. The fact that the great Frederick recognized the new American Republic, not from love of it, but on account of his detestation of England, provoked by her conduct during his desperate struggle against his continental enemies, is, of course, on such occasions diplomatically kept in the background."

Certain orators have recently emphasized the traditional friendship of the German Government and the United States, beginning with this considerably overworked enthusiasm of Frederick for American democracy. Until the establishment of the German Empire, in 1871, the United States had no difficulties with Germany. Our treaties with Prussia, still in force, represented a high ideal of

international relations. The German states showed none of that hostility to the Union during the Civil War that so disgraced other European Powers. No German emperor, like Napoleon III, attempted to form a European coalition against the United States; no German statesman, like Gladstone, declared, in a public speech, that "Jefferson Davis had made a nation" and showed full sympathy with the Southern Confederacy. No *Alabama* or *Shenandoah* sailed from German ports to prey on American commerce. If we could go back forty-five years, to the Franco-Prussian war, we should find a startling contrast to the present situation. Americans sympathized then with Germany and prayed for the defeat of France! How else could they express their detestation of a pinchbeck emperor who had overturned French liberties, sought to extend his imperialism by force of arms over Europe, exerted all his influence to destroy the American Republic, and defied the Monroe Doctrine by setting up an Empire in Mexico?

THE CHANGE OF GERMAN ATTITUDE

As long as Germany existed a land of philosophers, musicians, and poets seeking national and individual idealism and uninspired by the desire of conquering Europe and mankind, she found a responsive and admiring friend in the United States. But the Prussification of Germany changed that, as it changed so many other things. Until 1871 there was no German Empire; this new aggressive state, founded by a great military victory, evidently changed the German character, or at least brought to the front traits that had long lain dormant. It certainly disturbed the even tenor of German-American relations. Many of our differences had a rather sordid turn, pigs and sugar apparently constituting for several years the chief subjects of diplomatic intercourse. The German agrarians —the junker aristocracy — had always been restive at the large importations of meat from the United States and had little difficulty in finding reasons for excluding it. Whenever Germany discovered that American pork and sausage were unsanitary, the United States could usually suggest justifiable reasons for the exclusion of German beet-sugar. The two nations for many weary years exhausted all the talents of their diplomatic representatives on this absorbing theme. This and the German-American who stayed in the United States long enough to obtain citizenship and who, returning to Germany, claimed exemption from military service under the ægis of the American flag, constantly tended to promote ill-feeling.

THE SAMOAN INCIDENT

But Bismarck's plans for the creation of German colonies first caused really bad blood. In the Samoan episode the modern German, or Prussian, spirit showed itself in all its swagger and offensiveness. Americans of the present generation little appreciate how serious this Samoan situation became; only American energy, as illustrated in the conduct of an American naval officer, Commander Leary, and a timely and devastating hurricane, prevented war. One episode, the cumulation of several months' bickerings, shows how serious the situation was.

A German corvette, the *Adler*, lined up before Apia, and trained its guns upon the "rebels" led by Chief Malietoa. Before it could fire its first volley, however, something happened that took the German commander's breath away. A small war vessel, named the *Adams*, and bearing the American flag, sailed in between the German ship and the shore. Her decks were stripped for action and her entire broadside was turned in the direction of the German vessel. Presently Commander Leary, accompanied by his staff, appeared on board the *Adler*, presenting his compliments to Captain Fritze. "If you fire," he said, "you must fire through the ship which I have the honor to command. I shall not be answerable for the consequences." He then returned to the *Adams*, the drums of which were heard beating as they called the men to quarters. What Captain Leary did, of course, was to present squarely the issue of war or peace to the German naval officer, precisely as, eleven years later, Dewey pi

d the same issue to Admiral von erich. That Leary's act was some- audacious is evident when one con- s that his ship contained nothing old-fashioned smooth-bore guns while *Adler* had a fine assortment of new p armament. Captain Fritze did not t the challenge; he steamed away German swagger, temporarily at , lost something of its virulence.

is lively little scene grew out of a reement, with Germany on one side England and the United States on the , which had made trouble for several . Any one wishing the complete ls will find them splendidly told in rt Louis Stevenson's "Footnote to ory." As far back as 1878, the Amer- Government had secured from the ing "King" the harbor of Pago as a naval station. England also ssed vital interests there. But, time afterward, Germany came , ran up her flag at Apia, and issued oclamation, coolly appropriating the ds to herself. Hardly had the im- l officials done this when the Stars Stripes ascended another near-by pole, announcing an American pro- rate. In the interest of peace, both German and the American Govern- s disavowed the acts of their agents, both flags came down simultaneously. the Germans erected a stool-pigeon , Tamassee, against Malietoa, who friendly to the Americans and the ish. President Cleveland sent three , the Kaiser three, and the English w steel cruiser, the *Calliope*. The est excitement prevailed in the United s; every moment, the public awaited ews that seemed likely to spell war.

A STORM THAT AVERTED A WAR

en occurred one of the strangest des in the history of war and diplo- . Americans who had been picking heir morning papers in daily ex- tion of a clash found that the news, it came, had a very different char- . A terrible typhoon had struck slands, destroying all the American German ships, with some loss of life. the British cruiser, the *Calliope*, escaped. This disaster had a sobering effect upon all three nations. Instead of going to war, England and the United States accepted Bismarck's invitation to come to Berlin and talk the situation over. He evidently depended upon his great skill as a negotiator to accomplish the German aim, which was absolute German supremacy over the islands. The United States maintained that the three nations should control the Samoans jointly, and this was the view that prevailed. It is said that the Samoan settlement was the first diplomatic failure Bismarck had ever sustained. "It has been left to the navy-less American Republic," said the London *Saturday Review*, a paper notorious for its hostility to our country, "to give us a lead in the path of duty and of honor."

EVIDENCES OF GERMAN UNFRIENDLINESS

But this event increased the hostility which Germany nourished against the United States. Even so great an admirer and well wisher of Germany as Andrew D. White, who returned to Berlin as Ambassador in 1897, admits that this unfriendliness widely prevailed. "On my setting down to the business of the Embassy," he writes, contrasting 1897 with 1879, "it appeared that the changes in public sentiment since my former stay as minister, eighteen years before, were great indeed. At that time German feeling was decidedly friendly to the United States. But all this was now changed." And, speaking of the German press, "there were in all Germany but two newspapers of real importance friendly to the United States. . . . All the others were more or less hostile, and some bitterly so. The one which I read every morning was of the worst. During the Spanish War it was especially virulent, being full of statements and arguments to show that corruption was the main characteristic of our Government, cowardice of our army and navy, and hypocrisy of our people. Very edifying were quasi-philosophical articles; and one of these, showing the superiority of the Spanish women to their American sisters, especially as regards education, was a work of genius. . . . The doings of every scapegrace

American university, of every silly woman in Chicago, of every blackguard in New York, of every snob at Newport, of every desperado in the Rocky Mountains, of every club loafer everywhere, were served up as typical examples of American life. The municipal governments of our country, especially that of New York, were an exhaustless quarry from which specimens of every kind of scoundrelism were drawn and used in building up an ideal structure of American life; corruption, lawlessness, and barbarism being its most salient features. Nor was this confined to the more ignorant. Men who stood high in the universities, men of the greatest amiability, who in the former days had been the warmest friends to America, had now become our bitterest opponents, and some of their expressions seemed to point to eventual war."

PRINCE HENRY'S INSULT

An incident at Hongkong, in the early part of 1898, intensified this ill-feeling. At that time, Germany aspired to play a great part in Eastern affairs, in pursuit of which ambition the Kaiser had sent his brother, Prince Henry, with a considerable fleet. The Kaiser had sped his brother farewell in one of his characteristically flamboyant speeches, instructing him to display Germany's "mailed fist" in the Orient. At that time Spanish-American relations were rapidly verging toward war; one result seemed inevitably the destruction of Spain as a colonial Power and Germany, as well as other continental Powers, unfavorably regarded the prospect that her colonies might fall to the United States. Doubtless, part of the duties of this new German squadron was to make "observations," and to stand ready to act in the Philippine situation, should the imperial policy decide on drastic action. The German officers showed their sympathy with Spain and their contempt of the United States in all possible ways.

These insults culminated at a dinner which Prince Henry gave to the officers of the foreign warships, which was attended by Admiral Dewey and other Americans. Following the usual custom, Prince Henry, rising, proposed toasts to the nations whose representatives were his guests. Diplomatic etiquette stipulated that these nations should be mentioned in alphabetical order, the French names being used. The first toast was, therefore, proposed to Germany (*Allemagne.*) Next came England (*Angleterre*) followed by Spain (*Espagne*). Since the French name for the United States is *États-Unis*, the toast to this nation should have followed that to *Espagne*. Ignoring this, Prince Henry next proposed France. Few men are so punctilious on diplomatic etiquette as Admiral Dewey, and, at this affront, he rose, with his officers, and quietly left the table.

A GERMAN APOLOGY

Naturally the incident produced a sensation both in Germany and America. Prince Henry sent an officer to apologize, but Admiral Dewey, again the soul of punctiliousness, refused to accept an apology sent second-hand. His Royal Highness had personally insulted the United States; the same gentleman must personally offer the *amende honorable*. Then Prince Henry made a ceremonial call and apologized. He explained the incident as due to a temporary mental aberration. Although he was using the French names for the other countries, he said, his mind persistently "connoted" the United States under its familiar German appellation, *Vereinigte-Staaten*. The blunder was such a gross one, such an inconceivable violation of international decency, that only a mental twist of this kind could possibly have accounted for it. Probably the American people would have accepted this explanation as satisfactory had not Germany outraged the United States in other ways than by mere breaches of etiquette.

The extracts from Mr. White's autobiography indicate the state of German feeling during the Spanish War. France and Russia were not over-friendly; but Austria and Germany actually attempted to interfere. In this campaign Austria took the lead. The Queen Regent of Spain was an Austrian archduchess, a niece of Emperor Francis Joseph and

greatly beloved by him. Dynastic influence not only persuaded the Emperor to champion Spain against the United States, but the spectacle of an ancient monarchy going to pieces at the blow of a parvenu Republic was also disconcerting to the Central Empires.

OUR GRAVE PERIL IN 1898

In those fatal early weeks in April, 1898, preceding the War, Spain was frantically rushing from one capital to another, imploring assistance against the United States. About the busiest men in Washington were Von Hengelmüller, the Austrian Ambassador, and Von Holleben, who represented the Kaiser. Americans did not understand then, and do not understand now, the peril which then overshadowed them. We thought that our real enemy was Spain; our real enemy, however, was a European coalition against us. Had Austria and Germany had their way, the whole of Europe, backed by its fleets and armies, would have forbidden us from going to war with Spain.

The programme fell to the ground for one reason—England energetically refused to join the conspiracy. Sir Julian Pauncefote was then English Ambassador, and also the dean of the diplomatic corps. On April 6th, acting as dean, he received the Ambassadors of France, Austria, Germany, and Italy, presiding over a meeting big with significance for the United States. The full details of that meeting have never been published. Enough is known, however, to justify the statement that the Ambassadors discussed presenting to President McKinley a note protesting against American intervention in the affairs of Cuba as unjustified and declaring that such intervention would not be regarded with indifference by the great European Powers. But Sir Julian Pauncefote, acting under instructions received from Lord Salisbury, absolutely refused to join in any such protest. With the world's greatest naval Power taking the side of the United States, and with the general impression that such coöperation might take more than a diplomatic form, the carefully laid plans to coerce this country fell to pieces. Instead of this, the diplomats drew up a harmless note for presentation to Mr. McKinley. "The undersigned," it read, "representatives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia, duly authorized in that behalf, address, in the names of their respective Governments, a pressing appeal to the feelings of humanity and moderation of the President and of the American people in their existing difficulties with Spain. They earnestly hope that further negotiations will lead to an agreement, which, while securing the maintenance of peace, will afford all necessary guarantees for the reëstablishment of order in Cuba. The Powers do not doubt that the humanitarian and purely disinterested character of this representation will be fully recognized and appreciated by the American nation."

A DIPLOMATIC FARCE

Before participating in even this pious expression, Sir Julian Pauncefote called on President McKinley and asked if he had any objection to it. The President having given his consent, the diplomatic representatives, in full regalia, led by Pauncefote as dean—the farce must have caused him infinite amusement, especially when he realized how different this "protest" was from the one originally planned —called at the White House and presented this formidable document. President McKinley, also with a straight face, received the gentlemen, took the paper, and thanked them for their good intentions. "The Government of the United States," he said, "appreciates the humanitarian and disinterested character of the communication now made on behalf of the Powers named; and, for its part, is confident that equal appreciation will be shown for its own earnest and unselfish endeavors to fulfil a duty to humanity by ending a situation the indefinite prolongation of which has become insufferable."

A newspaper humorist summed up this momentous performance as follows:

"Said the Six Ambassadors: 'We hope for humanity's sake that you will not go to war.' Said Mr. McKinley in reply: 'We hope if we do go to war you will

understand that it is for humanity's sake.' And the incident was closed."

Afterward, when Germany adopted a policy of conciliation toward the United States instead of the mailed fist, she attempted to explain away her part in this international episode. Unfortunately, the Kaiser's official acts, after war began, are things that Americans can never forget. Mr. William Roscoe Thayer, in his recently published "Life of John Hay," quotes the Kaiser as having said: "If I had only had a fleet, I would have taken Uncle Sam by the scruff of the neck." The behavior of his fleet at Manila, though it did not actually succeed in doing anything so violent as this, constantly demonstrated its ambition to go to extremes. Only Admiral Dewey's sagacity, energy, and sense of his nation's dignity prevented trouble. Since Admiral Dewey and Secretary Long have told the whole story, the facts are no longer in dispute.

CAPTAIN CHICHESTER ON ETIQUETTE

Just what purpose the Kaiser had in his Manila performance no one knows; possibly, as already said, a great plan of conquest inspired his behavior; as matters turned out, however, the episode has merely passed into history as another illustration of German swagger and bad manners. Indeed, this is the final diagnosis passed upon Admiral von Diederich, the German commander at Manila, by Captain Chichester, the senior English officer. "Diederich has no sea manners," said this English tar. Another current story represents Chichester as sitting in his cabin, apparently deeply immersed in a large red book, when Diederich came in to pay a friendly call.

"What's that book you are reading?" he asked.

"That's a book on naval etiquette," replied the Englishman.

"Indeed!" replied the German. "I didn't know that such a book existed."

"Let me present you with it," said Captain Chichester, handing it to him. "You really ought to read it."

Now Admiral Dewey's hobby, next to seamanship, is international law. The Navy regards him as one of its greatest experts on that subject. When, after defeating the Spanish squadron at Manila, he established the blockade, the American Admiral understood all the niceties of his situation. His first difficulties with the Germans arose over their failure to understand the merits of this blockade. According to law, the blockading admiral controls the harbor; even warships can enter or leave only with his permission, and they occupy such anchorages as he assigns them. It is the custom, when such a blockade is established, for neutral Powers to send one or two ships for "observations"— mainly to assure themselves that a really "effective" blockade exists. France, Japan, and England sent such vessels to Manila. In entering the harbor their commanders obeyed the usual rules, and accepted the anchorages Dewey allotted to them.

GERMAN INSOLENCE AT MANILA BAY

But, one fine day, into Manila Bay came the German cruiser *Irene*, steamed grandly past Dewey's flagship, the *Olympia*, and anchored in a place selected by herself. Dewey, believing that this violation of sea manners was merely caused by ignorance, ignored it. One morning at three o'clock, another ship bearing the German flag was picked up by a searchlight. It was rapidly approaching the *Olympia*. There were Spanish gunboats then secreted about the Philippines; this vessel might easily be one of these carrying a German flag and attempting to get near enough to the *Olympia* to launch a torpedo. Admiral Dewey ordered a warning shot fired over its bows. Still the German paid no attention, and another shot was fired— this one coming so close that the water, splashing where it hit, fell in a shower on the intruder's deck. Then the *Cormoran* —for it was another German observer— promptly came to.

By the time Vice-Admiral von Diederich arrived, Germany had a squadron of five vessels at Manila. Germany's naval forces, indeed, had greater strength in the Philippines than had those of the United States. This large fleet in itself constituted an unfriendly act. England, which

had infinitely greater interests in the Islands, at no time had more than three. When Dewey paid his call of ceremony on Von Diederich, he alluded to the size of the German squadron.

"I am here by order of the Kaiser, sir," replied Vice-Admiral von Diederich, in his most Germanic manner.

DEWEY CALLS THE GERMAN BLUFF

The German Admiral and his staff constantly visited the Spanish officials at Manila, with whom they maintained the friendliest relations. At this time the Americans had not yet captured the city; they were blockading it, awaiting the arrival of American troops before engaging in a general assault. Dewey's position, with a heavier German squadron on the ground and the knowledge that Camara's fleet had left Cadiz for the Philippines, was, therefore, not over-comfortable. And Von Diederich was constantly making trouble. His vessels sailed about the Bay, passing in and out the American lines, paying not the slightest regard to the blockade. Finally the Germans committed a breach that resulted in a crisis. A German cruiser landed a boatload of supplies for the besieged Spanish forces in Manila—a violation of neutrality that amounted almost to an act of war. Dewey called his flag lieutenant and instructed him to take his compliments to Admiral von Diederich, and informed him "of this extraordinary disregard of the usual courtesies of naval intercourse." And then he added:

"Say to Admiral von Diederich that if he wants a fight, he can have it now!"

At this the German Admiral disavowed the action of his subordinates, saying that they had no authority to provision the Spanish garrison.

The Philippine insurrectionists, who were then coöperating with the United States, were preparing to make an attack on the Isla Grande in Subig Bay. They desisted when the German cruiser *Irene* threatened to shell them. At this Dewey sent the *Raleigh* and the *Concord*, their decks cleared for action, with instructions to drive off the *Irene* and take the Spanish position. When the American ships entered the Bay at a furious speed, the *Irene* put on full steam and departed.

But Germany's most offensive act took place on the day, reinforcements, new ships, and supplies having arrived from America, that Dewey started his bombardment of Manila. As Dewey's squadron started to take up its position before the batteries at Cavité, the German squadron followed its rear. When Dewey stopped the Germans also stopped. No one even to-day knows what these manœuvres meant, opinion dividing as to whether Von Diederich meant to be merely insulting or whether it was his plan to fire on the American ships—to open war for the German capture of the Philippines. Had he pursued the latter plan Dewey's position, placed between the Cavité batteries and the German squadron, would have been exceedingly uncomfortable.

Now followed an episode that will long be remembered in our navy. The three British ships came along and took up a position between the American and the German squadrons. Von Diederich could not fire without hitting the English men-of-war. If Von Diederich had ever intended to open hostilities, this little action chilled his ardor; soon after, three of his vessels disappeared in the night and Manila knew them no more.

PRINCE HENRY'S VISIT

All these things explain the suspicion and even unfriendliness with which Americans have since regarded Germany. Since then, the Kaiser has sought to gain their friendship; he sent over his brother, Prince Henry—the same man who had insulted Admiral Dewey at Manila in 1898—to make a visit in the interest of better German-American feeling. The Americans turned out in large numbers to see the Prince; German-Americans raised their "hochs" wherever he appeared; Herman Ridder entertained him at an elaborate newspaper dinner, and the German societies held a huge *Fackelzug*—torchlight parade—in his honor. His Royal Highness behaved commendably in democratic fashion, showed himself a

master in American slang, using with skill and appropriateness such phrases as "It's a cinch," "Not on your life," "Hustle," and "Get busy." Looking back on this visit now, it seems that it was made more as a demonstration in the interests of German-Americans, as an attempt to promote Pan-Germanism in the United States, than as a sincere tribute to the Nation. But neither Prince Henry, nor exchange professors, nor Germanic museums, nor gift horses like statues of Frederick the Great have destroyed the memories of the Spanish War.

CHINA'S EMPIRE LOST

THE DRAMATIC CHAIN OF EVENTS BY WHICH IT HAS BEEN STRIPPED OF ITS DEPENDENCIES AND NOW IS THREATENED BY JAPAN WITH LOSS OF SOVEREIGNTY EVEN IN CHINA PROPER AND WITH JAPANESE EXPLOITATION OF THE COUNTRY'S RESOURCES AND COMMERCE—AMERICA'S INTEREST IN THIS NEW PROBLEM OF THE EAST

BY

FREDERICK MOORE

(AUTHOR OF "THE BALKAN TRAIL," AND "THE PASSING OF MOROCCO")

WITHIN the last five years Mongolia and Tibet have passed from under Chinese control; Chinese Turkestan, because of its geographical position, has been cut off from direct communication with Peking; and Manchuria has gone through another stage in the process of passing over to the Japanese and the Russians. These are not all the political changes that have taken place detrimental to China's sovereignty, but they are enough to justify the title of this article. The great dependencies of China, vaster in extent of territory than all her provinces, have passed away; and, moreover, the independence of China proper is being assailed and is already seriously impaired.

It is an intensely interesting story.

Why should a nation with three or four hundred million people submit to the invasion of their country by a few hundred troops from a smaller state seeking to control them? Why should they appeal to other countries to interfere and not depend on their own strength and patriotism?

A little more than a year ago, five or six hundred Japanese troops under orders from their Government proceeded by rail, despite the protests of the Chinese authorities, to the city of Tsinanfu, a strategic central point on the north-and-south railroad that connects the capital, Peking, and the principal shipping port, Shanghai. Japanese troops (about five hundred) were already established in barracks at Hankow, in the heart of China. This latter contingent had control of the other of the two railroads that connect Peking with the Yangtze River. And Japanese troops still occupy these two cities. It is, geographically, as if St. Louis and Chicago were occupied by foreign soldiers.

In Wuchang, across the river from Hankow, and in and around Tsinanfu, large permanent Chinese armies have been maintained. At times there have been a hundred thousand Chinese soldiers at Wuchang and probably forty thousand near Tsinanfu. Yet the Chinese Government restrains its troops, petitions the Japanese in vain to withdraw, and has sought to persuade Great Britain and America to induce the Japanese to depart.

The history of the last five years, since Yuan Shih-kai came back to power, has been cabled to this country in the briefest form and piecemeal; and the facts have been disputed and contradicted by emissaries of the Japanese Government and American partisans of both Japan and China (some in each case being compensated advocates) until they have become a

tangled maze in the minds even of close observers. For that reason it is worth while to recount them.

In the summer of 1911, the Manchu Government seemed as secure as it had been for a score of years. It was a feeble government, as every one knew, but there was no immediate pressure from without and no serious disorders within. Huge parliament buildings were being erected, a constitution had been promised, railroads were being constructed, though slowly, and the Government's credit was so good that loans of millions could always be obtained from France, Great Britain, and Germany. And the United States, through the so-called "American Group" of bankers, was endeavoring to get into China on the same basis as other lending nations.

The programme inspiring the American and British governments in particular was the maintenance of the independence of China and the "Open Door." Accordingly, in the matter of loans and franchises, compromise and an understanding was sought with other nations so that a repetition of the Battle of Concessions which brought China to the verge of partition in the 'nineties should not again take place. The Quintuple Group of British, French, Russian, German, and Japanese bankers, supported by their governments, was the result reached prior to the European War. The American Group of bankers, who had entered the international group supported by the Republican Administration, withdrew when the Democrats came into office, because President Wilson condemned the scheme as restrictive to fair competition and tending to the financial control of China.

THE REVOLT OF 1911

On October 10, 1911, suddenly the revolution broke out in the south. It was a feeble revolt, with little more than the strength of public opinion behind it. Inefficient and spiritless though the Government's army was, it could have defeated the rebels; but the Manchus themselves had not character enough to give the soldiers orders to fight. They became terrified, sought to negotiate and compromise, sent their wealth into foreign banks for safety, offered concession after concession to their adversaries, and finally called upon Yuan Shih-kai—a Chinese of exceptional character, being a man of action—to come to Peking and administrate for them.

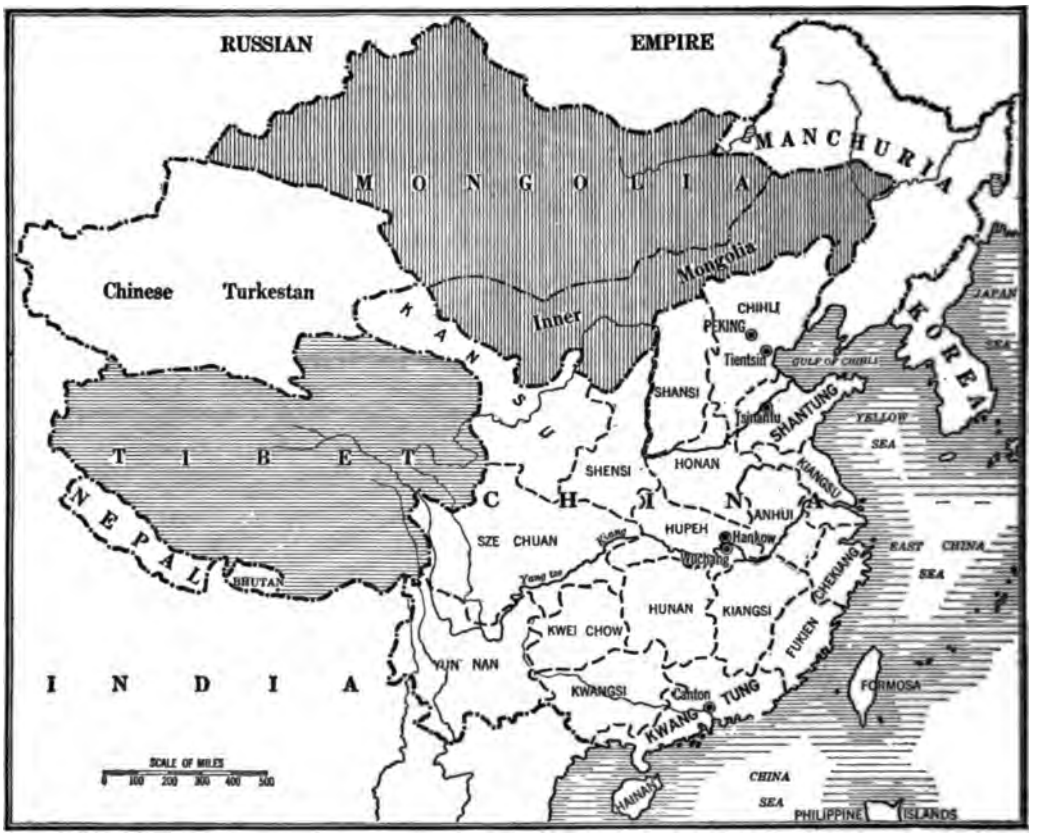
In an article published in the February number of the WORLD'S WORK, the writer explained how Yuan Shih-kai, once established in Peking, manipulated affairs to satisfy his own ends—not without conducting them also, however, with patriotic motives. But while Yuan was working out his schemes and projects serious events took place in the dependencies.

For a very long time Mongolia and Tibet had been dissatisfied with Chinese domination, and as soon as the revolution broke out in Southern China these two vast Buddhist territories expelled the Chinese *ambans* (official representatives) from their capitals and proclaimed independence. Hostilities resulted, and the Chinese troops were worsted repeatedly by Mongol raiders in the north and worthless Tibetan soldiers in the west. There was no inducement for the Chinese troops to fight, and they could not be persuaded to proceed to a dangerous distance into the frontiers of the rebellious dependencies.

RUSSIA'S PROTECTORATE IN MONGOLIA

In the case of Mongolia, Russia soon assumed a protectorate, and in that of Tibet, Great Britain took action amounting to the same thing, notifying the Chinese Government that no Chinese troops would be permitted to reënter Tibet. And in each case tripartite conferences were held to determine the future political and administrative status of the seceding dependency. An agreement was reached with Russia and Mongolia saving China's "face" by giving her nominal suzerainty over Mongolia. But tribute is ended and no authority is now held by China except in foreign affairs.

This appears to be a clever political move played by the Russian diplomatists, to whose advantage it works, for by the arrangement no other state may interfere or even send diplomatic emissaries to Urga, the Mongolian capital. The representatives of other countries must go to Peking to negotiate regarding Mongolian affairs,



THE INTERNATIONAL GRAB-BAG OF THE FAR EAST

China no longer is sovereign over vast portions of her former Empire. Dissatisfied with Chinese domination, Mongolia and Tibet, when the revolution of 1911 broke out, proclaimed their independence. Over the former Russia soon assumed a protectorate (though China is nominally sovereign), and Great Britain took action amounting to the same thing in Tibet. Over Kansu Province the domination of the Peking Government is at times most doubtful. Russia's protectorate over Mongolia placed Chinese Turkestan under the control of the Russians "as far, apparently, as they wish it to come at the present time." Manchuria, of course, has been practically a dependency of Japan since the close of the Russo-Japanese War. The recent twenty-one demands of Japan tend toward a complete Japanese protectorate over China proper

while Russia may deal with the Mongol Government direct, being especially privileged by the agreement to do so.

Concerning Tibet no agreement has been reached, the British-Tibetan-Chinese Conference having failed to come to terms. To the British and Tibetans, however, it does not matter whether the legal status of the Dalai Lama's country is ever settled with the Chinese, and to the Chinese it is only a matter of pride. Fighting on the frontier has to all intents ceased.

If, now, you will look at a map of the Chinese Empire, you will see that, these two dependencies having been lost to China, the connection between China proper and Chinese Turkestan is through a comparatively narrow neck of land running out through the western province of Kansu. Even over Kansu itself the domination of the Peking Government is at times most doubtful. Kansu is difficult to reach, as no railroad runs into the province; and should the province revolt, troops must march overland hundreds of miles to get to the scene. This being the case, it is not easy to keep there a governor loyal to Peking, and sometimes intrigue, persuasion, and trickery have to be employed. To send troops farther through this province and for hundreds of miles beyond to the principal cities of Chinese Turkestan is entirely out of the question. Chinese officials are permitted to make their

way thither by means of the Siberian Railway and its branches running southward, but Chinese troops may not travel through Russia. The Russians have not failed to lay plans for the future, but their railroads along the borders of the Chinese dependency serve already as the only modern means of transportation for commodities coming from or going into Chinese Turkestan. It was unnecessary for them to encourage declarations of independence in Turkestan as well as in Mongolia, for their protectorate over the latter placed the former under their control as far, apparently, as they wish it to come at the present time.

The lopping off of these dependencies meant nothing to the outside world. England and Russia had protested at the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina only a few years before, but no word of objection was spoken when territory scores of times their size was here manipulated evidently in one case for ultimate annexation. The newspapers in Europe and America gave but a few paragraphs on remote pages to the subject. But there was a difference. Bosnia and Herzegovina was territory that might precipitate a European war, and did do so, whereas Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan mattered to nobody. No country wished to make it even an excuse for interference —except Japan.

THE INNER MONGOLIAN BOUNDARY

The action of the Japanese, which shortly followed that of Russia and Britain, attracted comparatively greater attention, for it meant more. The question of the Mongolian frontier had been left open, both the Russians and the Mongols undoubtedly wishing it so. But should they succeed ultimately in including what is known as Inner Mongolia within the new-formed Russian protectorate, another question would have been created between Russia and Japan, for Inner Mongolia menacingly flanks the Japanese section of Manchuria. The Russian Government evidently obscured the boundary issue in order to try the Japanese out. They did not have long to wait. Official announcements and statements on foreign affairs were soon forthcoming from the Tokyo Government showing that Japan would extend her "sphere of influence" into, if not entirely over, Inner Mongolia. These statements in turn were left vague. Russian agents and officers began appearing in Mongolia, coming as far down as the Great Wall, and Japanese agents penetrated Inner Mongolia, staking out, in a manner, their future claims.

JAPAN'S OPPORTUNITY

But the great opportunity for Japan came when the European war began. All the European Powers holding territorial positions which might in the future menace her entered the struggle that absorbed their effectiveness. Japan, too, entered the war. Japan had driven the Russians back from the menacing position of Port Arthur; now was her opportunity to get rid of another strategic European outpost, Tsingtau. At the same time she would pay off an old score, for Germany had signed the polite note, with France and Russia, "advising" Japan to withdraw from Port Arthur after taking that place from China in the war of 1894.

But even a greater opportunity was given to Japan by the war, namely, the chance to attain the dominating position in China, such a position that will in future prevent the break-up of that feeble country and the partitioning of it among the European states. It gave her also—some of her statesmen believed—the opportunity to enhance the power and wealth of Japan to a degree that will make her forever an invincible nation.

Japan is a poor country overtaxed to a pathetic degree to maintain a great army and a navy. Here, at her door, is a territory like another Europe, undeveloped, inhabited by swarming millions of people who cling to ancient inefficient ways. Why not dominate it, develop its wealth, and make soldiers of its stalwart coolies? Japanese officials reasoned with the Chinese and explained that the two peoples were no longer permitted to emigrate to the United States, Australia, or Canada. On the other hand, Britishers and Americans came to China as they pleased. The natural wealth of China was sufficient for

both the Chinese and the Japanese, but it needed organization, capital, and protection. All these the Japanese could provide.

But the Chinese objected. Of all the foreign troops in China the Japanese were least considerate of the Chinese people, who fear intensely a Japanese overlordship. They suspected that the proposed alliance would be an alliance of master and slave. They did not say this, for to speak frankly is not the way of the East, but they gave excuses. The Japanese then put on pressure and made their notorious demands. They had no excuse, but they made one. It amounted to this: that the Chinese should appreciate what Japan had done for them in driving the Germans out of Shantung, and, instead of protesting (the Japanese had come needlessly far into the interior and had driven the Chinese guards and officials out of many towns), should show their friendship and appreciation. The Chinese did not see the matter in this light; they preferred, indeed, the presence of the Germans or any other Europeans to that of the people who call themselves a kindred race.

THE JAPANESE DEMANDS

It was on January 18, 1915, two months after the fall of Tsingtau, that the Japanese Minister in Peking, His Excellency Eki Hioki, appeared before Yuan Shih-kai and presented to the President in person, with little explanation and no warning, the startling list of Japan's demands. Mr. Hioki made a brief speech warning the President that secrecy was essential, suggesting that worse calamities would befall China if the document was divulged and foreign assistance sought. It was stated in the highest circles, and I believe correctly, that the Japanese Minister also intimated that Chinese rebels then sojourning in Japan might be put in a position successfully to undo Yuan's authority if the latter failed to comply promptly with Japan's wishes.

The timorous Chinese Government was terrified, knowing that its army, equipped with a hodge-podge of weapons and to all intents without ammunition, was utterly incapable of opposing the Japanese. Had any Chinese other than Yuan been in power, things would have gone badly for the country, but Yuan is a man of remarkable ability. He was not dismayed. After a few days, he decided upon a course of action which was to save what he could and give the Japanese no excuse for fighting. It was evidently his determination to let them come to Peking if they wished. One or two of his generals wanted to fight, but Yuan restrained them. One of them, old Chang Hsun, came to Peking and went around the streets in the President's motor car, a bodyguard riding on the steps with revolvers in hand. Though hostility to the Japanese ran so high that men cut their fingers and wrote petitions in their own blood—one being sent to the American Legation—and two or three men committed suicide, the Chinese as a rule cringed or fled before the Japanese wherever they came.

JAPAN REPUDIATES HER PLEDGES

The Japanese demands were more severe than those Austria made of Serbia, causing the present European war; and they were contrary to both the letter and spirit of Japan's alliance with Great Britain. The opportunity was so great that the Japanese Government disregarded their country's foreign pledges. The demands, if complied with in full, would have meant more than establishing a Japanese protectorate over China. As far as Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, and Shantung are concerned, the Chinese conceded sufficient to make the Japanese a controlling power in those areas. They also acceded to demands regarding Fukien which will give the Japanese precedent for further interference there whenever they like. Over the extensive coal and iron mines known as the Han-yeh-ping (from which ore can be brought to the United States at a price which will compete with that of American ore) the Japanese secured permanent control.

They demanded, also, participation in the policing of some of the cities of China (the names and number, undoubtedly with design, were not specified); the right to supply China's army with more than half its munitions; the appointment of supervisors (not advisers) in the Central Gov-

WUCHANG, IN THE HEART OF CHINA

Although China maintains an army of nearly one hundred thousand soldiers here, enough to destroy the Japanese force stationed at Hankow, directly across the Yangtze River, the Government did not use them but merely petitioned Japan to withdraw her troops

ernment; the right to send Buddhist missionaries to China; and certain railroad concessions. The Chinese were confident that the Buddhist priests would be political agents. One or more of the railroad concessions were designed to traverse territory competing with or already pledged to British companies. When this was pointed out to the Japanese they replied to the Chinese officials that Japan would relieve China of responsibility of negotiations with "the Power concerned."

None of these latter demands was granted, but they were tacitly recognized when the Japanese mobilized a part of their army and navy, ordered their citizens out of China, and sent an ultimatum to Peking. The Chinese accepted the modified terms of the ultimatum, thereby acknowledging that those demands which the Japanese Government "temporarily suspended" remained open for discussion.

It is said by friends of Japan that her Government was only bartering in the way of the East, asking more than they expected to get. But having had occasion

THE LOOTING OF TIENTSIN

Like the cities in the "war zone" of Mexico, almost every important city in China has been looted and burned in the revolutions of the last five years

THE CITY OF CANTON

Capital of the province of Kwangtung, with a population of 900,000. It was the first important city to revolt against the Manchu dynasty

SOLDIERS GUARDING YUAN'S PALACE IN PEKING
Yuan Shih-kai, "the Strong Man of China," as such has many enemies among all classes, and numerous attempts have been made on his life

PRESIDENT OR EMPEROR?
China has undergone many changes of government with startling rapidity, and empire and republic have recently twice followed each other in close order

CHINESE TROOPS

Although Yuan Shih-kai has labored unceasingly to modernize his army, many regiments wear the old-time uniform and one regiment even retains the queue. At best, his troops are hopelessly inferior to the highly trained and completely equipped armies of Japan

BLOCKING JAPAN'S AMBITIONS

Yuan Shih-kai foresaw the menace of Japanese ambitions and has worked to defeat these without an open break for which China was unprepared

to watch closely the attitude of the Japanese Legation in Peking during the several months of the negotiations, I am of the opinion that they intended to put through as many as possible of those demands, and that they were restrained only by publicity and finally by the decision of the *Genro* (the Elder Statesmen) who feared at the last moment to take the risk of employing the forces they had sent to China.

Many of the same officials who pressed the original demands on China continue in office; there is an army party that is aggressive; and the people are being cultivated in the idea of Japan's right of domination in the Far East. Meanwhile Japanese agents in this country and Americans who are partisans of the Japanese are seeking to persuade the people of the United States that their policy is a Monroe Doctrine. The application of the phrase, though false, has the effect desired by the Japanese and is therefore being worked systematically.

It is interesting to observe the following clauses in Japan's Treaty of Alliance with Great Britain. In the Preamble, Clause B provides for "the preservation of the common interests of all Powers in China

JAPANESE TROOPS IN CHINA

Within the last few years Japan, Russia, and to a less extent Great Britain have absorbed dependencies and so extended their influences in China that that country is to-day almost without sovereignty even on its own soil

by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China."

Article I states that, "It is agreed that wherever in the opinion of either Japan or Great Britain any of the rights and interests referred to in the Preamble to this Agreement are in jeopardy the two Governments will communicate with each other fully and frankly and will consider in common the measures which should be taken to safeguard those menaced rights or interests."

Article V states that, "The high contracting parties agree that neither of them will, without consulting the other, enter into separate arrangements with another Power to the prejudice of the objects described in the Preamble of this Agreement."

Japan had also an understanding with the United States known as the Root-Takahira Agreement, which is in the form of identical notes exchanged between the two Governments in 1908. Here are two articles from that Agreement:

"Article IV. They [i.e., the United States and Japan] are also determined to pre-

THE JAPANESE MINISTER AT PEKING

His Excellency Eki Hioki, who presented the demands which Japan, when the attention of the Powers was diverted by war, thrust upon a helpless China

THE GATE OF THE AMERICAN LEGATION

Each foreign legation maintains a guard of several hundred soldiers for its protection in the event of anti-foreign movements occurring in the rebellions which are so frequent in China

and industry of all nations in that Empire.

"Article V. Should any event occur threatening the *status quo* as above described or the principle of equal opportunity as above defined, it remains for the two governments to communicate with each other in order to arrive at an understanding as to what measures they may consider it useful to take."

Despite these agreements the Japanese Government did not make known the nature of its demands to the other Powers until the middle of February, by which time publicity and diplomatic inquiry were pressing the Tokio officials hard. The communication then made to Great Britain, the United States, France, and Russia embraced only twelve of the articles

serve the common interests of all Powers in China by supporting by all pacific means at their disposal the independence and integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce

THE UNITED STATES LEGATION AT PEKING

"The Government of the United States," said President Wilson, at the time of Japan's demands, "cannot recognize any agreement or undertaking . . . . impairing the treaty rights of the United *States and its* citizens in China or the political or territorial integrity of the Republic of China"

not the true ver- but a modified of them. Sub- ntly the Japan- overnment com- cated the full y-one, giving the e that the nine ally withheld meant only as re- s, but even in ng these known tempered and down the Eng- ranslation which put out officially. en Japan had obtained from Shih-kai those es upon which sisted, President n, in May, 1915, the following tical note to and Japan:

THE BRITISH LEGATION IN PEKING

Despite the existing Anglo-Japanese treaty, the recent Japanese aggressions in China have aroused feelings that make probable sooner or later a clash of British interests and Japanese ambitions in the Orient

view of the circumstances of the iations which have taken place and are now pending between the Gov- ent of China and the Government of and of the agreements which have been reached as a result thereof, the Government of the United States has the honor to notify the Government of the Chinese Republic that it cannot recognize any agreement or undertaking which has been

LEGATION CITY

urrounded by strongly fortified walls in the heart of Peking itself stands Legation City, the quarter ed by treaty for the residences of foreigners only. During the Boxer Rebellion of 1900 more than undred foreigners were besieged in the British Legation for several months

entered into or which may be entered into between the Governments of China and Japan impairing the treaty rights of the United States and its citizens in China, the political or territorial integrity of the Republic of China, or the international policy relative to China commonly known as the Open Door policy. An identical note has been transmitted to the Japanese Government."

But the American note was delivered after the ultimatum had been presented and accepted, and was intended only to register America's position in case of future difficulties. It was the attitude of Great Britain that, above that of any other nation, caused the Japanese to restrain their hand at the last moment. The British press in the Far East is influential, and it spoke emphatically and repeatedly, condemning Japan's deception. Some of the papers in England likewise expressed their disappointment and distrust, though most of the editors remained silent, feeling that Great Britain could not afford to make Japan an enemy at the present time of crisis. Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Minister, pressed in Parliament for a statement of Great Britain's attitude, made the very diplomatic reply that the policy of the British Government in the Far East continued to accord with the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance continues to exist, not having been denounced. But dislike has grown up seriously in Japan in return for the suspicion and distrust which the action of Japan naturally engendered among Britishers. Manifestations of it have recently become glaringly evident in the writings of Japanese editors and university professors in Tokio papers and others. The irritation is such that, if the Japanese come to believe Great Britain too seriously involved in the European struggle to interfere in the future, they will probably renew their pressure on China and and proceed to take control of that country.

THE CHINESE FOREIGN OFFICE

Although hostility to the Japanese ran so high at the time of the famous "twenty-one demands" that men cut their fingers and wrote petitions in their own blood urging war with Japan, the unprepared condition of China made armed resistance impossible

That Japan may be justified in taking over charge of China is open to controversy. The Chinese are a backward race, wasting their opportunities because of ignorance and the intense selfishness which centuries of most wretched individual struggling for

AN ENTRANCE TO THE WINTER PALACE
Here, fearful of assassination, Yuan Shih-kai has of late spent most of his time in refuge from his political enemies

sustenance has engendered. That China would be materially better off under their organization cannot be disputed. Before the Japanese came to Manchuria the people used to raise enough soy beans to support life. If they raised more there was no means of shipping them, and if they made money brigands or officials robbed them of the surplus. To-day tens of thousands of coolies cross the Gulf of Chihli annually from Shantung Province to help harvest the great bean crops which go by Japanese railroad and steamship lines to Europe and compete there with the products of American cotton seed. It would be so, I have no doubt, with all China, were the Japanese to assume control. The Japanese would profit most, but the Chinese would also greatly benefit. The majority of the people (we have Manchuria as an example) would be glad of the opportunity to make a living where they are on the constant verge of starvation to-day. A coolie is lucky in China to draw a regular wage of three dollars a month; he will even raise a family on that income.

THE GATES TO THE "FORBIDDEN CITY" OF PEKING
It has been argued that the Japanese are justified in their ambitions to rule China as the Chinese are a backward race wasting their opportunities because of ignorance and selfishness

But there would be considerations for America and Great Britain to take into account. The Japanese have driven Russia part way and Germany entirely out of China. They do not like the Americans or the British, because of our assumption of superiority. Our attitude has cut the Japanese, who are sensitive, to the quick. In the Far East it is evident at every turn. We are keeping them out of the United

BURNING OPIUM

One of the few evidences of administrative efficiency that has been given by the Chinese in recent years is their success in the campaign to suppress the use of opium

States, Canada, and Australia. Will they drive us out of the Orient? They will not attempt that for the present and may never do so; but I shall be much surprised if they do not control China, despite agreements to the contrary, before the termination of the present war in Europe. It all depends on the British fleet, or, to go a step farther, on the success or failure of the German submarines.

LAMA PRIESTS IN PEKING

From Tibet, one of China's dependencies that has been taken from her by much the same process as that which robbed her of Manchuria and Mongolia

THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1904

Which was held at Chicago and which nominated Theodore Roosevelt for President by acclamation and Charles W. Fairbanks for Vice-President. The late Mark Hanna's portrait was its symbol

NATIONAL POLITICAL CONVENTIONS OF THE LAST TWELVE YEARS

IN WHICH MOST OF THE MEN NOW FOREMOST IN THE STRUGGLE OVER THE PARAMOUNT ISSUE OF AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY WON THEIR NOMINATIONS ON ISSUES OF PURELY INTERNAL IMPORTANCE

THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1904

Alton B. Parker, of New York, was nominated for President at St. Louis by this convention, with William Randolph Hearst second choice. Mr. Parker was defeated by Mr. Roosevelt in the ensuing election

NOMINATING WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT FOR PRESIDENT

The Republican National Convention of 1908 selected Mr. Taft as its nominee for President and the late James Schoolcraft Sherman for Vice-President, both of whom were later elected to office

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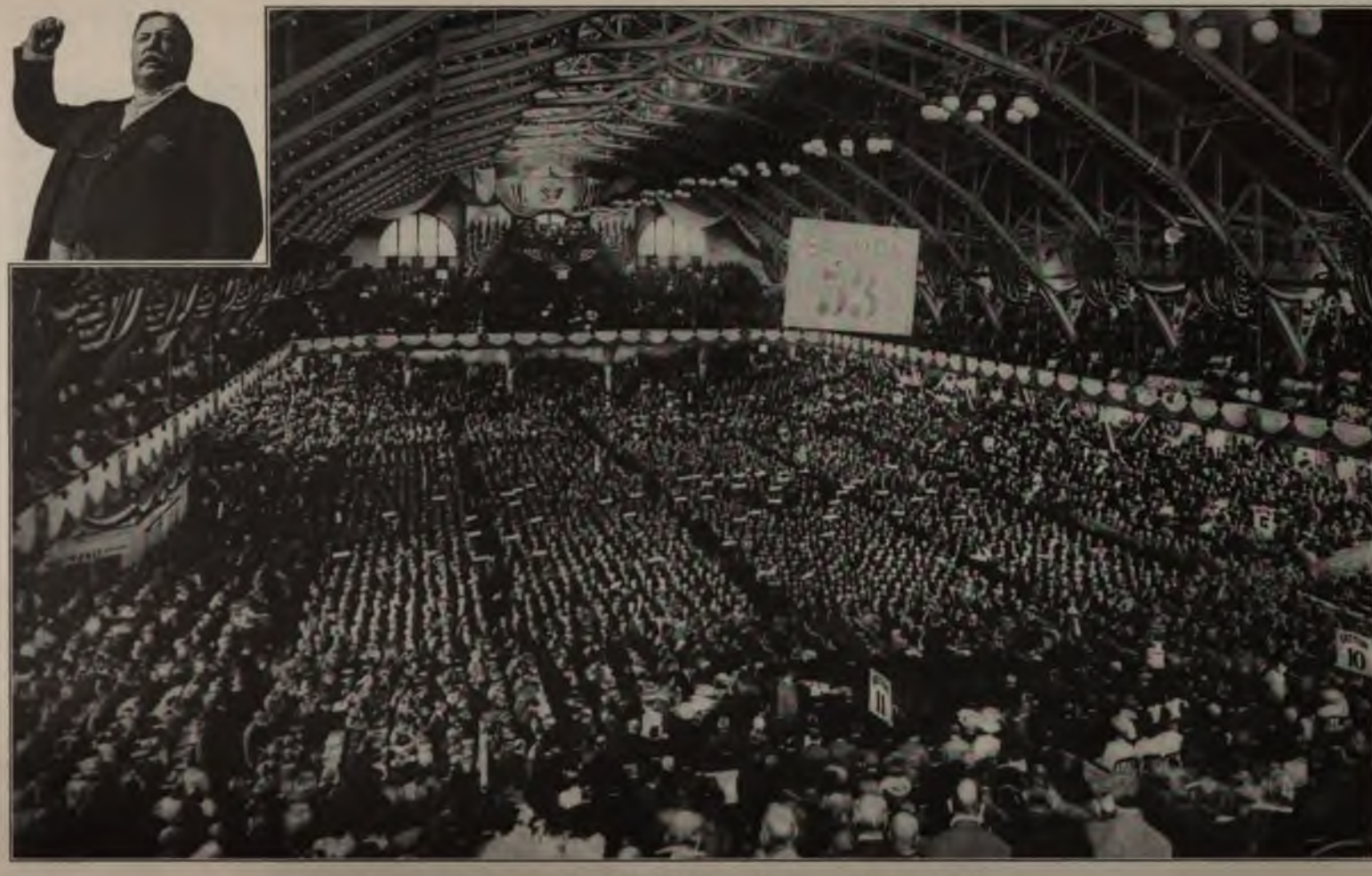
NOMINATING WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN FOR PRESIDENT

The Democratic Convention held at Denver in 1908 selected the "peerless leader" as its candidate for President of the United States, only to have him defeated for a third time at the polls



THE "STEAM ROLLER" CONVENTION AT CHICAGO, 1912

The Republican Convention which nominated William Howard Taft as its candidate for reëlection to the Presidency and caused a split in the Republican Party by so doing, which led to the subsequent defeat of its candidates

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THE BALTIMORE CONVENTION OF 1912

At which, after a severe contest, Woodrow Wilson emerged triumphant as the Democratic nominee for President. The decision of the convention was later confirmed by the election of Mr. Wilson to office by the people

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THE "BULL MOOSE" CONVENTION OF 1912

At which Theodore Roosevelt undertook to discipline the Republican Party by creating a new party of protest and reform that now is melting back into the Republicanism of protection and preparedness

MILLIONS FOR DEFENSE, BUT NOT ONE CENT FOR TRIBUTE

PERPETUATING UNPREPAREDNESS—HOW CONGRESS HAS APPROACHED ITS PARAMOUNT NATIONAL PROBLEM AND HOW THE CHARACTER OF OUR NATIONAL LEGISLATION HAS BEEN REVEALED IN THE PROCESS—POLITICS VS. PATRIOTISM

BY

GEORGE MARVIN

"MILLIONS for defense, but not one cent for tribute" was a famous phrase in early American history. The same slogan and the same spirit should now be turned against the pirates of politics who are levying tribute on the Nation's necessities for defense.

The story of the passage of the Army bill through Congress this year is a bitter story for any patriotic American to read, but it is a story that every man should know well so that he may do his duty in helping to retire to private life the members of Congress, under the leadership of James Hay of Virginia, who have seen in the necessities of the Nation only an added opportunity for political pork.

Six weeks before his Army bill was introduced in Congress, Mr. Garrison's attitude toward this piece of legislation threw a clarifying light upon the benumbing restrictions under which it was drafted.

"This bill will not solve the problem of national defense," said the Secretary, "but in my judgment it is the utmost that we can expect to get through Congress."

In that mood, therefore, the Secretary felt obliged to draft, and he introduced in Congress, as spokesman of the War Department, military provisions which he knew to be inadequate for their announced purpose. His compelling reason for so doing was that he could not count upon either an unselfish or open-minded consideration for his measure by Congress.

Mr. Garrison failed. He proved himself a better public servant than a politician and went out of office as a record of the distinction. In greatly under-stating the military necessities of the Nation, he nevertheless greatly over-estimated what he could "expect to get through Congress."

The European war had marked plainly and brought home forcibly the broad outlines of our military needs.

We needed a small professional army, as a police force and a nucleus. We had this small army but it was not large enough for its policing purposes, nor was it properly organized or equipped.

We needed a large reserve of men, trained by the regular military establishment and immediately available in time of need, to make up the millions we should have to have if we were ever unfortunate enough to be drawn into a first class modern war. We had nothing of this kind. We did have, however, a National Guard under the jurisdiction of the several states which, despite Federal financial aid, was comparatively small in numbers and neither organized nor trained so as to be fit to enter a modern war.

Behind the Army we needed an organization of transportation and industry that would insure food and munitions quickly and in the almost unlimited quantities which modern warfare demands. Neither the Government nor the Nation was prepared to meet this necessity.

These were the obvious necessities. The bill prepared under the direction of Chairman Hay of the House Military Committee touched on the first need a little. It utterly ignored the other two.

"H. R. 12766, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session," represents the kind of thing you can "expect to get through Congress." That is the index number of the so-called Hay bill, passed by the House March 23d, and entitled, "An act to in-

crease the efficiency of the military establishment of the United States."

On April 20th, under the same designation (H. R. 12766), this bill, as amended by the Senate and alluded to thereafter as the Chamberlain bill, was ordered to be printed. In this form, the one designation covering what were really two distinct bills with several points of similarity and some passages of exact correspondence, the document went to joint Conference Committee of the two houses, where it was raked over, section by section, in a fight to compromise the more military estimates of the Senate with the more political estimates of the House.

This latter process occupied several weeks, and the mark of Mr. Hay's thumbprint became plain upon it, partially obliterating the handiwork of Senator Chamberlain and his colleagues.

OBJECTIONS TO THE NATIONAL GUARD

The simple direction of Mr. Hay's effort was ostensibly to make the National Guard the main defense of the Nation, if we should get into a serious war, by what he called federalizing it. There are three objections to this: (1) It will not make an efficient fighting unit. (2) It does make a political military unit. (3) The federalization plan is probably unconstitutional.

The Chamberlain bill included the militia federalization plan but also a provision under which the President could call for volunteers to take training in peace times. Under this provision a well-trained reserve might be built up, though its size, depending upon the number of volunteers, could not be prescribed by the military authorities.

Neither of the plans even considered the only logical, surely effective, and thoroughly democratic system of universal service. Neither of the plans provided industrial mobilization to supply any armies that might be created.

Senator Chamberlain made an intelligent and patriotic attempt to improve our unpreparedness by his provision for volunteer training. But the majority in Congress favored the accustomed rule in arranging for a distribution of federal money to the militia and opposing any real improvement on the basis that "the people would not stand for it."

Possibly these gentlemen are right. At all events, they have the courage of their convictions in proceeding to enact the kind of legislation for which they assume the people will stand and pay. But the people who have to pay the bills, when they are passed, are getting into the awkward habit of examining them, and they have followed the progress of this preparedness bill through the House and Senate with more than usual care.

LESSONS OF THE WAR

In part, the war, with its vivid warnings and stimulus to new ways of thinking, has brought about this closer attention, with a clearer perception of the responsibility which goes with it; in part, by slower processes of our own educational development, we are gradually growing up to the interest which prompts both attention and perception.

Against the background of the European war and the foreground of our own punitive expedition into Mexico, our watchful, waiting citizens beheld a majority of the House of Representatives actually considering and passing a bill which would not add so much as one Army corps to the admittedly inadequate forces of the Regular Army in four years; a bill which did not change the present admittedly inefficient system of the United States Army one iota—after it is passed General Funston cannot draw a pistol cartridge from a United States arsenal without several days of bureaucratic red tape, as at present; a bill, nevertheless, which appropriated out of the public treasury for pay and purchases and pork $786,000,000 over four years.

In the Senate gallery, later on, those interested citizens, swelled in numbers, watched an amendment of the House measure which resulted in giving about 900 million dollars over a period of five years, in return for which the Regular Army was to be expanded to a little more than double its present size during the same period.

In both incarnations provision was made whereby certain portions of the

politically well organized National Guard of the different states could plunge their arms up to their armpits in the appropriation money bags and stir them joyfully around.

During the course of these proceedings it became evident that the chief concern of Congress was where and how the money was to be spent. You will find that concern written all through the bill itself, and you become aware of it haunting the two thousand and more pages of the committee hearings on the bill. And the majorities which voted the money impliedly did so under the presumption that the people, who would not stand for thrifty and profitable preparedness, would nevertheless cheerfully pay for wasteful unpreparedness.

EXPENSIVE UNPREPAREDNESS

We have already had a brief indication of how expensive the contemplated unpreparedness is. Before there was any thought of the military establishment which the war has stimulated, our Army, according to the 1914 estimates, cost us $143,331,350. We all have freshly in mind how it strained that Army nearly to the breaking point to go after Villa in March. And we ought not to forget that, in addition to all that outlay, we paid last year $164,388,959 for pensions. On the basis of pay we ought to be prepared up to the hilt.

And while we are approaching the subject in this Congressional mood, it is useful to remember, by way of comparison with the figures just quoted, that the entire French military budget for 1914 only foots up to $202,141,122; Italy spent that year on her army $80,025,234, and the Japanese Government, with war on its hands, in 1915 audited its military accounts with the Japanese people at only $47,037,809. In fact, we are paying just about sixteen times the value of such military efficiency as we get.

Having seen how high our bills for unpreparedness have been in the past, and with some realization of how extravagant our last bill is, let us try to form an intelligent idea of how unprepared all this expense finally leaves us.

A detailed consideration of the Hay-Chamberlain legislation is out of the question in this brief space even were such consideration of a measure which, at the time of writing, had not reached its final form, justified. We can, however, pick out both general and specific defects which clearly indicate the attitude of mind in which Congress has approached the most important legislative measure before this, Sixty-fourth, or before any other, session.

The underlying general defect in both the Hay and the Chamberlain versions of the Army bill is that neither one deals with the matter of national defense at all. Each avoids the issue by focusing attention on the Regular Army and the militia as though preparedness could be found in that force alone. Neither House nor Senate bill suggests anything in the way of a Council of National Defense, and neither one provides for the mobilization of the industrial and economic resources of the country. Both bills ignore the fundamental matter of how the entire citizenship of the country may be organized or registered in time of peace so that in time of war each citizen may be able to play his appropriate part in the defense of the Nation.

THE ENLISTMENT FALLACY

As passed by the House the Hay bill provides for an Army of 140,000 men; the Chamberlain measure calls for 250,000. Both proceed on the assumption that it will be possible to get that number of men at the present rate and under the present conditions of enlistment. Granted that it is desirable to maintain a standing Army as large as the Chamberlain figure, where are we going to get that Army?

When Villa shot up Columbus and got away Congress hurried through a resolution authorizing the War Department to recruit the 20,000 men necessary to bring the establishment up to a war footing. In seven weeks of recruiting 4,069 men were enrolled. In one week the city of Boston furnished the impressive contingent of just one recruit. These figures are not conclusive, but they certainly do not show any general desire for soldiering. There are too many good jobs elsewhere

and more money in practically every one of the jobs.

Said the Adjutant-General, in his hearing before the Senate Committee: "I put the maximum number of men we can get in a year, by putting forth extraordinary efforts, at 50,000. If you make the enlistment two years, with an army of 140,000 men say, you would have to get at least 70,000 men a year, bona fide enlistments every year, and I do not believe you could do that."

The same thing holds true of the organized militia, which has always experienced difficulty in obtaining recruits, notwithstanding that the federal appropriations have been materially increased. From year to year it has been able only to keep up a strength which is approximately 400 officers and 30,000 men below the minimum prescribed strength.

But suppose that by methods as yet unrevealed to Army men a force of 250,000 soldiers could be enlisted and maintained as a standing paid army. The cost of its upkeep under our present system would be almost prohibitive. The price of soldiering is going up. An enlisted man in the United States now draws $18.25 a month; Canada is now hiring her soldiers at $1.50 a day; Australia and New Zealand are paying $1.10 gold per man, and down on the border General Cantu, who controls Lower California, is giving $1.10 gold to his Mexican soldiers.

THE NATIONAL GUARD

There are several other objections to the proposed legislation which cluster round the purpose in both versions to lean heavily on the National Guard. The advocates of this idea proceed on the ground that this machinery is already in existence and more appropriate and immediate use can be made of it than of unestablished methods of spending Army appropriations. The National Guard is politically a strong organization, but it cannot be considered in its present military condition as an effective means of national defense. The Hay-Chamberlain act does not propose to leave it in its admittedly inefficient present condition. It proposes to federalize it.

But can the National Guard be efficiently federalized as the Constitution now stands? A great deal of doubt has been expressed on this point. As long ago as 1903 an effort to federalize the militia was made in the Dick law, and in the amendment to that law in 1908 the plan was still further elaborated. Under those enactments the organized state militia now receives aid from the Federal Government to the extent of about $6,000,000 annually. And yet the conditions of service thus bought and imposed have not been fulfilled. There is, for example, no real similarity of discipline or training in the various state organizations. In a few states the system is good; in other states it is a joke. In most states it is inefficient as a military organization prepared for military operations. Even General Mills, who, as Chief of the Division of Militia Affairs of the War Department, loyally stands up for his jurisdiction, states in a recent report that "the organized militia is not fit to enter upon the work of manœuvre campaigns." In other words it is not practically federalized even to the extent of playing at war.

Under the Hay-Chamberlain attempt to federalize the National Guard, that organization, instead of its former paltry six-million-dollar subsidy, is now to get seventy-five millions. A good deal of this money goes in the form of federal pay to the officers and men of the organized militia. Five of the general officers of the Guard at full Regular Army pay are to be attached to the General Staff at Washington. And in return for all of this concession, the National Guard *may* be induced to recognize its reciprocal obligations, but it never has hitherto.

LACK OF FEDERAL CONTROL

In time of peace the Federal Government could have no control over the militia of the various states which could make them any part of an efficient army on the outbreak of war. The Constitution leaves to the states the right to recruit the National Guard, to govern it, to appoint its officers, and to train it. According to a ruling of the Attorney-General of the United States, in 1912, it

can be used only "to execute the laws of the Union, to suppress insurrection, and repel invasions," and for no other purpose. The War Department can invite the various state contingents to participate in manœuvres; it cannot make them do so.

In Mr. Garrison's moribund measure, a Continental Army plan was incorporated. In this volunteer organization it was his purpose to invite the National Guard organizations of the various states, either individually or by state contingents, to come directly into the federal service. That scheme served its purpose in showing how much real desire there was on the part of the National Guard to be federalized. Their representatives fought the idea successfully and it was, indeed, their united opposition that defeated the Secretary's bill and forced his resignation. During the wrangling in Conference Committee in April and May, Mr. Hay and his supporters fought tooth and nail against a similar plan in the Senate bill, which provided for a federal volunteer army in addition to the National Guard, but in which National Guard organizations might enlist.

POLITICS VS. EFFECTIVENESS

The very success of the National Guard lobby in defeating the Garrison bill and incorporating practically all their recommendations in the Hay-Chamberlain legislation indicates the danger we face in nourishing a political military organization the demands of which Congress will be even less able to resist than it has been to resist the demands of the far less compactly organized army of pension applicants and their friends. The very menace which the opponents of preparedness have been most insistent in decrying, namely, militarism, is actually fostered by this National Guard legislation.

It hardly seems possible to follow the course of our recent military legislation without being impressed with the perversion of ideas with regard to the dependence placed upon the organized militia. The effect of this legislation is exactly to reverse the proper relation between the Government and its military establishment. Once in force, we shall find in this measure the means whereby the militia may control the Government rather than the Government control the militia.

The entire military history of the United States shows that the fundamental defect of our military policy has been the weakness of control possessed by the General Government over the forces which it must use in war. This lack of control has made it impossible to know in advance what organizations would be available in the event of war; under the dual control of State and Federal Governments the preliminaries of mobilization must always be attended with confusion and delay. The troops upon which the Government has spent its time and money may not even exist when we need them—they may be incontinently mustered out by the disgruntled governor of a state. Whatever force of trained "citizen soldiery," or second line troops, is going to stand behind the Regular Army must be constructed on a national basis. A bill which puts the weight of its preparedness upon a force of 400,000 organized militia, when the states have repeatedly demonstrated their inability even with federal pay to maintain even their present minimum strength, that bill has nothing to do with national defense. If preparedness is built upon any such basis as that it will be a sham; we are not going to get preparedness in any such get-rich-quick fashion.

THE REAL NATIONAL DEFENSE

But possibly the gentlemen in the House and Senate who put so low an estimate on the people may be wrong. There are a few reasons to believe that they are wrong. Some months ago, Mr. Howard E. Coffin's committee of the Naval Consulting Board took their position with a patriotic seriousness and began to organize industry for national defense. With smiling disregard and earnest disbelief of the Congressional estimate of "what the people would stand for," Mr. Coffin went quietly to work to find out what they really did stand for. To begin with, they stood for Howard E. Coffin. Thirty thousand of the most highly trained engineers of the country stood for his plan and went to work to help him organize it. Thirty

thousand manufacturing concerns, every one of them capitalized at more than a hundred thousand dollars and scattered all over the United States, lined up together in an industrial army corps to prepare themselves in time of peace so that in time of war they could place behind the Government the united industrial strength of the country.

LABOR FOR REAL PREPAREDNESS

Mr. Gompers and his Federation of Labor, which never stood for the National Guard, stood for this form of universal and democratic national defense, which in Australia and New Zealand had been adopted by the labor vote. All these hard-headed, hard-working men have been learning something from the war. They do not take any stock in this idea of springing to arms overnight, the panacea of the Arch-Pacifist. These men also realize the lessons taught by France and Germany, that for every one man in the trenches there must be two men and three women in the factories, on the railroads, and in the fields, and that the man in the trench is no more, in fact he is a less, essential part of the national defense than are those of his compatriots at home who make it possible for him to remain there and hold his trench.

If the members of Congress persist in thinking that national defense is merely a matter of the Regular Army and the National Guard, they are lagging several years behind what will soon be a majority of their constituents.

And there are other straws that show which way the wind is blowing. In the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America more than 700 constituent commercial organizations stand for a real national defense. The report of their special committee, which was unanimously adopted by the delegates to the last annual meeting, contains this sensible language:

> The Committee believes that there can be no military organization, together with its industrial and economic complement, in a great democracy such as ours which will be either desirable or safe, much less adequate, unless it lays down for all time the principle that equal rights mean equal obligations. As there can be no question of rich or poor, privilege or non-privilege, in the great question of national defense, a system of universal training, in the opinion of the Committee, is not only the sole solution of our ultimate military problems, and the problems of industrial mobilization inseparable from them—it is more, for it constitutes the most effective means of having every citizen share equally, and without regard to position in life, his obligation to be ready and prepared to preserve the safety and welfare of his country.

Mr. Roosevelt's reception before the Chicago Bar Association, where he advocated real preparedness, is another piece of evidence that the people will stand for a real instead of sham national defense. More convincing still was the rush of business and professional men to join the great preparedness parade that thronged the streets of New York on May 13th.

THE COUNTRY AWAKENING

Congress is wrong. It has believed that this country was made up of shirkers who would not stand for the responsibilities of citizenship. That the people in the country have not asked for national defense is not due to cowardice or laziness but to ignorance. And the people are loyally and patriotically beginning to understand that national defense cannot be delegated, cannot be bought, cannot be dismissed, with an appropriation. It is a responsibility of citizenship resting universally upon us all, and Congress shall not continue to say that we do not stand for it.

The self-respecting way for us to go at this matter of national defense, the American way to go at it, is on this basis of citizenship. So conceived, it ceases forever to be a matter of politics and of appropriations. It spells the disintegration of class and plutocratic distinctions; it integrates and defines an enduring democracy.

Millions of men and money for national defense, but not one cent for "pork barrel" political tribute.

HISTORIC CRISES IN AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

HOW ENERGETIC ACTION HAS SAVED AMERICAN RIGHTS AND PREVENTED WAR—HAMILTON FISH'S CAPABLE DIPLOMACY IN THE "VIRGINIUS" CASE—THE "ALABAMA" CLAIMS AND THE VENEZUELAN DISPUTES

BY

BURTON J. HENDRICK

THE statement is frequently made that the *Lusitania* crisis has no precedent in American history. This statement, of course, is true; the extensive use of submarines represents something entirely new in the history of the world. The United States, however, has had acute diplomatic crises before. In the last fifty years we have had several that might have easily ended in war. How have we avoided war and protected the national honor in these cases? Have we emerged from them with the respect of civilized Powers or with national humiliation?

The incident that most resembles the *Lusitania* massacre was the capture of the *Virginius*. A New York newspaper, some weeks ago, drew a laborious parallel between these two episodes, comparing President Wilson's forbearance in the treatment of Germany with President Grant's patience in the treatment of Spain. Mr. Wilson, it said, had not lost his head over the *Lusitania*, but had proceeded calmly and deliberately, giving Germany every opportunity to do the decent thing. Similarly President Grant, in 1873, had not browbeaten Spain, but had settled the *Virginius* matter by the orderly processes of diplomacy. The fact that a large loss of American life figured in both the *Lusitania* and the *Virginius* cases lends particular point to this comparison.

The American newspapers of early November, 1873, supplied the American public with one of the greatest sensations in its history. They recorded the capture, by a Spanish man-of-war, of the *Virginius*, a ship sailing under American registry and ostensibly owned by Americans. The Spanish vessel, the *Tornado*, had sighted the American ship off the coast of Cuba, had chased her as far as Jamaica, and had brought her to Santiago de Cuba. The little *Virginius* had had an exciting experience—she had even burned her cargo of hams in her eagerness to escape capture—but the experience that awaited her passengers and crew, numbering 155, at Santiago proved more exciting still. For, on November 4th, the Spanish authorities had taken four men, three Cubans and one passenger—who was then regarded as an American but who afterward turned out to be a British subject, General Washington Ryan—lined them up against a wall, and shot them in cold blood. The American public had hardly recovered from its astonishment when an even greater bombshell exploded. On the seventh and eighth of November, the Spanish authorities shot fifty-three members of the crew and passengers, of whom eight were Americans, without even the formality of a drumhead court martial. From the time the *Virginius* arrived at Santiago the prisoners had been held *incommunicado*. The American Consul, E. G. Schmitt, attempted in vain to get access to General Burriel, the Spaniard responsible for these outrages. This latter functionary rebuked the Consul for making his request on a saint's day, when he and the other officials were "meditating the divine mysteries." When Mr. Schmitt demanded the right to communicate with his Government, Burriel threatened to withdraw his exequatur on the ground that he was fomenting trouble between Spain and the United States. Mr. Brooks, the British Consul, similarly protested against the execution of British

subjects. General Burriel, with genuine Castilian politeness, regretted that circumstances prevented his acceding to the request—for the prisoners had already been shot.

The manner in which the countries involved received this news reminds one of the *Lusitania* incident last year. The American nation arose in one burst of rage and execration, the newspaper headlines, such as "The People Aroused," "The People's Voice," "America Arming," "A Burst of Wrath," only faintly expressing the popular resentment. Many cities held public meetings demanding instant revenge, and even such a staid organ as the New York *Nation* denounced the perpetrators as "savages." and "Santiago cutthroats." Alexander H. Stephens, late vice-president of the Confederate States, who had recently taken his oath of allegiance and been elected to Congress, demanded "war immediately if not sooner." On the other hand, the Spanish populace behaved in truly Germanic fashion, Madrid even holding processions and fiestas in honor of the assassinations. Mobs collected in front of the American Legation, and, had the police not interfered, would probably have sacked and destroyed it, while the Spanish newspapers demanded the expulsion of the American Minister, General Daniel E. Sickles. In Cuba, at least in that part of it which remained loyal to Spain, the populace and the press expressed themselves just as emphatically.

AMERICA'S SYMPATHY FOR CUBA

What explained these extraordinary happenings? Then, as now, a war was raging. Cuba had been fighting for several years to free herself from the Spanish yoke. Spaniards regarded—and justly enough—the United States as the headquarters of this insurrection. The question of "munition shipments" then agitated the popular mind, though on a smaller scale than it does now. American sympathy, naturally on the side of the Cuban patriots, was accentuated by the ferocity of Spain's methods in crushing out rebellion. New York was the headquarters of a Cuban junta—precisely as it became in the years preceding 1898—which collected large sums of money and smuggled extensive shipments of war munitions into Cuba. We became the "arsenal" of the insurrection, just as Germans say that we are the "arsenal" of the Allies to-day. Moreover, a large party in this country demanded active intervention on the Cuban side, and President Grant had drawn up a proclamation, recognizing Cuban belligerency, a document which it took all the diplomacy of his Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, to smother. All this explains the animosity of the Spanish nation toward the United States and its rejoicing over the capture of the *Virginius*, regarded as an old offender in smuggling general supplies and munitions into Cuba. The records showed, indeed, that an American, Mr. J. F. Patterson, owned the vessel and that in 1870 he had registered her in the New York Customs House. Undoubtedly our treaty of 1795 with Spain provided full rights of trial to Americans accused of crime in Spanish jurisdiction. The Spanish newspapers, however, brushed this aside on the general statement that the passengers on the *Virginius* were simply "pirates."

WHEN SPAIN WAS A REPUBLIC

These being the facts, what action did our Government take? Was its action dilatory and "judicial" to the extent of not sternly insisting on American rights, as certain later-day historians have asserted? First of all, the attitude of the Spanish Government had little resemblance to that of official Germany when the *Lusitania* went down. At that time Spain itself was in an even more distracted condition than Cuba. The revolutions and counter-revolutions that had marked the 'fifties and 'sixties had finally resulted in a Spanish Republic, under the Presidency of the famous Spanish scholar and orator, Emilio Castelar. At the moment of the *Virginius* affair, three revolutions were raging in Spain against the Republic and Castelar had no ambition to add a war with the United States. Despite the ragings of the populace, therefore, he took his stand for decency and justice. As soon as he heard that the *Virginius* had been captured, Castelar sent word to Cuba that the prisoners must not be harmed.

eath penalty, he ordered, must be ted on non-combatants without the on of the Spanish Cortes, and no itant must be put to death without onsent of the Spanish Executive.

General Sickles, the American Min- nade his call, the President, therefore, ied him that he had already acted half of the Americans. But that evening the Spanish Minister of State l over to the American Embassy in a tate of agitation.

have bad news," he said. "Four of arty on board of the *Virginius* have hot."

President's order, he explained, had d in Cuba after the executions had place, but he assured Mr. Sickles nore stringent orders had been sent ling the other prisoners. "How I deplore the execution of four citi- it Santiago!" Castelar exclaimed to s. "What a misfortune that my was not received in time to prevent an act! It was against the law. scandals must cease! A conservative ation was here this morning and I hem frankly that we must put an o slavery in Cuba—it brutalizes all ches."

bably the melancholy fact was that lent Castelar, in the distracted state in and her colony, could not control uation. The execution of fifty-three Cubans and Americans a day or two this interview clearly pointed that Castelar's horror and agitation over ideous crime were probably sincere.

ILTON FISH, SECRETARY OF STATE

have had few abler Secretaries of than Hamilton Fish, who piloted our natic affairs under President Grant. was nothing of the swashbuckler Fish; he was the last man to take advantage of such a revolution- nation as Spain. His "modera- and "restraint" in handling the *ius* affair, and so keeping the United out of war, have been greatly d. Restrained Mr. Fish may have but there was no hesitation or vacilla- in his tactics. It was not until mber 12th that news of the whole- sale execution of Americans reached the State Department. By November 28th—just sixteen days afterward—the Spanish Government had acceded to the American demands and the case had been settled. When one considers that satisfactory communication between Spain and the United States and Cuba was much slower in 1873 than now, this must be regarded as rapid-fire diplomacy.

"DISAVOWAL . . . NOT SUFFICIENT"

Nor do Mr. Fish's dispatches to General Sickles show any disposition to haggle over the situation. "Condemnation, disavowal, and deprecation of the act," he immediately instructed Sickles, "will not be accepted by the world as sufficient to relieve the Government of Spain from participation in the just responsibility for the outrage. There must be a signal mark of displeasure and a punishment to which the civilized world can point and which other subordinate and local officials will have cause to look to as a beacon on a dangerous rock, to be forever afterward avoided." "The execution," he wrote again, "as it was called, of those persons was forced with indecent and barbarous haste and in defiance of all humanity and regard to the uses of the civilized world."

When news of the greater massacre reached Fish, he became even more emphatic in his instructions. "Such wholesale butchery and murder is almost incredible," he wrote; "it would be wholly incredible but for the bloody and vengeful deeds of which Cuba has been the theatre. No Government deserves to exist which can tolerate such crimes. Nature cries aloud against them. Spain will be loud and earnest in punishing them or she will forfeit her past good name." . . . "If Spain cannot redress the outrages perpetrated in her name in Cuba, the United States will. . . . You will use this instruction cautiously and discreetly, avoiding unnecessarily exciting any proper sensibilities and avoiding all appearances of menace; but the gravity of the case admits no doubt and must be fairly and frankly met." On November 14th, Fish cabled Sickles to make four demands on Spain: (1), the return of the *Virginius* to the United

States with her survivors; (2), a salute to the American flag in reparation for the insult; (3), the punishment of all who had had part in the execution; and, (4), an indemnity. "In case of refusal," he said, "of satisfactory reparation within fourteen days from this date, you will, at the expiration of that time, close your Legation and will, together with your secretary, leave Madrid, bringing with you the archives of the Legation."

SPAIN MAKES AMENDS

Fish showed his moderation and good sense in taking the negotiations out of the hands of Sickles, who was altogether too bumptious a person to be entrusted with a delicate situation of this kind. However, Sickles, on November 26th, the Spanish Government not having immediately acceded to his demands—his manner of presenting them had been unnecessarily insulting—demanded his passports. But Secretary Fish and the Spanish Minister at Washington had already settled the difficulty. Spain granted all our demands without reservation, excepting the salute to the flag. She expressed her willingness to give this salute providing an investigation should disclose that the flag had been insulted. And this point she freely left to the decision of the United States Government. The Spanish Minister asserted that the *Virginius* had no right to carry the flag; that she was owned by Cubans, had been engaged as a filibuster for several years, and that her American papers and registry were imperfect and fraudulent. If, after considering all the evidence Spain had on this point, the United States still believed that the *Virginius* had been entitled to carry the flag, then Spain expressed her willingness to give the salute. This proposition, of course, was entirely fair and President Grant accepted it. Spain had no difficulty in proving the case—indeed, the testimony was overwhelming. "The undersigned," wrote Secretary Fish to the Spanish Minister on December 22d, "is now directed by the President to say that the documents transmitted by Admiral Polo make it appear to the satisfaction of the United States that the *Virginius was not entitled to carry* the flag of the United States and was carrying it at the time of her capture without right and improperly, and that orders have been given to the naval authorities of Santiago de Cuba that the salute to the flag of the United States is to be spontaneously dispensed with by the United States."

And so the *Virginius* case ended, much to the credit of American diplomacy, after less than a month of negotiation.

Secretary Fish also scored what, up to that time, was probably the greatest of American diplomatic successes, the *Alabama* arbitration. This proceeding not only peacefully settled our outstanding claims against England, but marked an epoch in world history in that it gave arbitration a formidable standing as a method of settling international disputes. After the close of the Civil War, England had two choices in her relations with the United States: war or the settlement of the *Alabama* claims. By deciding for an amicable adjustment she took the step that, more than any other influence, has made war unlikely between the two English-speaking races.

THE "ALABAMA" IN THE CIVIL WAR

Probably most Americans understand the issues involved; indeed, that there should have been any dispute at all over the *Alabama* now strikes us as absurd. England permitted an English shipbuilding firm to construct a cruiser which, even when building, was widely heralded as intended for the Confederate States. Despite the protest of the American Minister, Charles Francis Adams, this vessel was allowed to go to sea. She was armed with English guns, operated by English gunners, several of whom belonged to the English naval reserve and were drawing pay from the English navy. The *Alabama* never entered a Confederate port; the English press hailed every Northern vessel which she sunk as though it had been an English victory; Captain Semmes, about the only Southerner who had any relation to the ship, was regarded as an English hero; and the *Alabama* constantly supplied and repaired in English ports. England, that is, became the naval base of the Southern Confederacy. English shipbuilders con-

structed several other Confederate cruisers which worked great damage on American ships, and only Mr. Adams's openly expressed threat of war prevented England from equipping ironclads for the South's navy. There was no doubt, even fifty years ago, that all these proceedings grossly violated international law. England tolerated them simply because her governing classes expected the Federal Government to lose the war, and thus to be reduced to a state of feebleness that would prevent it from asserting its rights. These same governing classes even took pleasure in accelerating the American downfall. While the war was going on, the United States could do nothing, for an English war might have meant the success of the Southern States. As soon as the war ended, however, our State Department prepared to collect its bill.

LOSS OF PROPERTY—NOT OF LIFE

Since the *Alabama* involved the loss of property and not of life, the question was one for deliberate diplomatic negotiation. Lord John Russell, Foreign Minister during the Civil War, had steadfastly refused to admit that the United States had any valid claim, but, when the Union cause triumphed, official England quickly changed its tune. Perhaps Charles Sumner, then chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, exercised the preponderant influence in bringing about this change of heart. Sumner, before the *Alabama* started on its devastating cruise, had generally been regarded as an Anglomaniac; he admired England's institutions, had many English friends, and enjoyed a high position in the best English society. But the *Alabama* transformed all his love for England into the intensest hatred. As chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, he played an important part in defeating the Johnson-Clarendon treaty, the first attempt made to settle the *Alabama* claims, in this undoubtedly rendering a great public service. Sumner had his own plan of settlement, the first item in which was the withdrawal of the British flag from the North American continent. His proposal was to take Canada as part compensation for the *Alabama* cruise. At that time, with more than a million hardy troops fresh from the Civil War, this military enterprise would have presented no great difficulty. A thirty-days' campaign, said President Grant, would have conquered Canada.

It is not surprising, therefore, that England, in the treaty of Washington, agreed upon in 1871, apologized for the *Alabama*. "Her Britannic Majesty," this part of the treaty read, "has authorized her High Commissioners and Plenipotentiaries to express, in a friendly spirit, the regret felt by Her Majesty's Government for the escape, under whatever circumstances, of the *Alabama* and other vessels from British ports, and for the depredations committed by those vessels." The treaty then laid down rules for the arbitration which practically decided the case, before the tribunal assembled, in favor of the United States. The Geneva Commission gave the United States $15,000,000 in settlement of all outstanding claims. This award, satisfactory as it was to the United States, angered a considerable proportion of Englishmen and contributed to the unpopularity and subsequent fall of the Gladstone Administration.

THE VENEZUELAN BOUNDARY DISPUTE

Probably the most amazing victory in our diplomatic annals was the outcome of the Venezuelan imbroglio of 1896. This proceeding had far greater importance than the mere settlement of a boundary dispute. Those familiar only with the cordial relations which have existed between America and England since the Spanish War can but faintly understand popular feeling even twenty years ago. In this country, the generation still controlled affairs which remembered England's hostility toward the North in the Civil War; the most influential newspapers on both sides of the water were constantly abusing each other's country; and there is little question that a war with England would have been wildly popular on this side of the Atlantic. England's Premier and Foreign Minister twenty years ago, Lord Salisbury, always maintained a cynical and irritating attitude in his correspondence with our State Department.

Since the Spanish War, practically all European nations have acquiesced in the Monroe Doctrine, if they have not gracefully accepted it. But, twenty years ago, England, which now claims to have been a co-author of that principle, commonly treated it with disdain. The main significance of the Venezuelan dispute concerns these two questions—American relations with England and the recognition of the Monroe Doctrine. The remarkable fact is that one of the most acrimonious and critical of international quarrels should have ended in something almost like friendship between the two countries. Again England, which began the dispute by sneering at the Monroe Doctrine, finally took a position which practically amounted to recognizing its validity. Seldom has the innate good sense of two peoples ever had such a happy outcome.

We owe this to the energetic diplomacy of Grover Cleveland and his Secretary of State, Richard Olney. These men suddenly brought England to her senses by a bold threat of war. Mr. Cleveland's critics assailed him for springing this issue out of a clear sky; in December, 1895, there was probably no practical subject that occupied American minds less than a war with England. A study of the case, however, shows that Mr. Cleveland could have accomplished his end in no other way, for all other methods had been tried. For fifty years England and Venezuela had been quarreling over the boundary of the South American Republic and the adjoining territory of British Guiana; for more than fifteen years the United States had been persuading England to arbitrate. The trouble began in 1841, when a British engineer, R. H. Schonburgk, ran his famous boundary line. Venezuela loudly protested against this line as arbitrary and unfair; England not only ignored these protests but permitted her subjects to settle on the disputed territory, in which valuable mineral deposits were subsequently discovered.

In 1874, Venezuela first appealed to the United States for support; in 1880, it first proposed arbitration. From this time the merits of the boundary dispute ceased to be the issue. Our Government simply recognized that a disagreement undoubtedly existed and took the position that England should arbitrate. But our repeated requests had no result. In 1887, the situation between Venezuela and England became so strained that diplomatic relations were severed—a condition that existed in 1893, when Mr. Cleveland became President.

CLEVELAND'S ULTIMATUM TO ENGLAND

Frankly, the American people, in December, 1895, cared little about Venezuela and only vaguely realized that a boundary dispute existed. The flaring headlines that appeared in the newspapers of the 18th, therefore, had all the value of a dramatic surprise. We then learned that President Cleveland and Mr. Olney had been urging Lord Salisbury to arbitrate the Venezuelan boundary and that his Lordship had refused, in terms not overpolite. Mr. Cleveland, therefore, announced his intention of appointing a commission of five men, who were to study the problem exhaustively and fix the boundary line. In other words, since England refused to arbitrate this matter, the United States would itself settle it. And if England refused to accept the line thus drawn? In that event, said President Cleveland, it would be "the duty of the United States to resist, by every means in its power, as a wilful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands, or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory which, after investigation, we have determined by right belongs to Venezuela. In making these recommendations I am fully alive to the responsibility incurred and keenly realize all the consequences that may follow. I am, nevertheless, firm in my conviction that, while it is a grievous thing to contemplate the two great English-speaking peoples of the world as being otherwise than friendly competitors in the onward march of civilization and strenuous and worthy rivals in all the arts of peace, there is no calamity which a great nation can invite which equals that which follows a supine submission to wrong and injustice and the consequent loss of national self-respect and

, beneath which are shielded a
:'s safety and greatness."
other words, accept the boundary
hich the United States proposes to
or fight—that was Cleveland's ulti-
n to England.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH ENGLAND

: President also submitted Mr. Ol-
correspondence with Lord Salisbury.
lney's letter put forward the Monroe
ine as the reason why England should
ate. "The United States is practi-
sovereign on this continent," wrote
)lney, "and its fiat is law upon the
:ts to which it confines its interposi-
Why? It is not because of the
friendship or good-will felt for it;
ot simply by reason of its high char-
as a civilized state; nor because
m and justice and equity are the
able characteristics of the dealings of
nited States. It is because, in addi-
to all other grounds, its infinite
:es combined with its isolated posi-
ender it master of the situation and
cally invulnerable as against any and
ıer Powers."
: Lord Salisbury had not accepted
lmost Prussian assertion of blood and
The Venezuelan matter, he had
' replied, "is a controversy with
: the United States have no apparent
cal concern. . . . The disputed
er of Venezuela has nothing to do
any of the questions dealt with by
lent Monroe." And Lord Salisbury
ed a special letter to the Monroe
ine, discussing it in terms which, to
ican readers, seemed sarcastic and
ive. "It must always be mentioned
respect," he said, "on account of the
guished statesman to whom it is due
he great nations who have generally
ed it. But international law is
ed on the general consent of nations;
o statesman, however eminent, and
tion, however powerful, are compe-
o insert into the code of international
. novel principle which was never
ıized before, and which has not since
ıccepted by the Government of any
country."
: publication of President Cleveland's
message and this correspondence caused a panic in Wall Street. In most minds, it made war inevitable, for that a proud and powerful empire would submit to such a challenge seemed impossible. Congress authorized the commission, which, as appointed, commanded great respect because of its high character. This commission industriously set to work—but it never reported. Long before it finished its labors, the unbelievable happened—England accepted the American position and announced its willingness to arbitrate. Its action, of course, was a complete diplomatic backdown, and the American press, in hailing Cleveland's great victory, showed its most offensive side, one New England newspaper heading the news with the delicate caption: "Victoria Crawls."

As a matter of fact England's action represented the best sense and intelligence of both countries. Her statesmen simply saw that they had made a mistake in refusing to arbitrate, and they were big enough to acknowledge it. Their action, far from injuring England's prestige in the United States, greatly enhanced it. It laid the foundation for the better relations that have since existed and largely explains the fact that American sympathy, at this time, is so generally in favor of the Allies. And the whole episode ended in a way entirely satisfactory to England, for the arbitration tribunal decided that, in the main, her contentions as to the boundary were right and Venezuela's wrong. Venezuela received a small piece of the disputed territory, but England got the larger share. President Cleveland and Lord Salisbury had a love feast in the shape of a general arbitration treaty, which they drew up as a means of settling all future disputes between the two countries—a work which the Senate destroyed by refusing to ratify it.

Another important diplomatic crisis, also involving Venezuela and also involving the Monroe Doctrine, followed a few years after the boundary settlement. Again prompt and energetic action saved the situation for the United States. Germany precipitated this crisis and certain crucial details concerning it have been printed, for the first time, in Mr. William Roscoe

Thayer's recently published "Life of John Hay." The story, as related by Mr. Thayer, illustrates the value of energetic action, especially when the merits of the dispute are on one's side.

GERMANY TESTS THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Our present knowledge of Germany's psychology and diplomatic methods give the proper historic perspective upon the Venezuelan episode of 1902. In 1911, Germany precipitated a Moroccan crisis by brusquely sending the *Panther* to Agadir. We now understand the Kaiser's motive; it was to "test" the Triple Entente, to learn if the British-French-Russian combination would hold together on a threat of war. The Kaiser learned that the Entente would hold, hence there was no war—not at that time. Similarly, his intervention in Venezuela, in 1901-02, was evidently intended to "test" the Monroe Doctrine. America had thrown the gauntlet down to England, it was true, in 1895, but would it dare challenge the aggression of the great German Empire? The Kaiser, says Mr. Thayer, had already attempted to secure a naval base on the Santa Margarita Islands and had been negotiating for two harbors "for his personal use" off Lower California. His ultimate aim was lower Brazil, which already had large German colonies. Only the Monroe Doctrine stood in the way of this ambition. Venezuela presented a tempting field for testing this Doctrine, as its unsettled state always furnished an excuse for a quarrel. Venezuela owed large sums to Germany, England, Italy, France, and other European Powers, which she showed no disposition to pay. Germany persuaded England to join her in a bill-collecting expedition, and started the famous "pacific blockade." After a few months it became evident that Germany intended more than this. England and Italy announced their willingness to settle the matter by arbitration, but Germany held out for severer methods, proposing to land troops and "temporarily" occupy parts of the country. Here was the "test" of the Monroe Doctrine.

I tell the rest of the story in Mr. Thayer's words:

> One day, when the crisis was at its height, President Roosevelt summoned to the White House Doctor Holleben, the German Ambassador, and told him that unless Germany consented to arbitrate, the American squadron under Admiral Dewey would be given orders, by noon ten days later, to proceed to the Venezuelan coast and prevent any taking possession of Venezuelan territory. Doctor Holleben began to protest that his Imperial master, having once refused to arbitrate, could not change his mind. The President said that he was not arguing the question, because arguments had already been gone over until no useful purpose would be served by repeating them; he was simply giving information which the Ambassador might think it important to transmit to Berlin. A week passed in silence. Then Doctor Holleben again called on the President, but said nothing of the Venezuelan matter. When he rose to go, the President asked him about it, and when he stated that he had received nothing from his Government, the President informed him in substance that, in view of this fact, Admiral Dewey would be instructed to sail a day earlier than the day he, the President, had originally mentioned. Much perturbed, the Ambassador protested; the President informed him that not a stroke of the pen had been put on paper; that if the Emperor would agree to arbitrate, he, the President, would heartily praise him for such action, and would treat it as taken on German initiative; but that within forty-eight hours there must be an offer to arbitrate or Dewey would sail with the orders indicated. Within thirty-six hours Doctor Holleben returned to the White House and announced to President Roosevelt that a despatch had just come from Berlin, saying that the Kaiser would arbitrate. Neither Admiral Dewey (who with an American fleet was then manœuvering in the West Indies) nor any one else knew of the step that was to be taken; the naval authorities were merely required to be in readiness, but were not told what for.

That is, Germany had tested the Monroe Doctrine and discovered that it held. She deferred her ambitions for expansion in South America and began to seek "a place in the sun" elsewhere.

Certainly our diplomatic history, at least since the Civil War, shows that a manly assertion of American rights has never had disastrous consequences for this country. We have won what we started out to win and have won it without being compelled to go to war.

'HE BRITISH CONTROL OF EGYPT

IT HAS BEEN MADE SECURE BY A SYSTEM OF BENEVOLENTLY DESPOTIC RULE, THE HEORY OF WHICH SEEMS TO BE TO AVOID DIRECT ISSUES, TO SHUN ARROGANCE AND DISCRIMINATION IN FAVOR OF HOME TRADERS, TO KEEP ALOOF FROM THE NATIVE EGYPTIANS, AND TO TOLERATE THEIR INSOLENCE BUT TO RETAIN THEIR RESPECT BY THE UNOBTRUSIVE PRESENCE OF THE BAYONET

BY

ARNO DOSCH

THE great Square before the Abdin Palace in Cairo, the residence of the Sultan of Egypt, several hundred native soldiers gathered on the 29th of last January. They had a aint to make, and, following the imrial custom of the East, they came son to make it to their ruler. They orderly, but persistent; they felt they just complaint and they intended to t heard.

situation was a bit tense in itself: it so little to start a riot among orienople. As I stood on the edge of Abquare and watched the mutineers, I red what part they might play with trifling complaint in the destiny of s. I suspected they would play and that is the burden of the story British control over Egypt.

se soldiers were reservists who had their five years in the Egyptian and had been recently recalled to in protecting Egypt from invasion. er, they were not given arms but alled upon to tend camels. To this objected, partly because they felt as soldiers, they should have the of carrying arms, partly because eers who were doing the same work eceiving seven piasters a day while ere receiving only their army pay of asters. They happened to be sta- only a few miles out of Cairo, so acked their belongings one morning t in a body for the Sultan's palace. y might have been fired upon and back. It would probably happen European regiment that disobeyed But, though they passed down a road bordered by many thousand British soldiers, they were allowed to come right into Cairo without being stopped. Merely the mounted native police of Cairo were ordered out to escort them. However, they gave the police the slip and suddenly appeared, a motley army, with bundles on their backs, before the palace gate.

That afternoon and the next morning I saw the best and the worst of the British control over Egypt. The only action of the police on the first afternoon was to close the streets leading off the Square to prevent the gathering of a crowd. The rebellious reservists were listened to. The Prime Minister came out of the palace to talk to them. An hour passed in useless harangue. Two passed. The reservists were holding their ground. It was agreed they need not return to the camel camp pending a discussion of their rights, but meanwhile they had been talking themselves into a state of excitement. Time had come for action, and the native police, under the command of their chief, Colonel Harvey, formerly an officer in the Black Watch and known throughout Egypt as Harvey Pasha, stopped all the street cars passing in an adjoining thoroughfare, loaded in the mutineers, and took them off to barracks.

The next morning some of them gathered before the palace again, accompanied by other Egyptians whose sympathies they had worked upon overnight. They were carrying *nabouts*, long staves of ancient origin, and were much more unruly. Still the police let them have their way and, rather than complicate matters by making arrests, finally withdrew at noon, leaving

the reservists to air their grievance to the empty sky or to the stolid Nubian guards who sat their horses like statues during the whole affair.

But the police had no sooner withdrawn than twenty luckless mounted English yeomen, part of a command ordered to be handy to the Square but to remain outside, crossed the foot of the Square. The reservists, who had begun to feel rather flat, felt they could save their dignity by swooping down upon the yeoman. They surrounded the yeomen in no time, gesticulating with their *nabouts* and screaming as the Egyptians scream about all things. The yeomen felt they were attacked and fired. That started real trouble for the moment, and one yeoman caught in a corner had to empty his revolver into the crowd to get away. Altogether the Square was filled with what I could not help feeling was absurd, unnecessary excitement brought on by stupidity. That there were eight seriously wounded men on the ground only aggravated the stupidity of it.

THE BRITISH METHOD OF EMPIRE BUILDING

Officers I knew who were there looking on, officers who had not seen the affair, English members of the civil government all openly condemned the shooting, regarding it as a silly mistake. That was what interested me most. They did not accept the accomplished fact in silence, as the Egyptians did. They sympathized with the reservists and condemned the yeomen in unmeasured terms. I was not prepared for this attitude of mind, but I found it enlightening. It showed me how the British make a success of empire building by avoiding issues, and how, at the same time, stupidity has marked the Empire's history with tragic spots. Fortunately this was not an affair of great moment. The civilian English hardly talked about it, but officially it created a stir. It would not do to have that kind of thing in Egypt.

At the time this happened, there was so large a force of British soldiers in Egypt that the native population could not have resisted if it had so desired. But that was not the point. That incident showed me a good deal about the British method of control. They do not want to rule by force, or even the show of force, and they are evidently willing to go to great lengths to avoid using force.

One needs but to walk about Cairo to see the workings of British control. In the very centre of the city, surrounded by wealth and squalor in picturesque contrast, is the magnificent palace of the Sultan. He lives in regal state and everything from the smart guard of tall Nubians to the elegant French limousines in which the ladies of the palace take the air exhales his splendor.

Turning from the palace and passing through that part of Cairo where the veneer of European civilization lies thickest, you arrive, after a mile or so, before a handsome residence of simple but dignified outline with a British Tommy before the gate. It is the British Residency, the house of the High Commissioner, Sir Henry McMahon.

When I first called at the Residency, I was ushered into a large waiting room of dignified proportions, and, even in the few moments I was there, the impression of the room sank into me. It was expensively simple. The colors were subdued. On the backs of the chairs were the British crown and the regal initials. At the end of the hall, the one striking thing in the room, was a portrait of King George V.

The effect of the room was so intensely English it could not escape you. But by the time I was conscious of it, my eye was attracted by the broad French windows slightly raised above a garden of oriental shrubs and flowers, handled formally as an English gardener would do it, leaving an avenue through which I could see the Nile flowing past the foot of the garden and the fringe of palms beyond.

I could not help wondering whether this was not staged, designed to give visiting Egyptian officials a feeling of the cool strength of the British Empire.

SIR HENRY McMAHON

The personality of the High Commissioner, the first to hold that office in Egypt, fits perfectly into the picture. His manner is cool and deliberate, but his is not the deliberation that comes from conscious-

ness of power. His calmness is not due to the hundreds of thousands of British soldiers in Egypt. I soon discovered that if his manner was deliberate his mind is active and open. I can hardly express my impression of his mentality better than by saying I was not with him five minutes before I felt I could say without reservation what came into my mind. I found in him that tolerance of honest opinion characteristic of statesmen. He spoke to me frankly of many things, but, as I left, he contrived to send with me a thought he did not implant by accident. When I tried to sum up in my mind the things he had said, the first thing that occurred to me was that he had expressed a very high opinion of the character and abilities of the Sultan.

THE SULTAN OF EGYPT

Several days later the Sultan granted me an interview; at least that is what I expected. I really had an audience in which I was questioned keenly about the state of public opinion in Europe and America. I had prepared questions in advance, of course, and I was under the impression at the time that he had answered them, but when I tried to pick out the salient points afterward, I found I had hardly any more to put down than that he was quite happy, that Egypt was happy, or ought to be, and that he entertained a very complimentary opinion of the character and abilities of the High Commissioner.

These two men can govern Egypt only by a system of mutual respect, and both are clever enough to realize it. Fortunately, in this case this has cost no effort, for it is evident that each regards the other with not only mutual respect but with affection. There is no question where the power lies, especially since the protectorate has been declared. The British are in a position to do what they like with Egypt, but evidently what they wish is simply to keep Egypt contented.

I tried to discover any trace of discontent in the Sultan, but if he feels he is an English-made potentate he is able to hide it from prying eyes. I did not find the Sultan at all what I expected. Knowing that he was the son of the regal Ismail Pasha, the Khedive who both made and ruined modern Egypt, and the grandson of Muhammed Ali, the Albanian adventurer who founded the Khediviate in Egypt, I was not prepared to meet a man whose dominant characteristic is a spiritual intellectualism. He wanted to talk chiefly about the uplifting of Egyptian women, and, as he talked, he was emotionally moved. He turned also to Islam and tried to make me understand the sentiments of fraternity and democracy that underlie the religion of Mohammed. He spoke of politics, too, and did not mind being pinned down to an expression of opinion on British rule. He found it, he said, firm, but liberal. But when I questioned him about the future of Egypt he smiled and said, "But that is politics, and I am no prophet."

FOR A UNITED ISLAM

Except for the fact that there are Englishmen as directing heads of all civil departments in Egypt, the interior government is left to the Sultan and his ministers. He is ruler of the Egyptians; but when it comes to Egypt's relations with the rest of the world, the power lies where the arms lie, in British hands. This was a point I approached cautiously in interviewing the Sultan, but my caution was wasted.

"The power of empire has passed westward hundreds of years ago," he said in answer to an indirect question. "The movement is too vast to combat. So we in the East can hope only for a union of the Islamic countries, and that is more a matter of religion than of politics."

The interview, incidentally, was in French. The Sultan does not speak English. The prevalence of the French language and French customs brings out in higher relief the whole story of British control. You see it in everything, and it gives a sharp defining line by which you can see the British Empire in the making. The protectorate is so new that even the British officials watch its workings as if it were an act in a drama. The effort is obviously to make the protectorate as palatable as possible for the Egyptians.

For that matter England has always had a policy in Egypt which was at least meant to be free from arrogance. I have heard Englishmen of the interior trading type complain bitterly that they had been discriminated against by their own Government, while traders of other nations have been able, under the international control exercised in Egypt for thirty years, to do what they liked. Englishmen have certainly been kept under close watch. Those who would not behave themselves have been packed off home. England has had too much at stake in Egypt to take any chances. It has given interior trading almost entirely into the hands of Greeks, and when the war began more than 70 per cent. of the cheap imports of Egypt used by the natives were from German manufacturers.

WHY ENGLAND MADE A SULTAN

Up to the time the protectorate was declared England's interest in Egypt was largely on account of its geographical position commanding the gateway to the East. Before the Sudan was conquered even that interest flagged. France might have taken over Egypt twice, and it was even offered to Turkey. But this was under Gladstone, when the British Empire as such languished. Following the South African War and the conquering of the Sudan, England became firmly established in Egypt. It had come to stay. The protectorate had existed in fact long before it was proclaimed by law, and the political issue was avoided when it was proclaimed, because the Khedive happened to be in Constantinople when the war broke out. The British took prompt advantage of this lucky accident and, as the country had to have a ruler, made a Sultan, free from Turkish control, of the Khedive's uncle. He was chosen because he was friendly to British rule.

"We might have annexed Egypt," said a high British official whom I am not privileged to quote by name. "It would hardly have been noticed in the greater events of the war, and as it was our duty to protect Egypt against the Turks, we had a right to do so. But I am glad we did not. It would have saddened the whole Eastern world. We hope to smash Turkey's power, and it is the last important temporal power left to Islam, except Afghanistan, which is too remote to play a large part in world politics. So, by merely declaring a protectorate over Egypt, we have freed the country from Turkish influence, and Egypt, under its own Sultan, has become a great Mohammedan temporal power. Mussulmans do not feel we mean to crush them. In fact, we have no such purpose. We hope merely to shift the temporal power to Egypt, the old geographical centre of the Mohammedan races."

The larger political aspect dominates. The British can afford to be tolerant, and they permit many things to go on which would seem to indicate weakness if it were not for the big armies camped over hundreds of square miles. The noses of Egyptians are not snubbed up close to the hitching-post. They do pretty much what they like. Once recently an attempt was made to enlist the younger fellahin in a volunteer army corps, and, for convenience, the enlisting took place in the public markets. At one town two hundred had given in their names and were officially recruited, when the report was spread among them that they were to be sent away from Egypt. At once the two hundred bolted, literally dashed through the market, upsetting produce baskets, smashing eggs, stampeding donkeys and camels, and bowling over women carrying huge loads on their heads. Many people were hurt and the recruits might readily have been punished. Instead, a mere statement was issued denying the rumor and inviting the recruits to return. Hardly any came, and no attempt was made to follow up the others.

A SHOW OF FORCE—AND ITS EFFECT

The British can afford to be easy-going: their power is so obvious. But at the beginning it was necessary to make a show of force, and the first 25,000 men landed in Egypt after the beginning of the war were paraded before the eyes of the people. They passed, horse, foot, artillery, and supply train, through the native quarters of Cairo, and it took five hours for them

. The rumbling had not ceased
:he malcontents knew their game
There is no place where power
ıted more quickly and completely
the East.
ıilar demonstration of power was
ıfter the Abdin Palace affair.
stirred about everywhere, and
ı was found to drag cannon through
which had not seen cannon for
It had the subtle psychological
tended, and all danger of an out-
as averted.
ılly the native power in Egypt is
ed, but Englishmen as a race re-
oof. They regard the Egyptians
ıckward race, and treat them so
The effect of this cuts both ways.
d Egyptians and the officials of
descent fret under the implied
ıt the fellahin and the Arab popula-
the towns feel only the sovereign
nd they like the strong hand which
: prey on them.

ɜLAND'S SECRET OF SUCCESS

lay recently I fell into a casual
ıtion with a British officer on a
ır in Cairo, and he pointed a moral
s attitude.
are successful with native peoples
we remain aloof. They feel our
ınd our aloofness makes us seem
rwerful yet. They also know we
treat them fairly and prevent op-
. That is why we can govern
s like India and Egypt. We do
e our customs on them, and we
wish to adopt theirs. The French
successful because they mix. They
remain aloof. Their democracy
Mind you, I admire the dem-
f the French. Nothing that you
ıve can compare to the democracy
'rench, but it is fatal to empire.
Cairo. What there is European
is French, French signs, French
, the universal language is French.
ely heard English here before the
here are now a hundred schools
French to half a dozen teaching
But who is governing Egypt?
French. We, who have made no
on on the daily life of Egypt ex-
cept indirectly through public works, we are governing Egypt."

It is interesting to watch in operation the contradiction between the British official and the actual British attitude. Egypt has really been in the palm of England's hand since the burning of Alexandria in 1882, when Tewfik Pasha, the Khedive, drove to the British garrison and placed his person under the protection of the British commander. The battle that followed at Tell-el-Kebir and the surrender of the Citadel at Cairo merely established the power. England could have done what it liked with Egypt at any time since, but, instead, it has permitted its influence to be buffeted about. Nominally all the Powers, through their diplomatic agents, have had a hand in Egyptian affairs and they have not failed to assert themselves. When Kitchener first came to Egypt he had no more legal power than any one of seventeen consuls, and, being the last, he was made to feel his place.

Under the Capitulations, framed when the Controllers assumed charge of Egyptian affairs in 1879, subjects and citizens of foreign countries in Egypt are responsible only to their own governments. This has made of Egypt the happy hunting ground of international adventurers. Before the war, law frequently went for naught, and the English endured this state of affairs because they felt it to be good policy not to raise the issue. But British officials have welcomed martial law. One said to me, "We can actually police this country now." So far the status of the Capitulations has not been decided upon. Again the policy of the British of avoiding embarrassing issues. But it is safe to say that the power of the consuls has gone for good.

LITTLE DANGER OF REVOLUTION

The military situation, which attracted me to Egypt, I found to be the least important. It is simple and is not subject to much change. The delta of the Nile, inhabited by fellahin, is productive of neither good military nor revolutionary material. It is content to be protected and lorded over by British troops. The

fighting spirit is among the Bedouins of the desert, particularly the Senussi to the west. German and Turkish influence has been exerted among them, and they were led to believe they could back the English to the seashore as they did with the Italians in Tripoli. They soon found they could not do it, as the British troops had garrisoned the oases, and were in Egypt in such large numbers as to make a desert attack on them impossible. The Egyptian Government has also assumed an attitude that the Senussi are not really unfriendly, and, while tribes under Senussi influence have fought several lively desert battles with British troops, blame has never been placed on the Grand Senussi, the head of the jesuitical religious order to which they all belong, and, even at the time of these minor battles, correspondence and even personal communication with him has continued unbroken.

THE SUEZ CANAL SAFE

The only other military danger to the quiet of Egypt is an attack on the Suez Canal, and my observations in Egypt lead me to the belief that the Canal cannot be successfully attacked, as long as there are anywhere near as many soldiers in Egypt as at present. The Canal is fortified for a long distance to the eastward, the only direction from which an attack can come, and, as the Mediterranean and the Red Sea form the ends of the British lines, it is impossible to turn the British flank. That leaves the only military possibility a direct attack against prepared defenses close to the base, while the attacking party must bring ammunition and supplies, notably water, for more than a hundred miles across a desert. So the military advantages are all in favor of the British and will probably remain so until the end of the war. The Turks may make an attack even before this is printed, but it can hardly succeed, and, if made, the purpose of it will probably be merely a show of force for political effect upon the desert tribes.

The Sudan has played so large a part in the news for twenty years, one naturally expects it to be an important element in the Egyptian military situation. It is, in a static way. It is absolutely dominated by the British Sirdar, and that is the whole story.

NATIONALISM NOT AN ISSUE

I expected to find in Egypt an influential nationalist party, but it hardly exists, even as a sentiment. There are malcontents, many of them, but they are only in a few instances Egyptians. They are of Turkish blood who came to Egypt under the Khediviate. They talk hotly against the English, but, sifted down, I found their complaint to be chiefly that the English treat them as inferiors, which is galling to a proud race. But they prefer to submit to it rather than have the Turks again to rule over them.

Nationalism is not an issue. Feeling is not sufficiently coherent, and the people of the Delta care only for their land and cannot be moved politically. They could never be stirred even in the past when they were mistreated, unjustly taxed, and kicked about. Now they have fair treatment and are let alone. I should call them the most hopeless revolutionary material I have ever seen.

But the British control is not absolute. The other European Powers still have a finger, at least, on Egypt. France has stuck to the letter of the Capitulations, and has still a considerable influence. It is, in fact, a bit jealous of England's influence in the land which Napoleon said should always be French, a jealousy that has not been entirely cured by the war. It has done nothing to embarrass its ally, of course. In fact it has been of real assistance, but is not prone to give up its few remaining prerogatives. For instance, when I finish what I am now writing in Alexandria, I shall, on account of the uncertain condition of the mails, put on one copy French stamps and mail it in the French post office of Alexandria.

)MMON SENSE IN BUYING A FARM

ɪIENCES WHICH SHOW HOW MANY MEN LOSE THEIR BUSINESS PERSPECTIVE WHEN THE LURE OF THE COUNTRY CATCHES THEM—SOME COMMON-SENSE, FIRST-PRINCIPLE RULES OF FARM BUYING

BY

FRANCIS COPELAND

RECENTLY there came to my notice another repetition of the old story portraying the experiences of a man who had been persuaded to buy a pecan and na orange grove in one of the South-ıtes. The man was indignant—vio- indignant when he found out that he een fleeced—that (according to his ıent) the Satsuma orange was not table, the country he went into was gly, without telephones or congenial ors; that on his first purchase, a he was cheated, and because of end- ımber of other grievances.

course the story is true—undoubt- true—but in buying a farm the ry city business man seems to all principles of business and be- a fatuous idealist. He forgets the ıcts of life and dreams dreams of the : life, the freedom of the farm, the re of jumping out of bed every morn- d riding out over his domain, a free who has at last, thank Heaven, ı away from the shackles and sordid- f a deskworm life. And it is in this of mind that some real estate man him. Apples in Massachusetts or ia, irrigated land in Arizona or ına, peaches in Georgia or North na, oranges and pecans in Florida; tton plantation, the truck farm, the ranch—any one of these in the of a good real estate man can be to seem more worth while than a ı the Stock Exchange or the promise ırp in the Heavenly choir. The joys there are joys in abundance—in the ıhip of a farm, an orchard, or a in the free feeling of room, in the ıt of clear fresh country air to city- ıgs, in unbounded health are easily portrayed in a manner to make Cicero ashamed of his oratory. And then if the tired business man doesn't immediately lay down his first payment, there are the stories—true and authenticated—of so-and-so who has just made a fortune raising apples or peaches or celery or what-not, only three miles from the farm which is for sale for a song—really being given away.

It is irresistible, the call of the soil, to the clerk and the business man alike. I know, for I have been both the clerk in a city office, the land buyer and farmer, and the real estate man. To-day, you or any man who owns a farm can go down to Wall Street, into any club in New York or Chicago or Boston, and talk farm and freedom and get more listeners than can an authority on national defense. And listeners become buyers, you know.

But to return to the business man who buys. If it were a pair of shoes, he would certainly go to the store and see them before buying—not only because he wants them to fit but because it is common sense to see that he is getting his money's worth. If he were buying out another business, he would look most carefully into it and most likely hire an expert to report upon it. If he were even buying a house in the suburbs to live in, he would go out to investigate it. But when he buys a farm—and, mind you, in many cases a farm on the proceeds of which he not only intends but has to live—he suddenly becomes unbalanced mentally and doesn't investigate at all. Hypnotized by the wonderful stories he has been told and the pictures and data he has been shown, he wakes up one morning a thousand miles away in a strange place with a deed for an unknown piece or parcel of land and a dazed feeling that he has taken a momentous step. He has.

I have had people stop me when I have told them this and say that no sensible man can do such a thing. I can cite case after case. In Florida not many years ago a real estate organization sold farms in the Everglades, and sold a lot of them, too, to people in the Northern cities. Parts of the Everglades are very fertile, but upon investigation it turned out that the cost of clearing these particular beautiful farms was ten times what they were worth—along with a number of other insurmountable drawbacks. That firm was dishonest. However, there are sight-unseen farm real estate organizations that are honest enough. One that I know of in the South bought a tract of land for about a dollar an acre and is busy to-day selling that land in small farms to people in New Jersey for $15 an acre. It is good land which will grow cotton, corn, tobacco, etc., but it is absolutely undeveloped and will remain so unless some of these absentee landlords open it up at another cost of $40 an acre. Then the land will be worth all they have put into it.

THE NEED OF INVESTIGATION

But let me show you why this sight-unseen buying is so very, very foolish. Here is a man who has lived in the city all his life and has finally, with part of his life's savings, bought a farm a thousand miles from his desk. At last he is going to be free—free! Now admitting that he has bought a good farm; one that is in good condition, in a good state of repair, and capable of producing a living for Mr. Business Man and his family: has Mr. Business Man thought of the other essentials to farming success? Here are the questions that first arise in the mind of the thinking farmer once he has satisfied himself as to the desirability of the land and houses: 1. Is there a school for my children and a church near by? 2. What kind of neighbors will I have? 3. Is the country healthful—is there malaria, etc.? 4. What kind of transportation facilities will I have? 5. And, if he is an up-to-date farmer, what kind of markets and where? The wrong answer to any one of those questions may easily ruin any farm in the world.

The late Dr. Seaman A. Knapp, who founded the Farm Demonstration Bureau of the Department of Agriculture, once said in effect that there is not a piece of land in the United States that cannot be made to raise some marketable crop. So when it comes to just finding farm land, a prospective farmer has forty-eight states full of land from which to pick.

A couple of years ago, I was riding through a section of country which had been opened up into beautiful cotton farms during the previous decade. Nearly all the settlers had come from the mountains in the western end of the state, and they were hard-working, thrifty, capable farmers. As I rode along I noticed that on two of the farms the houses were closed and the fields growing up in weeds. A little farther on I found a farmer I knew packing his household furniture on his wagon preparatory to leaving. I rode in and asked him where he was moving to.

"Me and the ol' woman was kinder figurin' on movin' back up home (in the mountains). Hits too lonesome down here fer her."

"Isn't the farming all right?" I asked.

"Best I ever seed," was his answer, "but the chillun have ter walk five miles ter school and church is eight miles away"—and he drove off.

It did not take long, I can assure you, to see that a school and a church were put in that neighborhood—and to-day, two years later, instead of a decreasing population, there are twice as many prosperous farms there—and Sam and his wife and children have returned from "up home" and are living happy and prosperous in the very place they forsook two years ago.

IMPORTANCE OF HEALTHFUL COUNTRY

And health is just as important. Some of the best farming land in America is unavailable on account of the health problem. Millions of dollars are being spent by private individuals, companies, railroads, states, and the Federal Government to eradicate disease indigenous to certain localities in the United States. Once I had occasion to spend two months in one of the lowland towns looking at land. Seldom have I ever seen more beautiful farms, and the people of the town outdid them-

to entertain me. Truck land, ɔck land, alfalfa, blue grass—land to ıny farmer envious. And nearly all r sale. Why? A thousand different s, all seemingly good. But none of the real reason. I asked about . The mountains of Colorado or ıths of Germany could not compare heir country for real health. As for a—there never was a case in the y. Yet every time I entered the tore the first thing that caught my as a pyramid four feet high of a malaria cure in big yellow boxes. hat was the real secret of why land eap and most of it was for sale.

long ago, there was in New York a ho sold shares in a great apple or- he was promoting in one of the great sections of this country. One of ospective investors had the fore- ıt to journey, unknown to the pro- down to the land of the new com- There was no question that the vas all the promoter said it was. ; wonderful apple country—but it ven miles over an almost impassable rom the nearest railroad station. f the company ever grew any apples d never have shipped any, for the getting them to the station would ıore than eaten up the profit.

STUDY THE MARKETS

n another point: markets. Take a instance. Around every centre of tion there naturally grows a truck g community; and around the great astern population centre of the y the trucking business spreads out a nd miles, with New York as the of a series of concentric arcs. The ɔf these arcs are governed by two erations: the number of hours from York and the season of the year ɔps come in. Take two cases: one lives ten hours from New York, uring the season, he can gather his n the morning, load it in refrigerator the afternoon, and have it delivered in New York at 4 o'clock the next morning. Another farmer lives fifteen hours from New York: he has not got time to gather and load his produce on the same day as farmer No. 1, so he might as well be twenty-four as five hours farther away from New York. This is just a simple case —there are many ramifications of it; it is worth while studying markets.

Mind you, I am not decrying farming. Farming is the ideal life. But I am trying to show you the great mistakes of the man who was indignant about the farm that he bought. After all, it was his own fault, for he did not take the ordinary precautions of a good business man. He knew nothing about what he was buying. He has gone back to his Northern home with an unsalable farm on his hands. If he had spent 10 per cent. of the money he has lost in either personally investigating or sending some reliable man to investigate before buying the land he would have saved both his pocketbook and his indignation.

GOOD RULES FOR FARM BUYING

When buying a farm remember that farming is as much of a business as making bricks is, and investigate as closely as if you were about to buy a business. If you satisfy the following six essential rules, you cannot go far wrong:

1. Be perfectly certain that your neighbors are congenial, for farming in an uncongenial neighborhood is impossible.
2. Locate near a school and a church—you can get labor easier even if you do not use them yourself.
3. Be sure the country is healthful—and the water pure.
4. Look well into the transportation facilities; roads, railroads, and rates.
5. Find out where the markets are.
6. Then buy a good piece of farm land.

If you fulfil these six conditions, and there are plenty of such places in the United States—and you are willing to work, really work—you will find health and prosperity and abounding happiness on a farm.

THE MYSTIC VENGEANCE OF THE SLAV

THE MEANING OF THE MOVE ON ERZERUM

THE FAR-SEEING AND WIDELY MISCONSTRUED REASONS FOR THE TRANSFER OF THE GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS TO THE CAUCASUS LAST SEPTEMBER—HALTING THE GERMAN "DRIFT TO THE EAST" AT ERZERUM—ABDUL-HAMID'S PROPHECY COMING TRUE

BY

W. MORTON FULLERTON

THE Persian question is twenty-five centuries old. Cyrus and Tissaphernes have been dead twenty-three hundred years, but theirs is a modern case. For the last ten years foresighted statesmen knew that Persia would become an essential vortex in the gigantic whirlpool of any planetary war. During the movement that I have called "The Checkmate of Saloniki," their previsions were confirmed by certain startling events. The sense of these events is the subject of the present article.

The old road out of the Babylonian lowlands was, in 401 B. C., when the famous Ten Thousand of Xenophon retreated after the battle of Cunaxa, what it is to-day; what the Russians found it in 1915 and are finding it at this hour; and what it might have ceased to be two years before the Great War, if only Sir Edward Grey had met with less parliamentary opposition from certain groups, fearful less the Russian project of the Trans-Iranian railroad might bring the Cossack to the gates of India. They were few in England in 1912 who divined that the solider the coöperation of Russia and England in Persia the better it would be for the peace of the world.

After the martyrdom of Belgium and of Serbia, any greater crime against humanity had seemed unthinkable. Yet, with the collusion, if not at the instigation, of Berlin, the Young Turks devised an even grander infamy. In March, 1915, the Ottoman Government began to carry out a systematic plan for the extermination of the Armenian race, triumphant rival of the German commercial traveler, and within six months nearly a million Armenians had been massacred. Even the Pope, Benedict XV, who had maintained throughout the war a surprising Olympian detachment, greatly resembling that classical impartiality of Pontius Pilate so stubbornly persisted in by the Washington Government, uttered in an encyclical a reflex cry of horror.

But on February 16, 1916, Nemesis appeared. The Grand Duke Nicholas flung to the breeze on the ancient battlements of Erzerum the Cross of St. Andrew. The capture of Erzerum was not only the most decisive military event of the Great War, after the battle of the Marne and before the battle at Verdun; it was also one of the greatest victories over barbarism of which history has record. It is reported that when the Young Turks declared war against Russia in 1914, they asked the aged Abdul-Hamid his opinion of the situation. His reply was curt: "You are playing your last card. You run the risk of losing either Constantinople or Bagdad; but the loss of either means the total ruin of Turkey."

One may think what one likes of the Sultan Abdul-Hamid. He is now watching from the slits of his *mushrabiyeh* the crumbling of Turkey, and his thoughts must be long, long thoughts. But no verdict will weaken the conviction of those who know that he was a great Ottoman, and that he was a great Ottoman statesman. Abdul-Hamid knew Europe. In face of the one Power, Russia, that threatened to wrest from him Constantinople, he perfectly understood that, whatever the audacities of Ottoman policy, prudence forbade the Caliphate to alienate the Powers, a cardinal article of whose creed

was the "maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire."

In the early part of 1914, a few months before the Great War, and just after the Turco-Italian, the Turco-Balkan, and the Inter-Balkan Wars, I wrote as follows:

PAN-SLAVISM—OR PAN-GERMANISM

The destruction of Turkey, the disintegration of Islamism, is the downfall of a moss-grown but singularly venerable and solid portion of the rampart of world-peace. For England and for France it seemed to be the disappearance of a necessary barrier to the expansion of the rival Powers, first Austria, then Germany, into the rich regions of the Middle East. During centuries the "integrity of the Ottoman Empire" was, for the old time diplomacy, one of the cardinal points of its compass, a categorical imperative, as it were, of diplomatic dogma. It was held that the prestige and the security of France and England demanded the maintenance of an intact Islamism. The liquidation of Islamism, begun by the French in Algiers, Tunis, and Morocco, pursued by the British in Egypt, and now by the Italians in Tripoli, is rapidly being consummated, since the burst of Slav nationalism in the two Balkan wars, by the financial and industrial expropriation of the Ottoman Empire in Asia. Over the giant blocks of the fallen rampart the Pan-German, the Pan-Slav, the Anglo-Saxon, and the Latin tide is now streaming in a relentless flood. The only resource of France and England—as partners of the one dread and mysterious Power that has always desired the destruction of Turkey—is to favor the consolidation of the Slav States of the Balkans, and to further, against Pan-Germanism, the steady development of Russia. An impregnable Pan-Slav world alone can now act as a counterpoise to the growing might of the German Empire in regions remote from the zones of attraction of England and France. An impregnable Pan-Slav world alone can, in the Middle East, by its very existence and by its potential momentum, permit the two Powers of Western Europe to work out their common as well as their individual destiny in peace.

If the Triple Entente Powers had meditated such verities as these, and acted on them, the Serbian people would not have been swept from their soil and homes and left to be garnered by the Allies on the shores of the "bitter Adriatic." But this is not for the moment the point that matters. I have recalled this passage because it formulates a conception of the interplay of European and Asiatic political elements, in which Germany and Russia would certainly have acquiesced at the time, but to the truth of which, if it had not been for the shock of the explosion of August, 1914, England and France would hardly have opened even yet their eyes. However, a growing suspicion of the reality of these verities was, indeed, becoming articulate both in Downing Street and at the Quai d'Orsay, during the last years that preceded the Great War.

Anglo-Russian enmity had long balked all efforts for the solution of the problem of the Middle East. When the Russian Army camped in 1877 in sight of the minarets of Stamboul, it found the ironclads of England anchored in the offing. The Slav peril was for a century—from the time of Napoleon—the bugaboo of British statesmen. The fanatical resolution to preserve at all costs the "integrity of the Ottoman Empire" was immensely enhanced thereby. But England and France were long in realizing that this was a situation by which only Germany could profit. The two secular aims of the Wilhelmstrasse are: Germanization of the Slavs, Prussianization of the Ottomans. These processes could advance almost untrammeled so long as Russia and England gazed at each other askance in the Dardanelles, on the borders of Afghanistan, and over the passes of the Himalayas. And it was one of the rare statesmanlike perspicacities of the British Foreign Office under Sir Edward Grey when it perceived, two or three years before the Great War, that since the time seemed to have come to liquidate great arrears of misunderstanding with Russia, England and Russia would do well to coöperate fearlessly in the construction of a dike against the rising tide of Pan-Germanism.

THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN AWAKENING

When the Young Turks, abandoning the safe, traditional policy of an Abdul-Hamid, threw in their lot with the Germans, even the most suspicious and imperialistic of England's Indian statesmen began to understand the real interests of England. It was seen that the fate of Turkey was

interesting—no less interesting, Heaven knew, than it had always been—but that it was interesting not in and for itself, not in consequence of the authority of a now dead dogma as to "integrity," but only as part of the vaster strategic problem of the fate of the world. But when the Great War broke, Russia alone saw clearly from the outset the place of the Turkish problem in the whole complex network of problems; the value of Constantinople; the fact that Constantinople was, indeed, the strategic limit of a necessarily planetary war; and it was not Russia, but England, who, drunk with the new revelation, fancied the problem of the Ottoman Empire could be solved by the methods of "a legitimate war gamble," like the Gallipoli and Dardanelles expeditions of Mr. Churchill and M. Augagneur.

THE GRAND DUKE GOES TO THE CAUCASUS

Thus, while England and France were "gambling" in the Balkans with the sardonic Time-Spirit, incarnate in the Tsar of the Bulgars, and organizing at the same time holocausts of Australian, New Zealand, and Algerian troops on the heights of Anzac and the Gallipoli Peninsula, Russia had not forgotten that Germany was intriguing with the Turks a thousand miles away. Persia was now the mark that was being aimed at. Russia alone, with her keener sense for Eastern affairs, seemed to be alive to the danger—although mysterious Anglo-Indian forces were vaguely known to be advancing from Koweyt up the Mesopotamian valleys toward Bagdad. The Turco-German menace was, indeed, particularly disquieting for the masters of India and the Persian Gulf. The Pan-Germanic dreams had long been methodically developed in the Middle East. When, on September 5th, the Grand Duke Nicholas was appointed to the Caucasus, it was evident that Russia, at all events, perceived that the plateau of Iran, which had long been chosen as one of the glacis of the World Empire of the Hohenzollerns, was now a critical danger point, and that there was no time to be lost, if she meant to conserve her position, not only in Persia proper but in the regions between the Caspian and the Black seas.

On September 5, 1915, then, the Grand Duke Nicholas, who had been for an entire year in chief command on the Russo-German front, was transferred to the Caucasus. Since June a terrific German offensive from Lemberg to Warsaw and from Warsaw to the Baltic, had carried Von Hindenburg's and Von Mackensen's armies hurtling over fortress after fortress almost into the heart of Russia. City after city had fallen, until the world wondered whether Petrograd itself were not in danger, and if the fate of the Moscow of a century ago were not in store for it. Thereupon, apparent climax to these disasters, the Grand Duke Nicholas was transferred to the Caucasus. Had he, then, been relieved of his command, and was he being relegated in disgrace to an unimportant theatre of the war—or rather into one of the wings? For the great world-public, whose vision had never swept so far afield, no other interpretation seemed so plausible.

On their western front the Germans held solidly three or four million men of the enemy virtually immobile in their trenches. From Flanders to the Vosges the line had hardly wavered since the Battle of the Marne. Russia appeared to be half crushed, paralyzed for all offensive action for many months. Lest her army utterly despair, the "Little Father" had come down into the trenches from far-away Tsarskoi-Selo and was rallying his badly punished troops. But the great leader, the Grand Duke of the once firm, gigantic stride, whom the world had counted on to take Berlin by a Cossack drive, had vanished into the misty East.

RUSSIA'S DEVIATION FROM THE GREAT WAR

At the same time, Russia was displaying the most singular indifference as to the Balkans. Why did she not act more energetically in Bessarabia and nudge Rumania out of her so exasperating inertia? Why the interview of her Foreign Minister, spread broadcast just at the most critical moments of the negotiations for the reconstruction of the Balkan League, to the effect that the Balkans were, after all, "only of secondary interest," and that the fate of Germany would be decided elsewhere? Why, when Serbia, the pet

ward of Russia, was now at last exposed to the most piteous and tragic fate, why this calm and callous comment? Why this cool, platonic approbation only of a Saloniki expedition? Why this unruffled demeanor of Petrograd, when it beheld the British Dominion armies reëmbarking from the Peninsula of Gallipoli, which had so long seemed to be the open road to Constantinople—a Constantinople which England appeared likely to preëmpt before the Tsar's troops, fulfilling the Russian dream, could attend Mass at St. Sophia?

REASONS FOR THE ERZERUM CAMPAIGN

Why, if it was not because Russia was bent on solving, if possible, the problem of Constantinople and the Middle East in her own way? Why, if it was not because she had conceived a larger strategic synthesis than her allies, and jealously longed to carry her plan successfully through for the glory of Slavdom, unassisted, if that might be, by either Britisher or Frenchman? No one had foreseen so clearly as she the special reasons, not only for seizing the event of the Great War to solve the Asiatic problems of the Powers, but for enlarging the military front, at whatever peril of prolonging the vicissitudes of the war.

There were, no doubt, special recent reasons why Russia should be particularly alive to the dangers of the Middle East. She could not but be conscious that it was she herself who was largely responsible for what was now taking place there. She might easily ask herself, at last, if she were not reaping the first fatal consequences of the famous "Pact of Potsdam" of 1910. Just as in 1909, after the premonitory friction between Germany and France in Morocco, Paris and Berlin had signed an arrangement which, if it had been applied during only a few years, would have shattered the Triple Entente, so in 1910, at Potsdam, after the tension between Russia and Germany caused by the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Tsar and Emperor had come to an understanding relative to Middle Eastern questions, which appeared to imply the speedy disintegration of the same Triple Entente. Shortly afterward King Edward died, and Berlin might easily flatter itself that the rupture of the Pact between the Western Powers would speedily be accomplished and that Prussian hegemony was about to become coterminous with the boundaries of the Eastern Hemisphere.

What Berlin thought and hoped London and Paris dreaded. And, indeed, it required, at the time, a very considerable *sang-froid* not to jump quickly to the conclusion that a severe blow had been dealt at the Triple Entente. No inscrutable mystery surrounded this famous Pact of Potsdam; and yet, few international arrangements during the last ten years have been less clearly understood. What had taken place at Potsdam was generally declared to be ominous. The official German version was as follows: "Russia agrees not to oppose the project of the Bagdad Railway. She even undertakes to link up the line in question with the Russo-Persian lines, and she acknowledges Germany's equal commercial rights in Persia. On the other hand Germany acknowledges Russia's special interests in Northern Persia, as regards the construction of railroad routes and telegraph lines." In other words, as has been remarked by M. Demorgny, a professor of international law at Teheran, one of the most competent observers of Middle Eastern questions: "The Kaiser said to the Tsar, 'Help me to prolong the Bagdad Railway, and I will give you a free hand in Northern Persia.' "

But this was comparatively nothing. In the halcyon air that preceded the Great War such arrangements were as abundant as golden motes. What was really interesting was that Berlin and St. Petersburg exchanged at Potsdam reciprocal promises not to join any combination which might be hostile to either Power. As an event showing where the wind was blowing in Europe, the interview of Potsdam and the arrangement signed at Potsdam, following so close on the German agreement of 1909 with France, were of grave significance.

For what had become of the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907? What, indeed? To be sure, nothing in the strict letter of the Potsdam Pact could be cited as being in positive opposition to the Anglo-Russian Treaty. Yet nobody in Europe who had any exact acquaintance with

German methods—nobody, above all, in Paris and in London, where "Casablanca" and "Tangier" and "Agadir" were still haunting names—could doubt for a moment that Germany meant to use this new Pact with Russia as a device for ousting England from Persian territory, and for extending her sway in Syria, across Anatolia and Mesopotamia, and into the Nile Valley.

PAN-GERMANISM IN THE NEAR EAST

As a matter of fact, what item of the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907 could serve to hamper this Pan-German plan? All that that Agreement had proposed to accomplish was to delimit certain economic and political spheres of influence in Persia. Russia was to be confined, roughly speaking, in the north, and England in the south. An uncertain neutral zone was recognized by both as being beyond the region of either's protectorate. The two Powers did, indeed, undertake to preserve the integrity and independence of Persia, and they recognized the principle of the "Open Door." But the important fact seemed to be that Russia, notwithstanding this arrangement, had agreed with Germany to withdraw all opposition to the extension of the Pan-German projects in Mesopotamia; that, indeed, she had agreed to further those projects, and was thereby apparently leaving in the lurch the Power, Great Britain, who was chiefly interested in thwarting the steady advance of Germany toward the Persian Gulf, toward Egypt, and toward India. The Power, in fact, whose special interests in the Persian Gulf Russia had explicitly acknowledged during the negotiations—as is specified in a letter of Sir Edward Grey annexed to the convention of 1907—was thus abandoned to her own devices, hung up in mid-air, like Mahomet's coffin, somewhere above Bagdad. It only remained for England to fall into line, with her pacifically accommodating neighbor, France, in the procession of nations that were following blindly behind the Pan-German imperial car.

After the Pact of Potsdam, pessimism evidently seemed to be a not irrational state of mind in London and in Paris. But in Paris, as in London, statesmen and publicists were too prone, as always, to look at the events in question through their own magnifying glasses; whereas, in diplomacy, the beginning of wisdom is to learn how to adjust one's vision to the eye-glass of one's neighbors, whether they be friends or rivals. It required, therefore, I repeat, a certain *sang-froid* to venture to remark, in 1914 ("Problems of Power"), with regard to the Potsdam agreement:

> The French public did not know that Russian initiative at Potsdam was ultimately, indeed, to have the happiest consequences for the Triple Entente. How could they divine that at Potsdam Russia, with her keen sense and liking for Oriental problems, had assumed responsibility for the beginnings of that rapid liquidation of Middle Eastern questions which the secret negotiations of 1913-1914 between Turkey and the Powers were shortly to achieve, and that, although, to the scandal of certain observers, this liquidation was to do away for all time with the great principle of the "integrity of the Ottoman Empire," the range of the action of the Triple Entente was to be enlarged, and the common interests of its members were to be consolidated.

THE GERMAN DREAM OF CONQUEST

The sense of the Pact of Potsdam, therefore, in the perspective of world-history, was that it was the beginning of a rapid liquidation of Middle Eastern questions which was carried out secretly on a vast scale just before the Great War. This liquidation left the Ottoman Empire virtually shattered, in the form, as it were, of the uncemented blocks of a jig-saw puzzle, and any attempt henceforth to treat it as a coherent mass could only result in its falling in pieces, in a great number of disparate parts, to which a half dozen Powers were already laying claim. William II, master of the still subsisting sources of power at Constantinople, was curiously and industriously striving to stop the fissures by his Pan-German cement, and to make an organic whole of the disarticulated rotten mass. The means employed were rapid development of the Bagdad Railway, with its feelers leading into the Persian highlands; reorganization of the Turkish army—when General Liman von Sanders arrived in Constantinople the Great War was already in being; steady commercial infiltration. Persia, for the Turco-German

conspirators, was only a geographical hinterland of the Ottoman Empire. The history of German intrigues in Persia against the two Powers that had sworn to protect Persian integrity, and of German machinations against all stable government in Persia, is one of the essential chapters of the history of the Great War, and should be read in detail in such an admirable book as that of M. Demorgny, to which allusion has already been made. The evocation of anarchy was, indeed, the chief concern of Germany on the plateau of Iran, and the admirable idealism of the American Government unwittingly contributed, in a famous episode, to the success of this policy. In a word, it is no exaggeration to say, with M. Sazonoff (see his speech to the Duma on February 22, 1916):

> The plans for the domination of Germany over the Turkish Empire comprised the formation of an enormous German-Mussulman Empire, extending from the Scheldt to the Persian Gulf. Such an empire, which appears in the dreams of Pan-Germans as a new Caliphate, to which by historic analogy the name "Caliphate of Berlin" would be adapted, is, according to them, to strike a mortal blow at the historic existence of Russia and Great Britain. It is a terrifying dream, but God is merciful! Berlin politicians forget that, if this empire could be forged under the German hammer, it would not last a single day, because it would lack the indispensable to support its existence—supremacy of the sea. Now, fortunately, this supremacy is in the strong hands of our glorious Ally, Great Britain. As long as it is, the Caliphate of Berlin will not menace our existence.

RUSSIA MOVES TO CHECK GERMANY

It was with the grim resolve to shatter the already colossal scaffolding of this Caliphate of Berlin that the Grand Duke Nicholas set out for the Caucasus on September 5, 1915, in the circumstances that I have analyzed. Russia had waited for a century in order to solve the question of the Straits. One single Power still lay athwart her dream of escaping from the prison of her ice-bound sea. That Power was Germany, who had already announced her project of linking Hamburg to Bagdad. Whatever else the German Empire could rightfully claim, said Herr H. Delbrück, in his book on "The Legacies of Bismarck," she would at all events insist, in any Peace Congress, on securing a counterpart of England's India. The coveted "counterpart" was Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. The German Thor dreamed of driving an indefinitely expanding wedge through the European-Asiatic continent. The starting point was to be Vienna, and the continent was to be sundered by an ever-widening cleavage, the great Slav world to be thrust back toward the frozen North and the Yellow Sea, Great Britain, in Egypt, to be left isolated in the South for subsequent treatment at a more favorable moment. Meanwhile, all the Balkan peoples were to be obliterated. It was the recreation of the Empire of Alexander.

Russia had decided that this should not be. Unruffled, she beheld the armies of William II cut their way through the first great obstacle to the Pan-German scheme, the Serbian nation. She quietly watched them open an unobstructed highway to Constantinople. What was the secret of this prodigious calm?

By a gigantic, mysterious turning movement, Russia, too, was drawing toward Stamboul. The Turks at Byzantium! That, during long generations, was an "object that poisoned sight." Russia knew that even more was doomed than the Pan-German mirage of the Caliphate of Berlin. Doomed as well, and doomed for all time, was the temporal power of the Ottomans at Byzantium!

The Grand Duke Nicholas knows the difference between a defeat that is a victory, and a victory that is a defeat. That, moreover, is a form of perspicacity that tends to be a Russian trait. The mystic vengeance of a gentle Slav, when he learns that he has been a dupe, is one of the direst chastisements of Heaven.

ALLIED STRATEGY IN THE NEAR EAST

The decision to occupy Saloniki was an intelligent stroke in diplomatic tactics, because it was the first indication vouchsafed to the sovereigns and peoples of the Balkan Peninsula that, instead of pulling apart, the Allies were acting together. It was the first tangible proof offered Athens and Bukharest and Sofia that France and

England were not to be trifled with; that they were coöperating in an intelligible plan; that their resources were, if not inexhaustible, yet unexpectedly elastic; that they had no intention of abandoning the Balkans to the domination of Germany.

The decision to occupy Saloniki was an imperative development of the Allies' military strategy in the East, because William II had counted on the extension thither of his lines in order to impose his *Pax Germanica* upon the world. A *Pax Germanica*—they "make a solitude and call it peace"—was to be the logical consequence of the success of Pan-Germanism. His plan was to set the East on fire.

But the decision to occupy Saloniki would have been fraught with peril if it had not been supported—protected, as it were—by the vast enveloping movement of the Caucasus campaign of the Russians. Several weeks after the capture of Erzerum the Russians entered Ispahan, the city of roses. Northeastern Anatolia and the whole of northern and western Persia were in the hands of the Slav. Thus, at last, for the crimes of the accomplices of the assassins of the Armenians, the Time-Spirit had summoned out of the monotheistic Steppe a great Avenger.

THE NEW COLUMBIA HIGHWAY

THE NOBLE BOULEVARD BUILT BY MULTNOMAH COUNTY, OREGON, THROUGH THE GORGE OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER IN THE CASCADE RANGE

ON THE 7th of this month Multnomah County, Oregon, of which Portland is the chief city, will dedicate to the public one of the most beautiful highways in the world—a paved boulevard forty-two miles long through the gorge of the Columbia River, connecting with other roads east and west which make, all together, a highway more than two hundred miles in length, from the eastern side of the Cascade Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. It traverses some of the noblest scenery on this continent. And the story of its building is a story of human character as well as of engineering skill.

The Mississippi River system is, of course, incomparably the longest and most extensive system of water courses in continental United States. But the Columbia River system, one third its size, threads by far a more beautiful region. The sources of the two systems are the same—the wild Rockies of Montana and Wyoming; indeed, so near to each other are the uppermost rivulets which feed the two streams that the direction of a chance gust of wind may determine whether a falling leaf shall end its career in the Pacific Ocean or in the Gulf of Mexico. Its voyage, in the latter case, would be uneventful: it would wind slowly down the treeless continental slope through the Dakotas, between Iowa and Nebraska, across the prairie of Missouri, along the eastern boundary of unpicturesque Arkansas, and through the flat delta lands of Louisiana to the Gulf.

But on the Columbia, it would never be out of sight of snow-capped peaks; it would ride many a rapids, through roaring cañons between soaring walls of rock; and its last view of land would be of a range of rugged mountains, against whose base the waters of the Pacific rise and fall. For, even when within one hundred miles of the ocean, the Columbia's westward march is barred by the immense Cascade and Coast ranges, set like two huge garden walls running north and south squarely across the river's path. By some mighty convulsion of Nature—perhaps by the bursting over its banks of a vast prehistoric inland sea—a chasm was opened for the passage of the river, so that, to-day, it flows through a gate-like gorge not thirty miles from the base of Mount Hood, a peak 11,225 feet high. Mountains 2,000 to 4,000 feet high rise steeply from the river's banks, which in

some places are in the shadow of sheer cliffs far taller than the Washington Monument. Tributary streams dash down these headlong slopes in waterfalls sometimes a sheer six hundred feet. Spruce trees and firs, from 100 to 300 feet tall, and maples and larches cover the mountainsides.

This is the setting of the Columbia Highway, on the south bank of the Gorge through which the river makes its dramatic exit to the sea.

PLANNING THE HIGHWAY

Three years ago, the only passage from The Dalles to Astoria, along this magnificent stream, was on the railroad's track that had managed to follow the water's edge through the Gorge, destroying, in its construction, the one public road that years before had offered a steep and dangerous and uncomfortable route along the cliff. The inhabitants of Portland, midway between these places, near the junction of the Willamette River with the Columbia, were denied the beauties of the Gorge except by means so rough and difficult as practically to debar them access. Besides depriving themselves of a natural playground at their very doors, they were wasting a great scenic asset the opening of which would add immensely to the attraction of their city for tourists.

These considerations were urged upon commercial and governing bodies at various times, but the engineering and financial difficulties seemed insuperable until Mr. Samuel C. Lancaster, then of Seattle, a distinguished highway engineer, came to the attention of a group of leading citizens of Portland. Mr. Lancaster had achieved a high reputation by his work in creating, in 1904, a remarkable system of country highways in Madison County, Tennessee. The then Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Wilson, had been so impressed with this success that he employed Mr. Lancaster for years as a Government expert with a traveling commission to preach the gospel of good roads to farmers and to advise rural communities when they undertook the construction of highways.

The manœuvres of local politicians that for years had hindered a rational development of the Columbia Highway need not be rehearsed here. In 1913, these diversions were checkmated, and Multnomah County undertook to build the road. At once the most public spirited citizens of Portland joined hands to make it a success. Mr. Samuel Hill, son-in-law of Mr. J. J. Hill, of the Great Northern Railway, had already paid the expenses of a year's trip for Mr. Lancaster to study the classical highways of Europe, like the Axenstrasse of Switzerland. Mr. John B. Yeon, a wealthy retired lumberman, gave, gratis, two years of his time to act as roadmaster, both to head off some political meddlers and to give the county the benefit of his experience in the handling of large groups of labor. Mr. S. Benson and his son gave time, money, and land to make the enterprise a success. Mr. George Shepperd, a poor teamster, gave twelve acres surrounding a particularly beautiful waterfall, as a memorial to his wife. The railroad that owned the track through the Gorge coöperated as far as it could to lighten the labor of construction. In two years the highway had been cut, and early last summer Multnomah County awarded contracts for paving the road with the smoothest and most permanent city street surfacing, so that to-day it is possible to leave the heart of Portland by automobile and return to it in four hours after a drive of eighty miles past wonderful waterfalls, through majestic forest groves and the wildest natural scenery, and along the precipitous banks of one of the greatest rivers in this country.

The peculiar good fortune that lay in the selection of Mr. Lancaster to supervise the work was that he was not only competent to the engineering task but that he had a genuine feeling for the romantic and spiritual significance of the highway. This was no mere hewing of a path through the forest; to him it was the consecration of a mighty natural temple to the use of men. And this reverent attitude toward the work spread from him through the workers, even to the humblest. Meeting Marsello, an Italian mason who was working on retaining walls, a dialogue like this would ensue:

"Good morning, Marsello."

"Good mornin', Meester Lanakass."

"Marsello, make him a good wall, or St. Peter, when you die, won't let you in. He'll say: 'Marsello, that wall you made, not good, no place here for bad mason.'"

"Meester Lanakass, my gran'son, he come ahere, hundred year from now, look ata de wall; he say: 'Good wall; my gran'father, Marsello, he build him.'"

PRESERVING THE BEAUTIES OF NATURE

Gentle as he was—with the natural kindliness of a healthy Samson who is likewise a Christian gentleman—Mr. Lancaster was inexorable in demanding that natural beauties along the right of way be preserved. For example, the native charm of a curve in the road could be retained only by leaving standing part of a great rock that barred the way. The rock was of a crumbly texture that made difficult the task of blasting part of it away without ruining the whole.

"Give 'er enough powder and let the whole thing go," was the Irish blaster's ultimatum.

"O'Halloran, if you're going to talk like that, you'd better quit now," Mr. Lancaster replied.

"Ye don't mean ye'd fire a man for a little thing like that, do ye?"

"I mean that that is the biggest sort of thing we are doing on this job, and I do mean I will fire anybody who wilfully destroys a beautiful spot on this road."

And the desirable piece of rock still marks the curve, and the road goes through where the rest of it lay.

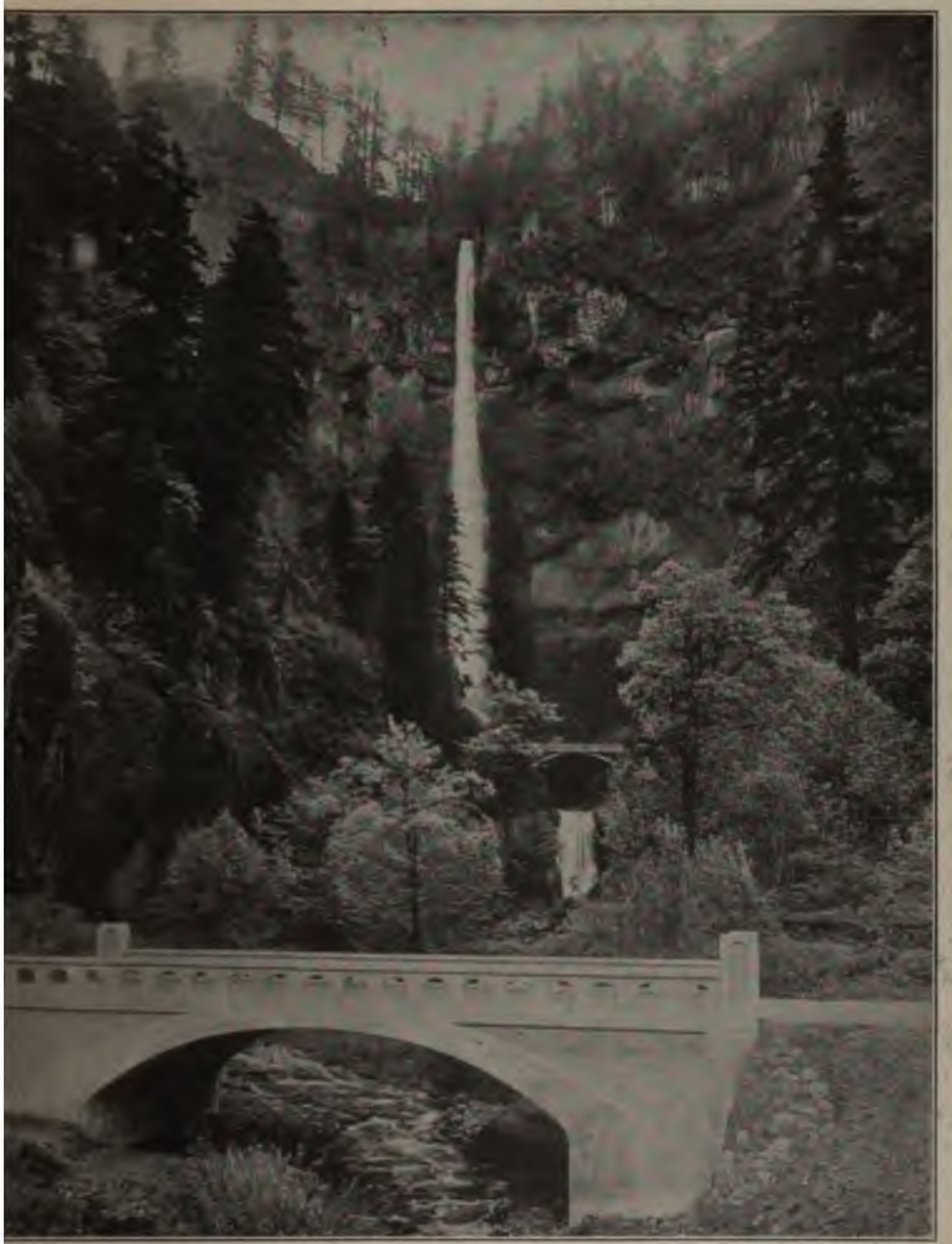
This preservation of the beautiful added immensely to the engineering difficulties of the task. At Crown Point, for example, a sheer cliff of solid rock rose from the narrow margin of the river. In earlier attempts to construct the road, efforts had been made to skirt its base, and had resulted in surveys that either ran afoul the railroad or produced a plan for expensive cutting along the base of the cliff to produce a road of steep grades and dangerously sharp curves. But the underlying idea of the Columbia Highway was that it should be uniformly easy and safe. The roadway must never be less than twenty feet wide, *no grade should* be steeper than 5 per cent., *and no curve should be sharper* than a segment of a circle having a radius of one hundred feet. This would mean plenty of room for vehicles to pass each other, easy climbing for any automobile, and a view ahead around all curves.

At Crown Point, Mr. Lancaster chose a bold solution of the problem—to scale the cliff rather than to crawl around its base. He was promptly assured it could not be done; but it was done—by patient surveying and calculation, starting the approaches far enough away at either side of the cliff to give time in the ascent to maintain low grades.

A WONDERFUL PANORAMA

But at the summit, to get the full value of the view which it commanded—of thirty miles up the Columbia River in one direction and thirty miles down it in the other—it was necessary to skirt the very rim of the rock. Here, indeed, the difficulties seemed insurmountable, for, to maintain the radius of 100 feet on curves, the survey showed that the roadway in several places would run right off the rock into thin air. This difficulty was conquered, however, by building concrete piers from lower shelves of rock and supporting the roadbed on them, so that a novel and beautiful effect was obtained, for here the highway now rounds seven eighths of a perfect circle and gives the passers-by an unobstructed view of the longest and perhaps most impressive vista on the route. Looking up and down the river they can see a large part of the whole Gorge, and mountains 4,000 feet high and higher in every direction. Here, this month, the Queen of Portland's Rose Festival will be crowned Queen of the Columbia Highway, in a building centred in the circle and commanding, through its windows, this wonderful panorama.

But perhaps the most characteristic feat in the construction of the highway was the building of the bridge and road at Shepperd's Dell. Here was one of the wildest parts of the way, along the steep slope of the Gorge, under towering trees and in an almost inaccessible part of the mountains. Mr. Lancaster, prospecting the route, had come upon a lovely glen, down which a waterfall, hidden from the



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MULTNOMAH FALLS, FROM THE NEW COLUMBIA HIGHWAY

n the route of the paved boulevard, forty-two miles long, by which the people of Portland, Ore., are ht within easy traveling distance of a dozen beautiful waterfalls, of the forests on the near-by mountains, the Gorge of the Columbia River. Multnomah Falls are 607 feet high, or fifty-two feet higher than ashington Monument

fell through glistening sunlight and ing shadow. A spot so enchanting not be left off the pleasure path. he land was owned by a poor man having failed to make a living on its slopes, had *moved to Portland* and was working by the day as a teamster so that his motherless children might have the advantages of the city schools. Mr. Lancaster sought him out and invited him to inspect the route of the highway with him. Donning a clean suit of overalls for

SHEPPERD'S DELL

Copyright by Henry Berger, Jr.

The site of this bridge and of a lovely waterfall hidden above it in the gorge was given to the public by a teamster in Portland

CROWN POINT, AT THE HIGHEST ELEVATION OF THE COLUMBIA HIGHWAY

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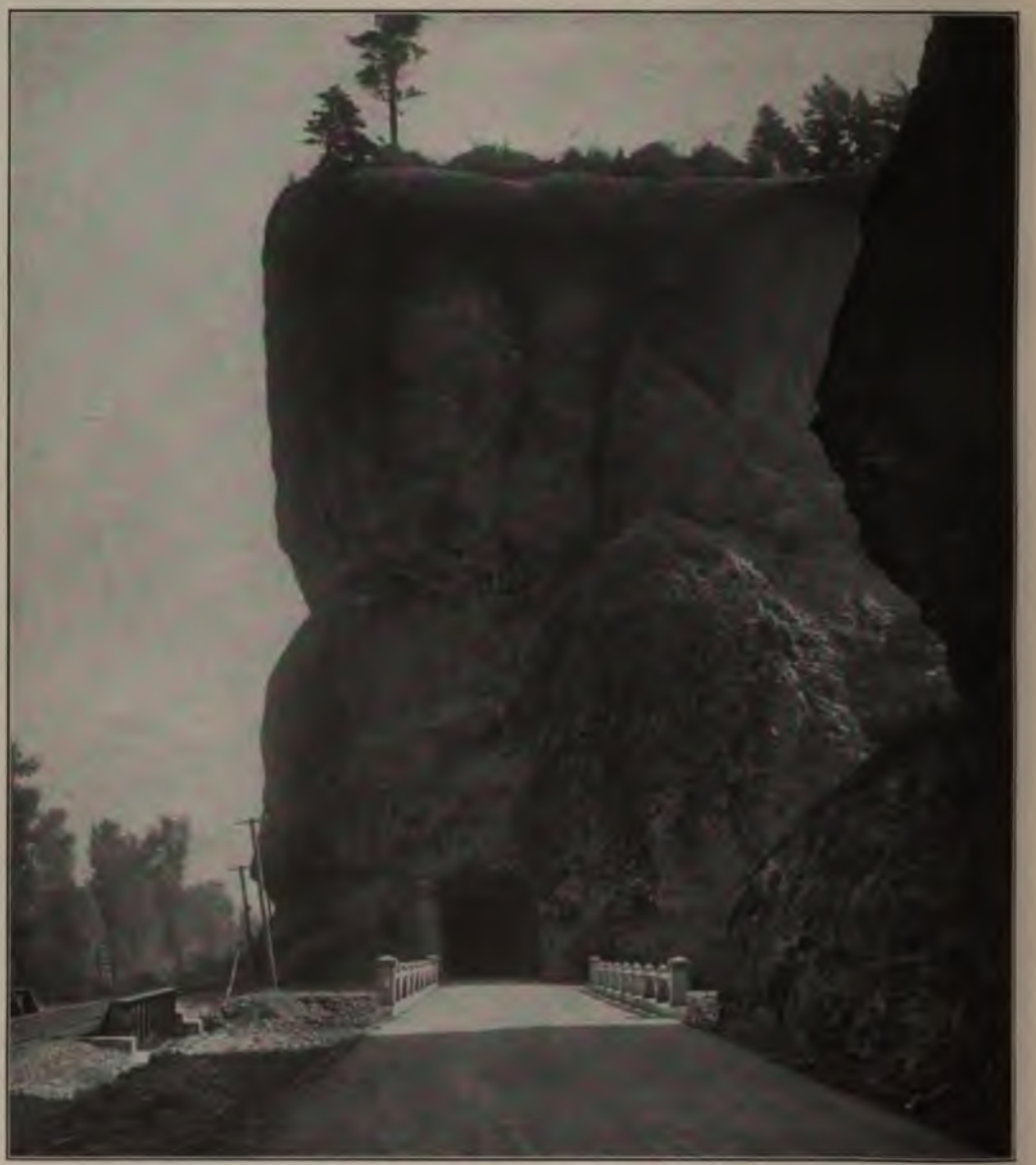
Here the view is of the Columbia River Gorge for thirty miles upstream and for thirty miles downstream. The flat-topped "hill" across the river is 3,420 feet high. The Highway here swings around seven eighths of a perfect circle at the summit of a cliff 725 feet above the river



PIERCING THE CLIFF AT ONEONTA GORGE

Where the route of the Columbia Highway was blocked by the precipice on the one hand and by the railroad which, on the other, already occupied the narrow ledge between the mountain and the river. This cliff is 205 feet high

the occasion, George Shepperd went with Mr. Lancaster and other public men in an automobile as near as they could to his land, and then on foot, Mr. Lancaster leading the way, the party came to the rock from which the falls could best be seen and on which one pier of the proposed bridge would rest. Mr. Lancaster explained the idea of the highway, the good it would do, and asked Mr. Shepperd to do what others all along the route had done—give the public a right of way across the property. It was a perfect opportunity for the owner to "hold up" the city for money. But he recalled the pleasure his wife and children had had in the place and, so that the beauty of the scene might never be spoiled, gave eleven acres of land as a memorial to his wife—enough land to prevent the encroachment of any dis-

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CROWN POINT, FROM THE COLUMBIA RIVER

e top of this 725-foot cliff the Columbia Highway achieves its most comprehensive view of the Gorge and surrounding mountains

THE TRAIL UP LARCH MOUNTAIN

From the Columbia Highway. The view of Mt. Hood as seen from the end of the trail is reproduced on the facing page. Multnomah Falls, which appear in this diagram, are illustrated on page 205

figuring building within sight of the falls. And when the actual lines were run for the description of the property in his deed of gift, Mr. Shepperd added another acre to include a particularly choice spot which he wished to be in the tract. The enhanced value of his remaining land will far more than repay him for his gift, but it was made with such generous public spirit out of such meagre resources that it stands as one of the most admirable and characteristic monuments of the work.

What George Shepperd did out of his small resources, S. Benson and his son, Amos Benson, did out of their plenty. Each gave a bridge for the trail from the highway to the top of Larch Mountain—a trail by which, as a side trip, the public is given the full beauties of Multnomah and Wahkeena falls and the splendid panorama from the summit. The Government has set aside a great park of forest land along the line of the trail, and the Forest Service will keep the trail in repair. Here, in three miles as the crow flies, visitors, by riding a few miles on donkeys, may rise from the highway, 180 feet above the sea, to the summit of Larch Mountain, 4,045 feet above the sea. On this summit forest rangers have cut off two great trees eighty feet above the ground, and on these high natural foundations have built an aery-like cabin as a public lookout. In the cabin will be placed a plaster model of the panorama of mountains that spreads in all directions to the limits of unobstructed vision—each detail of the model facing the mountain or gorge it represents, each marked to explain its name and height. A telescope will be added, to carry the range of vision farther. And, besides the near-by scenery, in full view are five peaks capped even in summer with eternal snow.

At Oneonta Creek the highway encounters a great rock 205 feet high, rising in a sheer cliff a few feet from the water's edge. The railroad had passed its base on the narrow shelf between rock and river. There was no room for the highway. The only solution was the tunnel pictured on page 208. Other natural objects—a second cliff and a gorge—combined with the demand for wide curves, compelled the boring of this tunnel only a few feet behind the face of the cliff. So great was the danger of tumbling thousands of tons of rock down on the railroad by blasting that the weak spots in the cliff had first to be discovered and plugged with concrete and then the bore made through both con-

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THE SUMMIT OF LARCH MOUNTAIN

Reached by trail from the Columbia Highway. Here the Forest Service has erected a lookout cabin on p of two tree stumps eighty feet high, from which, by telescope, every detail of the scenery for a hundred in every direction may be viewed. Five peaks, snow-capped even in summer, are visible from this point highest, Mt. Hood, appearing in this photograph

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A HISTORIC VIEW

On the railroad tracks below the Columbia Highway at this point the tiny "Oregon Pony," the first locomotive in the Northwest, in early days ran on wooden rails overlaid with strap iron

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THE MOFFATT CREEK BRIDGE

The largest flat arch bridge in America — its arch rises only one foot in every ten of its length of 170 feet. *The floor of* the bridge is seventy feet above the stream

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A VIADUCT OVERLOOKING THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Built by a plan which ingeniously overcame the tendency of the steep hillside (at this point already at the "angle of repose") to slide down and bury the railroad tracks below

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THE SAME VIADUCT SEEN FROM BENEATH

The vertical posts rest on concrete bases that also support posts laid on the ground at the same angle as the *hillside, the floor of the viaduct* thus forming the third side of a triangle

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A TUNNEL IN THE SIDE OF A CLIFF
The view through the arches pierced in the wall of rock is out over the Columbia River

MR. SAMUEL C. LANCASTER
The engineer whose skill and whose appreciation *of the civic significance of the building* of the Columbia *Highway are largely responsible* for its success

crete and natural rock. So what seemed an impassable barrier was thus made into a picturesque attraction.

To get a comprehensive idea of the completed highway, imagine a tour of it from Portland. Outside the city, going eastward, the road runs through the meadows, the way brightened with roses planted to carry out Portland's floral symbol. At Troutdale it turns back from the Columbia to climb the mountain wall, crosses a stream at Chanticleer, circles Crown Point at 725 feet above the river, and passes, in succession, Latourell Falls, Shepperd's Falls, Bridal Veil, Coopey Falls, Mist Falls, Wahkeena Falls, and Multnomah Falls, Oneonta Tunnel, Horse Tail Falls, the Cascades, and many other smaller falls—disclosing, besides, the endless view of mountains, river, forests, and wild flowers. Always the roadway is smooth and broad; the bridges are permanent concrete; the outer edge of the track is protected by concrete railings. Multnomah County has built with vision and generosity a noble pleasure path to endure for all time.

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MR. JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN

Owing to changed conditions which make financial dictatorship impossible now, the younger Morgan, although a skilful banker, does not, like his father, command: he suggests

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THE LATE J. P. MORGAN

One of the greatest financial geniuses the United States has ever produced. Imperious, resentful of the plans of others which interfered with his own, he was the self-appointed guardian of American business

THE NEW WALL STREET

THE INDEPENDENCE OF ITS NEW LEADERS THAT IS BORN OF THE MARVELOUS GROWTH IN THE FINANCIAL RESOURCES OF THE PRINCIPAL BANKS—A DEMOCRACY THAT HAS SUCCEEDED ONE-MAN CONTROL

BY

HENRY CUSHING

AT THE height of the panic in October, 1907, most of the big men of Wall Street were gathered in the Morgan library to devise means to avert a national financial disaster. Morgan had told them to come and they had come, his friends and his enemies alike. He told them what they were expected to do, how much each of their institutions was to subscribe—and laid before them a subscription list to sign. Then he left the library. When he came back many names were still missing from the sheet. He was importuned with reasons against doing the thing in the way he had proposed. But they had not been called to counsel, but to do. "Sign here, sir," was Morgan's answer to their arguments, and they signed.

Last year, Great *Britain and* France needed half a billion dollars. They came to J. P. Morgan & Co., the commercial agents of those two governments in this country, to arrange the loan. Again there was a meeting at the Morgan library. The case was laid before the big men of Wall Street, many of them the same men who had attended the 1907 meeting. But this time they did not go to get orders, but to be consulted. The younger Morgan had succeeded the Morgan who told others what to do and expected them to do it without asking why.

There were many other meetings before the loan was arranged. While the negotiations were under way one of the Morgan partners said: "We are impressing on bankers and investors the necessity of making this loan for the good of American trade. It is not a thing we can do our-

MR. JACOB H. SCHIFF

Head of the firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Company. An independent progressive among the older generation of bankers

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INSURGENTS AGAINST THE MORGAN RULE

The late Edward H. Harriman (left) who continually contested the late J. P. Morgan's control in dominating the country's finances and (right) Mr. James Stillman, the genius of the National City Bank in the days when few bankers had the courage to go against Mr. Morgan's wishes

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MR. GEORGE F. BAKER

Chairman of the First National Bank, who is credited by Mr. James J. Hill as being the ablest banker in this country

selves. We will help, but it is an undertaking in which the whole country must join. We cannot obligate ourselves to take this loan on a chance that others will join us later. We must be sure of their coöperation in advance."

Other bankers were no longer being ordered.

Ask any man, of even ten years' experience in Wall Street, who was the head and front of the country's

"THE HUB OF THE NATION'S FINANCES"

The former offices of J. P. Morgan & Company, *at the corner of Wall and Broad streets, whence for many years the elder Morgan directed the finances of the country*

THE HOUSE OF MORGAN

The new offices of J. P. Morgan & Company. Although still probably the most powerful centre of the Nation's financial activity, its methods are the methods of a new Wall Street, not of the old

THE REMARKABLE INCREASE IN THE TOTAL RESOURCES OF NEW YORK BANKS AND TRUST COMPANIES BETWEEN 1900 AND 1915

	NATIONAL BANKS	STATE BANKS	TRUST COMPANIES	TOTAL
1900	$ 949,994,800	$190,769,800	$ 744,900,000	$1,885,664,600
1910	1,667,954,800	484,687,300	1,339,080,600	3,491,722,700
1915	2,983,789,900	604,344,600	2,277,833,200	5,865,967,700

banking power and he will answer without taking thought and without hesitation.

"The late J. P. Morgan."

Follow that up with the question:

"Who is the J. P. Morgan of to-day?"

He will stop before he answers, and nine chances out of ten his answer when he gives it will be:

"There is no J. P. Morgan now."

He will have told the truth. There is no Morgan to-day in the sense that there is no one man in Wall Street who overtops all others and whose words all obey. The power he wielded could not endure. Even before he died, Morgan, as Wall Street knew him, had become an anachronism. Imperious, resentful of plans of others which interfered with his own, the self-appointed guardian of American business methods, Morgan passed in judgment on others and admitted them or sought to bar them from participation in big business as he saw fit. Some he sought to bar were well shut out, no doubt. Others probably were not.

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MR. OTTO H. KAHN

One of the ablest of New York bankers, who, however, has escaped the publicity that would make him familiar to the general public

But the country grew faster than any one man could grow in power; and Morgan's supremacy was waning before he died. When he was gone, no man stepped into his place. The present Morgan lacks neither ability nor vision, but he is more conservative than his father and at the same time more democratic. He is less feared but more liked.

Of the men who might have stepped into the elder Morgan's place, George F. Baker, chairman of the First National Bank —credited by James J. Hill with being the ablest banker of the country, not excepting

THE GROWTH IN TOTAL RESOURCES OF THE TEN LARGEST BANKING INSTITUTIONS IN NEW YORK DURING THE LAST FIVE YEARS

	1910 (NOV. 10)	1915 (DEC. 31)	INCREASE
National City Bank	$ 282,004,600	$ 624,548,866	$ 342,544,266
Guaranty Trust Co.	146,622,800	509,088,900	362,466,100
National Bank of Commerce	212,788,600	309,056,792	96,268,192
Bankers' Trust Co.	77,926,600	297,571,000	219,644,400
Chase National Bank	104,951,100	284,553,247	179,602,147
First National Bank	129,961,300	243,459,979	113,498,679
Mech. & Metals National Bank	93,245,100	232,700,297	139,455,197
Central Trust Co.	103,081,400	197,489,800	94,408,400
National Park Bank	120,150,800	192,592,935	72,442,135
Hanover National Bank	112,024,300	189,272,564	77,248,264
Totals	$1,382,756,600	$3,080,334,380	$1,697,577,780

MR. ALBERT H. WIGGIN

President of the Chase National Bank of New York. In the new Wall Street the men who are nominally in charge of big institutions are now also actually their directing spirits

Morgan himself—was not of a temperament to take it. Richer than Morgan and as powerful within his immediate circle, Mr. Baker shrank from publicity.

James Stillman, the other possible successor to Morgan, among the men of his own generation, had begun to seek ease even before Morgan died. He was coldly calculating where Morgan was boldly venturesome. In much closer touch with public sentiment than Mr. Baker, he was almost as silent. His mind ran in smooth grooves of cold steel. Morgan had assumed his leadership through impulse. Stillman would have had to assume it calculatingly; and that in itself would have been fatal to assuming it at all.

But quite apart from the lack of men to take up the Morgan sceptre, his seat of leadership remained vacant because the occasion for that sort of leadership had gone by. American banking had become too big and too powerful to be controlled by any one man or any one group of men. The marvelous increase in the resources of New York banks as shown by the table at the top of page 217 tells the story of a growth that outran the genius of any one man.

And there are further figures which tell in part why our banking heads are more powerful and more independent than they were a few years ago. The figures in the bottom table, page 217, show the growth in total resources, including growth through mergers, of the ten largest New York banking institutions.

Half of these have been known as Morgan institutions, but

MR. CHARLES H. SABIN

As president of the Guaranty Trust Company, Mr. Sabin is one of the newer financial powers of the United States. He is progressive and independent

the Morgans probably did not hold a controlling stock interest in any of them. The submissiveness of those who headed them was all that made them the creatures of any group of bankers. That subserviency has diminished or has disappeared entirely. And this change came about side by side with the carrying through of plans which were designed to increase the Morgan hold on the country's banking.

H. P. Davison is one of the members of J. P. Morgan & Co. Before that he was vice-president of the First National Bank. It was said that Chairman Baker of that bank nominated him to the Morgan firm because there was not room enough in the First National for both Frank L. Hine, the president, and Mr. Davison. He had gone to the First National from a vice-presidency in the Bankers' Trust Company, and before that he had been in several New York banks, and further back—but not very far back, for he is still a young man—he was a school teacher in Troy, Pa.

MR. HENRY P. DAVISON

His name ranks fifth in the list of partners in the firm of J. P. Morgan & Company, but Wall Street generally recognizes him as being next in authority to Mr. Morgan himself

You will find his name fifth in the list of partners in J. P. Morgan & Co. filed with the New York Stock Exchange, but Wall Street recognizes him as being next to J. P. Morgan himself in authority in the firm's councils. You might not be able to prove that by the partnership papers, but Wall Street does not think it necessary to prove it that way.

Now, one of the first conspicuous things which Mr. Davison did after he became a partner of the Morgan firm was to organize a very big trust company out of three smaller ones. Each of these was large as figures are

MR. FRANK A. VANDERLIP

As head of the National City Bank, the largest financial institution in America, he is probably the most prominent of the country's national bankers

MR. FRANCIS L. HINE

President of the First National Bank. Although a much less aggressive man than Mr. Vanderlip, or Mr. Wiggin, or Mr. Sabin, he stands among the first group of New York bankers

usually counted: the Guaranty Trust Company, the Morton Trust Company, and the Fifth Avenue Trust Company.

To get the stock of the Guaranty Trust Company, Mr. Davison waged a financial battle with the late John W. Castles, president of the Guaranty. Davison won, and Mr. Castles, bitterly disappointed, resigned. Alexander J. Hemphill was chosen to succeed him.

At the end of the year in which the two other trust companies were merged with it, the Guaranty Trust Company had deposits of $124,815,857, and total resources of $168,254,624. It seemed a very big institution indeed, yet it neither seemed nor was too big to be controlled as one of the units in the group of financial institutions in which J. P. Morgan & Co. held the word of last resort, and that came to mean in increasing degree institutions in which Mr. Davison was supreme.

MR. JAMES S. ALEXANDER

President of the National Bank of Commerce. A quiet but efficient worker who has been rapidly gaining power

But as it grew it came to need more officers. New vice-presidents were elected. In time these men were destined to grow to a power which freed them from the house that made them. One of these was Charles H. Sabin, who had been a school friend of Davison at the Greylock Institute, South Williamston, Mass. He was taken from the presidency of the Copper National Bank, by way of a vice-presidency in the Mechanics & Metals National Bank, to the bigger job as a vice-president of the Guaranty Trust Company. Wall Street very soon began talking about Mr. Sabin, who had come down from Albany a few years before. It has a way of picking out coming men. Mr. Sabin proved to be one of them. It was not very long before he succeeded Mr. Hemphill as president. In that capacity Mr. Sabin proved to be less dependent upon others than those who headed units in the Morgan banking system were, in the past, supposed to be.

But Wall Street was not yet freed of its

long-standing notions, and it came as a surprise later on when banking gossip told of occasions when the Guaranty Trust Company acted without seeking its instructions from the "Corner," and even without making sure that what it was about would be entirely satisfactory to the "Corner." It was surprised, too, when it heard whisperings that the head of the biggest trust company in New York resented alleged dictation by the head of the biggest bank in New York.

THE NEW ERA IN BANKING

It need not have been surprised at either if it had done nothing more than take the trouble to compare the latest report of the institution with that of a year or two or three before.

The enlarged Guaranty Trust Company (the same is true of the National City Bank and, less conspicuously, of not a few others, gained in resources in two years nearly enough to make two trust companies of the size of the one Mr. Davison created by his merger in 1910. The Guaranty Trust of today had, on December 31, 1915, more than $509,000,000 of resources. One year back it had $269,000,000, and two years back only $208,000,000. If you stop to realize what the management of $500,000,000 of resources means, what power it implies, you will not wonder that the man at the head of such an institution grows independent of those who were accustomed to look upon the institution in its smaller days as merely one unit of a system to be operated at their bidding.

And this is characteristic of the new state of things in Wall Street—that the men nominally in charge of big institutions are actually their directing spirits. It is preëminently true of President Frank A. Vanderlip of the National City Bank, the biggest of all the country's financial institutions. It is true of Albert H. Wiggin, president of the Chase National Bank; and it is coming to be true of many other men who go to make up the growing list of Wall Street leaders, over whom no one man towers but who, with varying degree of ability and of power, form a group of bankers each of whom possesses an amount of independence which *was unknown* save in a very few men in the days when Wall Street was dominated by a single man.

Mr. Vanderlip of the National City Bank is probably the most prominent of the country's national bankers. As head of the biggest financial institution in the United States he is necessarily conspicuous. The fact that he has gained that place by sheer force of ability makes his position all the more conspicuous. From the financial editorship of the Chicago *Tribune* he went to Washington as private secretary to Secretary of the Treasury Lyman J. Gage. He was promoted to be Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, and, during his four years in that post, gathered experience which he put to very good use in his work as a national banker. The City Bank offered him a vice-presidency in 1901, and he immediately began to make himself felt.

Wall Street knew that Mr. Vanderlip would become president of the National City Bank long before he knew it himself. It was another case of picking out a coming man. There were other men in the City Bank organization who wondered why Mr. Vanderlip had been chosen president. It was not long before they found out why. He was given a free hand from the start and the work of the bank grew enormously under his direction.

FINANCIAL INVASION ABROAD

While still in Chicago Mr. Vanderlip wrote a book on the American commercial invasion of Europe. The City Bank, under his guidance, is helping to carry on the American financial invasion of the world. The organization of the American International Corporation and the acquisition of the International Banking Corporation are typical of the big things which Vanderlip looks upon as the appointed tasks of the country's leading bank. They are parts of a vision that looks beyond the boundaries of the United States, that sees in banking an ally of commerce in the constructive task of building new markets for our products, new fields of investment for surplus wealth, and a new coöperative function for American finance in developing the undeveloped resources of the world.

Most of the other big men in Wall Street are content to work along more conven-

tional lines. President Wiggin of the Chase National Bank, one of the conspicuously successful of the new leaders, concerns himself much more with domestic than with international banking. Yet he finds it easy to adapt himself to the requirements of a changing relationship of New York to the rest of the world. The Chase National is not thought of in the financial district as an element in the internationalization of American banking (and it is not in the sense that the National City Bank and the Guaranty Trust are), yet it has some important international accounts. Mr. Wiggin, as chairman of the Gold Fund Committee—that faith-cure gold pool which bridged the gap between the upheaval caused by the war and the return of confidence—showed himself able to appreciate the tasks suddenly imposed upon New York by the war's disruption of old world finance.

Mr. Wiggin did much to build up the business of the Chase while he was vice-president, and has done much more since he was made president. He is four years younger than Mr. Vanderlip, having been born in 1868. He is a Massachusetts man and got his early experience in banking in Boston, first as assistant national bank examiner and then in a succession of posts, each bigger than the one before. In 1899 he came to New York and became a vice-president of the National Park Bank. Five years later he was elected a vice-president of the Chase. He became president in 1911. Since then he has greatly strengthened his position. He is credited with having amassed a large fortune, and he has acquired a large amount of stock in his own bank. Along with some of his close associates he took over the Chase stock formerly held by the First National Bank interests and thus increased not only his own independence but that of the bank itself as well.

BANKING INDEPENDENCE

With some institutions independence is a new thing acquired under the leadership of men too forceful and equipped with too efficient tools to be kept in subordination. With others, present-day independence is the product of old independence of officers given new effect through the enlargement of their power by the growth of their institutions. President James N. Wallace of the Central Trust Company has the distinction of being the head of an institution which was independent when it was not the fashion to be. For that very reason it got a good deal of business which more naturally would have gone to other institutions had they been as free of outside control. Independence is a very real asset for an institution. This is better appreciated in Wall Street now. Mr. Wallace is much less lonely in his independence than he used to be.

The First National Bank is very far from having suffered by reason of surrendering the hold which it had through its subsidiary investment company on the Chase National Bank. Both banks have prospered since the separation of control as they had never prospered before. Mr. F. L. Hine, president of the First National Bank, is less aggressive than Vanderlip or Wiggin or Sabin, but he is in the forefront of the New York bankers who stand as the new leaders of a banking community which time and events have combined to make, for the nonce at least, the premier banking centre in the world.

THE OLD RÉGIME BANKS

The banks which were left longest under the old régime of external rule, government by others than those nominally their heads, progressed more slowly than did those whose control was internal. The Bank of Commerce supplies an illustration of this. It was partly a matter of men but it was also in part a matter of method. Nominally governed by the executive officers, it was until recently governed in fact by a triumvirate of the heads of other banks. The plan was not conducive to the development of that independence which is a vital force in the upbuilding of financial institutions. President James S. Alexander of the National Bank of Commerce, recognizing the handicap under which he was working, hastened the resignations from his board which would have been forced eventually by the operations of the Clayton Act, and thereby has gained an independence which he could not exert before.

e tastes of bankers differ as do their y. One of the ablest of New York ers, Otto H. Kahn, of Kuhn, Loeb & is recognized as a keen, far-sighted, esourceful banker, yet he has taken small part in the affairs of banks and companies. He is, however, not an spicuous figure in any survey of the e in Wall Street. That change was ed to by the activities of Mr. Harri- and to the success which he at- l Mr. Kahn contributed in no small e. Sooner than most other men, he nized Harriman for what he was and d with him to excellent purpose in ays when the Union Pacific was being ted. Mr. Harriman's progress un- edly helped Kuhn, Loeb & Co., but also helped him in return. They powerful before he was, and when joined forces they grew in power to- r. The head of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., H. Schiff, like Mr. Baker and tillman, belongs to the older genera- His views, though he speaks not ften publicly on banking matters, etter known than those of the other He would be classed rather as a essive than as a reactionary by those would measure Wall Street opinions terms of modern politics.

NO ONE MAN DOMINATES

ne of these men dominates all the . They compete or they work to- r, but no one man is master. In Street to-day, you will find more men ility, of resourcefulness, of ambition ever before. They typify the new Street in that they accept, some ta- some with open approval, much that Street in the old days regarded as ranted infringement of the rights of y. Wall Street does not yet love come tax, but it does find a great hat is good in public regulation, and nts that the public has a right to a great deal more about corporations he public in the older days was sup- to have any interest in.

A member of the firm which was the head and front of the Money Trust, if there was such a thing, remarked to one of his callers a short time ago, "For the first time in years public sentiment is with us."

He thought he saw public approval for things which the public had been harshly condemning. He thought that the public —repentant, or at least converted from its error after years of wilful ignorance or unwitting aberration—was coming to recognize that the things which it had been condemning were praiseworthy. He was unconscious of the change within himself which is typical of the change in Wall Street. "For the first time in years public sentiment is with us." He should have said: "For the first time in years we are with public sentiment."

THE CHANGED "STREET"

The change was a necessary preliminary to the assumption of the larger part which American banking is destined to take in world affairs. Bigger things are to be done than ever before, and new kinds of leaders are necessary, leaders who at least do not run counter to public sentiment even when they do not heartily accept the new rights of the public. And new methods were needed as well as new leaders—perhaps not precisely a different system but at least a different coördination of forces within the system.

Ten years ago no president of a national bank would have thought of doing the things which the National City Bank has been doing. They would have been regarded as dangerously venturesome if not chimerical. Now they are accepted as among the signs of the times, although there are still those in Wall Street, men of the old school, who look askance and wonder. The things which the City Bank is doing—and they are mostly the suggestions of the bank's broad-visioned president—mark the passage of Wall Street, of New York banking, from a provincial to an international state—the coming of a new Wall Street and a greater one.

TWENTY-FOUR HOURS IN THE TRENCHES

THE DAY'S WORK OF A SOLDIER ON THE FIRING LINE IN FRANCE—HOW IT FEELS TO CHARGE UNDER FIRE—HUMORS AND TRAGEDIES AT THE FRONT

BY

WILLIAM J. ROBINSON

DURING the bombardment which preceded the Second Battle for Calais, a man who was lying in a hospital in the city of Ypres was heard to remark: "If God spares me to get out of this I will never want to see another hospital again as long as I live." This man was not complaining at the treatment he was getting; he was being well taken care of, and everything possible was being done for him. He was simply expressing the feeling of utter helplessness which comes to every man when he is lying helpless under shell fire. This man had fought through the whole war; he had stood the shell fire in the trenches like a man of iron, for there he had, or imagined he had, a chance to hit back. Here he was practically a non-combatant, and the thought that he was dependent upon others for his protection put the fear of God in his heart.

There are lots of places worse than the trenches, and I have heard many a man who was holding a "staff job" express a desire to return to the firing line. When things are quiet a man is as safe in the trenches as he would be at the base. It is only when there is an attack on or when the enemy are going out of their way to make things unpleasant that one feels the desire to be elsewhere. When the men come down for a rest they are as pleased as kids going on a Sunday School picnic, but they are just as pleased when their rest is over and they are going back.

The regiments invariably go up at night. The reasons for this are obvious. If they go up in the day time they can be seen by the enemy. The march up is an easy one, and the men are allowed to "march easy" all the way. At first they used to furnish their own music, and it was always about the same. They would swing along to:

> We've got a bitter pill for Kaiser Bill
> It ought to drive him balmy,
> And we don't give a damn for Hindenburg
> And all his ragtime army.

Now, most of the regiments have their bands or their pipes with them, and they march to their own music. And I want to say that the pipes are the most wonderful things to march to that I have ever heard. The swing to the music seems fairly to lift one along. It is wonderful to see a tired body of men pick up their feet when the pipes begin to play.

I am with the Seventh Royal Scots Fusiliers, and at seven o'clock we start for the trenches. We have six days to spend there, but that is much better than it was a few months ago when we did not know how long we had to stay when we went up.

As we get closer to the firing line we must be quiet. The word is passed back, all pipes and cigarettes are put out, and we swing quietly along until we appear to be scarcely more than shadows except for the tramp, tramp, tramp of our hob-nailed boots on the cobble stones. Soon the leaders swing off to the right, and we know that we are passing "hell-fire corner." Here it is usually fairly "warm," and we are thankful that to-night things are so quiet. On our left is the Menin churchyard. In here lies the body of Prince Maurice of Battenberg, who was killed some time in November, 1914. The Germans have shelled the place so much that nearly all traces of graves have been obliterated, and the smell of decomposed flesh is bad enough for us to know where we are without having to look. Ahead of us

an see the star shells going up and ng the whole place lighter than day. know that we will soon reach the nunication trench, and then it is a of slip and slide along through the , every man for himself. Yes, here it eady. The leaders have turned to ight again. Soon we will reach the h, jump down into the mud, turn to left, and follow the trench.

"TOMMY" AND HIS MASCOT

w we are in it, and are wondering how fellows we are going to relieve have l. My mate begins to grumble about veight of his pack, but he has nothing y against the ten-pound dog he has d up and is carrying under one arm. is the third mascot he has had. First s a canary he picked up in a ruined e in Ypres. He carried that cage where he went for six weeks until he l a chap who was going on leave, and ot him to deliver the bird to his sus." Then it was a goat. Where he t Heaven only knows, but he named it iticus," and was ready to fight any who had a word to say against his pet. fellows stood for the goat as long as could, but finally "Leviticus" turned issing, and Harry, my mate, was going d with his fists doubled up and blood s eye for some time. "If I ever find bleeder wot pinched my mascot, 'im e is goin' to 'ave a 'eart to 'eart talk l put 'im in a old woman's 'ome for est of 'is bleedin' life." However, his soon cooled and now his affections are rapped up in a dirty little mongrel he "Fritz." "Fritz" gets the best of all is going, and Harry would starve him- ather than see the object of his affec- want for a single thing. I will say for my mate, he is no worse than any e other fellows who have mascots, not nearly as bad as some of them.

we pass along through the network nches leading off from the main com- cation trench, voices ask from the ness, "'oo are you?" We tell them, occasionally fellows recognize one an- . There is only time for a hurried nge of greetings, as we must get up take over our trenches in time to let the other fellows out and give them time to get well down before the first peep of dawn. We are getting closer now, and when the star shells go up everybody is very careful not to show himself. A desultory fire is going on, and occasionally a shell screams over our heads on its way to our batteries in the rear, or where the Germans think our batteries are.

We are going to "K" trenches, and as we pass along some of the "rookies," who are nervous but are struggling manfully not to show it, ask how much farther it is. We are so close now that it seems as though we are almost on top of the Germans. The new men had no idea that we were going to be so close to the enemy. It is a terrible feeling, this going into the trenches for the first time. The hardened veterans make light of the rookies' fears, but it is simply because they have forgotten how it seemed to them the first time they came up. All the way up the old fellows have been pumping the rookies full of ghastly stories about what they are going to, until some of the more sensitive ones are having all they can do to control themselves. It is rather brutal, but one soon gets used to it, and these fellows who are so nervous now will be doing the same thing themselves in a week or so.

Here we are at last, and the poor chaps we are relieving are glad enough to see us. They have had a pretty tough time. Many of them who came up to relieve us the last time are not here now. Hear them!

"'Ullo, Mac. 'Ow's Bill? W'ere is 'ee?"

"O Bill went west day afore yesterday. Bailin' out, an' 'ee stuck 'is bloomin' 'ead right up for a Fritzie to play with. 'Ee stopped one, all right. Got it right under the bleedin' ear an' 'ee never even kicked."

"Damn tough luck. Bill always was a bloody ass. Thought 'ee was goin' to win the pool this time too! Better write to 'is missus w'en yuh get down to Pop. (Poperinghe.) So long, old dear!"

LAST ONE ALIVE WINS

The pool referred to is one of the gambles "Tommy" is particularly fond of. When the regiment goes into action a crowd of fellows get together and put all the money they have in a pool. They give it to some

one who stays behind, and he has instructions to hand all the money to the last one left alive. Sometimes they arrange it so that they draw the money every time they come out of action, and in this way they get the use of it from time to time. If ten fellows put in ten francs each, and when they come out of action the next time there are only five of the ten fellows left, each of the remaining five has doubled his money. It is the only gamble I ever saw in which a fellow cannot lose, for if he is knocked over he certainly has no interest in money matters.

LIFE IN THE FRONT TRENCHES

Harry and I are in "D" company, and we are at the extreme left of the trenches our battalion is taking over. In single file we pass along until our destination is reached, and as soon as we get there we proceed to make ourselves comfortable. Our packs are slipped off and pushed under the look-out platform. The trenches we are in are pretty dry at present, but the Germans are on slightly rising ground in front of us. It is certain that they will be at their old tricks to-morrow and start pumping the water out of their trenches so that it will run down into ours. Then don't we curse them! We examine the straw under the platform, for that is our bed, and if it is damp or there is mud in it, we do some more cursing. We draw lots to see who will have first sleep, and Harry wins. I bemoan my fate and pick up my rifle, while Harry and his dog retire to woo the goddess of slumber and commune with the man-eating body lice which abound in that same straw. We are perfectly clean now, for we have just come from the Divisional Baths and Laundry where we have had a good scrub down and have been supplied clean clothes which have been thoroughly fumigated. Twelve hours from now we will be in the condition of the proverbial cuckoo, but it is all in the game and we have become hardened to it. At first it was terrible, I nearly went crazy, but, as I say, we take it as a matter of course after the first few times. I have come down out of these same trenches with the vermin running out of the lace holes in my boots and with my chest and limbs bleeding from the effects of the vermin. It cannot be helped, though, and we have the satisfaction of looking forward to the warm bath and clean clothes which await us when we go down for our next rest.

I have two hours to serve on the look-out platform, and from the looks of things it is going to continue quiet. When the star shells go up I crouch down so as not to show too much of myself to the German snipers who are always on the watch at night. It amuses me to hear the way the new men fire. Some one imagines he sees something moving out in front and begins rapid fire. The fire is taken up by men all along the line, until it finally dies out as gradually as it started. By the light of the flares I can see some of our snipers in their little sniping trenches out on the "dead ground" between our trenches and those of the Germans. Snipers are always on the watch, and God help the poor devil who is so unfortunate as to be above his parapet when a star shell goes up! These star shells are funny things. As they shoot into the air and burst into flame they blind one so that it seems several seconds before one can see anything in front of him. As they fall things become clearer, and if they fall behind the enemy's line they show up any moving object very plainly.

THE LISTENING PATROL

Some of our fellows are being sent out on listening patrol, and they don't seem to be in love with their work. They start out through an abandoned trench, and as soon as they come to the end of it they will have to climb out into the open, and worm their way along flat on their stomachs. They must get as close to the German trenches as possible, and find out all they can about what is going on. They have left the trench now. I can see them as they squirm along slowly but surely toward the German parapet. How many of them will come back? Probably all of them, but if they are so unlucky as to be spotted by a sniper, they will all die in less time than it takes to tell it. See how they crouch and hug the ground when the star shells go up. Yes, indeed, theirs is dangerous work! They are out of sight now. We may see them again and we may not.

ı hear two of the new fellows who posed to be sleeping under the plat- elling each other what they think France. The novelty of being in a country has not worn off yet, and re discussing the French language. ne, Mick, but ayn't it a rum lingo! 't understand a bloomin' word the s sye. I awsked a woman for some esterday, an' all she said was '*no* ' Then I got a pencil an' pyper lrawed 'er the pitcher of a bleedin' '*Ah, wee wee*,' she syes, an' goes ıe back, an' swelp me, Mick, she me out a bleedin' rabbit! I 'ad to ll the wye back to the blawsted ın' awsk my bloke wot is the word t, and wot do yuh think the blighters W'en yuh want any milk, Mick, yuh ı awsk for some bloomin' '*doo lay*.' ' is thank you. '*See soo*' is thru- '*pang*' is bread; an' '*shevo*' is bleed- ses. I'll soon be able to talk the lingo!"

· a time their conversation drags, on they are as sound asleep as they were in their own beds in ı. Hot soup is being passed around certainly is good. A year ago I ıave shuddered at the sight of it and it a greasy mess. To-night I am ı get it, and drink it with more e than I would have got from a linner a year ago.

'SWAPPING LIES" OFF DUTY

ything is quiet during my turn on k-out platform. When it is up I my leg down and kick Harry to ım up. It is now his turn, while two hours in which I can sleep ıp and 'swap lies' with the other I am not a bit sleepy, so I guess y up this time. Harry rolls out, his blanket around his beloved " and, picking up his rifle, relieves decide to go down the line a little ı where the fellows are gathered a brazier talking about every sub- aginable.

ı made welcome, but I know the for it. The fellows delight in get- : to tell nigger stories. I started in ght to hold my end of the story-telling game, and happened to tell a couple of nigger yarns that just about tickled the boys to death. The average Englishman can't come any closer to the nigger dialect than a German can to Chinese, so I have the field all to myself, and the boys delight in hearing the same old stories over and over again. When they start singing I am not permitted to sing anything but a nigger song, and, badly as I do it, they think it is great. I feel quite proud of myself sometimes, for as long as I can keep this particular field to myself I guess I can manage to hold my laurels. But good-bye to me if we ever get a Southerner drafted to us! So we sit and talk, some of us wondering what the next six days hold in store for us. Sitting here like this, it is hard to realize that I am taking an active, if small, part in the greatest war the world has ever known. If only it could be like this always! But that cannot be. Sooner or later we will be obliged to get out and fight like demons—killing our fellow men like wild beasts, fighting for our lives.

THE FIRST LONELINESS OF THE "ROOKIES"

One of the new fellows comes up and sits down beside me. He is beginning to feel the awful loneliness that comes to us all at first. With ill-suppressed eagerness he begins to question me about what it is like when it comes to "mixing it up." I can't help feeling sorry for the poor devil, so I try to encourage him a little and cheer him up. I take good care that no one hears me though, for I will get kidded by everybody if I am caught doing the "mother act." He tells me that his name is "'Ubert 'Ill" and that he is a coachman in civil life. He has a wife and two kiddies, and he shows me their pictures. I can't help pitying him, but there is nothing I can do. I have a little more than an hour left, so I guess I'll go and get a little sleep. I make my way back, and on the way I find that two of our fellows have "stopped one," and are being taken to the rear by the stretcher bearers. One of them is a rookie, and he has a bullet through his lung. He is moaning pitifully, and the doctor tells his company officer that he is probably "done for."

I get back to our post and crawl in beside "Fritz," who welcomes me with much wriggling around and wagging of tail. I wrap him inside my blanket with me and we are both asleep in no time. . . .

CALLOUS TO THOUGHTS OF DEATH

Harry's boot is caressing my ribs, so I know that it is time for me to take another two hours on the look-out platform. Things are much the same as they were an hour ago, and all is comparatively quiet. Our artillery is warming up a little. I can see the shells bursting somewhere back of the German trenches. Harry tells me that the listening patrol got back safely after having got clear to the German parapet. The star shells continue to go up, and the snipers are still at work. Some of the Engineers are strengthening the wire entanglements in front of our trenches, and a mining company has come up and gone to work under the ground between the German trenches and ours. The rookie who is so nervous is back here with me, and he says that the vermin bother him so it is impossible for him to sleep. I try to comfort him by assuring him that he will get used to it in time, but my assurances don't seem to comfort him very much. He is wondering when the first fight will come, and, poor fellow, he can't help worrying about it. I begin to wonder myself whether this time in the trenches will offer us any excitement. The thought of death does not bother us. It is the strangest thing I ever knew! I used to be so horribly afraid of death, but here where we are face to face with it every minute it has no terrors. During the last attack we were in, more than half of our company was wiped out, and Harry and I and two brothers were the only ones left out of our platoon, yet during the whole affair I don't think I thought of death once. The fact that I can't think of it frightens me sometimes, and I try to picture myself lying dead, and how my people at home will feel, yet it doesn't seem real to me. I hope it is a lucky sign. I hope some one tells me when they see the death look in my eyes, if it ever comes. I have seen it in other chaps, and I have wanted to tell them about it, but somehow I could not do so. I suppose it will be the same with me if it ever comes. I tell Hill that he will always know when we are going to attack, for they will come and tell him, and give him two hours in which to write letters or do what he wants to do.

The Germans have been pumping water for some time now, and it is beginning to show here in our trenches. Some of the wooden gratings in the bottom of our trench are floating, and the fellows are getting out their buckets and starting to bail. We will all be glad and thankful when the pumps we have been promised get here. It is mighty slow work bailing with buckets, and in the day time it is dangerous, too. If we could only get the Germans on the move, and get them off that rise!

It is now nearly four o'clock, and I shall soon have another two hours in which I can sleep. I shall be glad when breakfast time comes, for I am beginning to get hungry. Hill is still here with me, and all he seems to be able to say is: "Gor bli' me! Wot will the missus do if I stop one? It's bleedin' 'ard on a woman, if you awsk me!" I'm getting rather sick of this, for it doesn't help any, and it only makes him feel worse. If he doesn't cut it out pretty quick I'm going to ask him to shut up. Thank Heaven it is four o'clock, and I am going to sleep every minute of these two hours. I advise Hill to try and get some sleep, and tell him not to do any worrying to-night as they never make us make an attack the first day we are in. This is not true, but it may let him get a little sleep.

FRESH FOOD APLENTY

Six o'clock, and everybody is up and around. I am feeling a little stiff from lying in such a cramped position, but the smell of the frying bacon which the cooks are preparing for breakfast makes me forget the stiffness. I have learned to like tea, and we get it at least twice daily. Our food is pretty much the same all the time. It consists of bread and bacon and tea for breakfast; meat and potatoes for dinner; and bread and jam and cheese and tea for supper. We get fresh meat every day, and also fresh bread. This bread is made at the base, and is sent up every day with

the rations which come from across the Channel. Since we have been settled here on this line I cannot remember more than a half a dozen cases where we have been obliged to eat the hard army biscuits. It is really wonderful the way they keep us supplied with fresh food, all we want of it. I am gaining weight, so I guess this rough out-door life agrees with me. I make my way to the field kitchen where I am given a half a loaf of bread, two great slices of bacon, and a quart can full of hot tea. Never did I enjoy my breakfasts in civil life as I do these! So much water has run into the trenches during the night that everything is soft and slippery, and we sink into the mud half way to our knees. As I carry my breakfast back to where our "kit" is I slip along and get my hands plastered with the mud. It is all over my bread, and perhaps there is some in my tea, too, but it makes no difference to me. I will enjoy it all just as much as though it was being served in the breakfast room.

PREPARING TO ATTACK

After breakfast our company officer calls us to attention and informs us that we have some work to do to-night. He tells us that he does not know himself what it is to be, but he will let us know as soon as he is permitted to do so. He advises us all to take things easy during the day, and if we have any letters to write to write them now and hand them to him and he will see that they are sent away as soon as possible. He says that he has every faith in us and in our ability to do whatever may be asked of us, and that he is proud to think that he is going to lead us in whatever the undertaking may be. This kind of a talk from our officer is very helpful, for it gives us the feeling that he is with us to the last gasp, and makes us feel that he is depending on us. It causes the rookies a lot of uneasiness, and I can see poor Hill as white as a sheet, but I am glad also to notice that his jaws are clenched, and there is a look of determination on his face. Immediately after this little talk we have the daily roll call, and find that during the night we have lost seventeen men killed or wounded from our battalion. I guess this is about the average, although I have known three or four days to pass without our losing a single man.

The morning passes quietly. The fellows write their letters, speculate on what is coming, and chaff each other a good deal. I often wonder how much of this chaff is bravado and how much is genuine. In some cases it is easy to tell the real from the forced, but some of the old stagers can put up a pretty good bluff. About eleven o'clock the water is bothering us again and the fellows start bailing. A rookie on the same platform as I am is working real hard, but is getting more and more careless about showing himself. Harry notices this, and shouts a warning to him.

"IN A SITTING POSITION"

"Hey, you bloomin' awss, cawn't yuh keep that 'ead o' yours down? I calls what you're doin' simply awskin' for trouble!"

"I'm all right, matey," says the rookie, and he swings another bucket of water up as he says it. The words have hardly left his lips when he falls back with a bullet through the temple. He doesn't even moan; he has fallen in a sitting position in the bottom of the trench, and the bucket is right between his knees. As some of the chaps near him rush to pick him up, I hear Harry mutter something about "serves 'im bleedin' well right."

Dinner is ready at half-past twelve, and immediately after we are called to attention again by our company officer. He tells us that to-night at seven o'clock we are to attack the German position in front of us, take three trenches from them, hold them for three hours, and then return to our present position. The British are attacking in five different places at the same time. We know that in one of these places they intend to make a real thrust, but ours is obviously only a blind attack. He tells us that our artillery will bombard the German first and second line trenches for an hour and a half. At the end of that time our artillery fire will lift to the third line, and we will go after the first line with the bayonet. We will hold the first line until we are again ordered forward, and our artillery fire will again lift. In this way we will keep a curtain of fire between our-

selves and the main body of the Germans all through the attack. At the end of the three hours we will retire to our original position under the cover of a heavy artillery fire, but during the three hours we must hold the German trenches at all costs.

FEVERISH WAITING

From now until seven o'clock is the hardest part of the whole affair. There is the terrible feeling of uncertainty! If only we might go right at it and get it over with! For the most part the fellows are very quiet. Some write more letters; others converse feverishly with one another, and occasionally a shrill, strained laugh is heard, and it sends the chills running up and down my spine. Some of the fellows sleep, or pretend to, but all through the ranks one feels the unrest; a sort of tension as of nerves strained to the breaking point. Harry and I agree to notify each other's people if anything should happen to one and not to the other, but we both know that during the coming scrimmage we will never be far apart. So the afternoon drags on. At five o'clock we have tea, and I notice that not many of the fellows have very good appetites. The meal is quickly over, and we all wait expectantly for the bombardment to begin. At five-thirty sharp we hear the distant crash of our guns to the rear of us, and the shells begin to scream over our heads. We can see them bursting over and in the German first and second line trenches. Our fellows certainly have the range down fine, and not many shells are being wasted. They are giving it to them hot and heavy. The noise is deafening. "Fritz" begins to whimper and whine, and tries to hide his head under Harry's coat. It is his first time under fire, and he is nearly scared out of his skin.

The order for us to get our equipment on comes along, and then to lie down flat in the bottom of the trench, for the Germans are sure to retaliate by shelling our first line trenches. We obey our orders as quickly as possible, and we have hardly got our packs on before the shells begin to land in and around our trench. Here we must stick like rats in a trap for more than an hour yet, and, when the whistle blows, we have got to jump the parapet and charge into the very jaws of it. Harry and I are lying close to each other, while "Fritz" is whimpering and crying in between us. Harry is worrying about what will happen to the dog when we have to leave the trench. He makes me promise to love, honor, and protect the little beast if anything happens to his master. The German fire is increasing in intensity, and, from what I can see and hear, they are doing us some damage. During momentary lulls we can hear groans and screams of some of the poor fellows who are hurt already. Not ten feet away from us is a fellow named Tucker. He has his whole lower jaw torn away, and he is moaning and coughing and gurgling in a fearful manner, with his coat sleeve held to the bloody mass which was once a face. All the way down the trench are fellows as bad and some of them worse than poor Tucker, and we are beginning to wonder how many of us will be left to make the charge.

"STAND BY! READY!"

Suddenly the word is passed along: "Stand by! Ready!". We gather ourselves together for the spring which will take us over the parapet. A moment's wait, and then a sharp blast of the whistle. No sooner are we over the parapet than the German machine guns open on us, and fellows begin to fall all around us. Harry and I are side by side, running for all we are worth. We lose some time getting through the paths through our own barbed wire, and there is trouble for us ahead if we ever live to reach it, for the German wire is not all down. We head for an opening through it, and in a few seconds jump down into the first German trench. As there are still some of the Germans left in it, it is nothing but hack, cut, stab, and slash for our very lives. Our fellows are tumbling into the trench in twos and threes, and we soon have enough to take care of all the Germans in the trench. A fat, bespectacled face appears before me, and I lunge at a point just below it, putting all my weight behind my bayonet. It disappears and I drag my bayonet free without looking at the poor devil I have downed.

I see Harry hit in the back by a big Bav-

arian and his rifle is knocked from his hands. They grapple and fall, fighting hand to hand as both are unarmed, and the fear of God is in my heart for Harry cannot seem to shake him off. (I am busy with another German.) Fighting, scratching, hitting, and kicking, they roll around, and I realize that Harry is fighting for his life. He fights desperately to keep the German's hands away from his throat. Suddenly I see Frank Dobson appear with his rifle clubbed and raised above his head. I know what is coming, and I see the rifle brought down and the German's skull smashed in. Harry rolls him off and gets up, wiping blood and brains from his face and clothes.

Panting, and with our hands tightly clasped, Harry and I lie in the bottom of the trench waiting for the whistle to sound again. I am trembling all over —with fear, I guess. Just in front of us I can see the rookie, Hill, lying on his face in the mud, and I can hear the prayer he is moaning over and over repeatedly: "Oh Lord, look hout for me for the missus! Oh, Lord, look hout for me for the missus." All around us are men praying, groaning, panting, cursing, and sobbing. They are mad, and have no idea what they are doing, and it is a good thing they don't.

"Tommy" is not a religious animal as a rule, and he would deny this with all his might, yet I can see some of them crouched down in the mud, their eyes closed and their lips moving. I know what they are doing. I have done it myself and I'm not ashamed to admit it—*now*.

The whistle sounds and we drag ourselves to our feet and get away for the second trench. It is easier this time, and we don't stop at the second trench at all. Right through to the third one we go, and even here there are only a very few Germans left. They are taken care of in short order, and we get to work putting up a parapet between the fourth German trench and the one we are now in. It is only a flimsy affair, but it is enough to last us the three hours we intend staying there.

Our artillery are still keeping the Germans interested, though their fire is not so intense as it was at the first of the attack. The three hours pass without the Germans even trying to counter attack, and on the signal we retire to our original position. Then we look around to see what is left. Poor Hill has had his leg blown off, and is lying unconscious on a stretcher waiting to be taken down. We line up for roll call. We came into action just twenty-four hours ago, numbering 1,148. Out of that number there are just 332 left, but our attack was a success. Harry and I have been lucky again, thank goodness. I wonder how long our luck will last!

When we got back there was nothing for us to do but wait for the fellows who were coming up to relieve us. We had expected to spend six days in the trenches, and instead we had been up just over twenty-four hours.

THE END OF THE DAY

The boys all seemed depressed despite the fact that they knew they were lucky to come out of this scrap alive. At last the new regiment arrived and we started the first stage of our march to the rear. We were so tired we could hardly drag one foot after the other. Harry had "Fritz" tucked under one arm, but it was an awful test for his affection for the animal to undergo. All around us the fellows were chucking off their equipment as they were too weary to carry an extra ounce. Harry still stuck to the dog, but all his other belongings went soon after we started. Most of mine followed them, and then we took turns carrying the dog. At last the camp was reached and we rolled right up in our blankets and dropped off to sleep. It was fourteen hours later when I woke up. All the fellows had regained their spirits and were feeling fairly cheerful again. There are some of the fellows who have lost relatives and friends and they are of course very sad, but things look much brighter to all of us. How long will it be before we have this hell to go through again? Let us hope it won't be for a long time yet. But one never knows!

GATHERING CLOUDS ALONG THE COLOR LINE

THE MENACE OF RENEWED FRICTION BETWEEN THE RACES—PROSPERITY, EDUCATION, AND NEGRO IMPATIENCE—THE GROWTH OF THE MOVEMENT FOR SEGREGATION—SOME HOPEFUL ASPECTS OF "THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN" IN THE SOUTH

BY

RAY STANNARD BAKER

NO ONE who is at all familiar with the conditions which confront the American Negro at the present time can doubt that discontent and unrest among them have been spreading, particularly within the last two years.

This is due in part to perfectly clear and possibly temporary economic causes. The war in Europe has made the staple industry of the South—cotton-raising—momentarily unprofitable; and the burden has naturally fallen most heavily upon those with the least resources, both white and colored, and has resulted in a sharpening of competition between the races for the tenancy of the land and for the available work of the towns. In several instances the point of violence has been reached. Last spring, as a single example, night riders appeared in New Madrid County, Mo., and nearly cleared that district of Negro laborers. The news report of the incident says:

"Negroes working on the Government levee at Linda [New Madrid County] and Dorena, in Mississippi County, have been notified to stop work and leave the county.

"The trouble between the whites and the Negroes seems to have its origin in the land rental system. Last December, the white renters demanded a reduction from $6 to $3 an acre. The Negroes were content to continue paying $6, and when new rent contracts were drawn up in January more Negroes than ever were given places on the farms."

Similar reports come from other parts of the South. In the year 1915, there were 55 lynchings of Negroes in the United States, or 6 more than in 1914. The result of the unfavorable conditions in the country districts, the fear of violence, and the fact that many Negroes have fallen hopelessly into debt to white proprietors and merchants have accelerated the movement of Negroes looking for work into the towns and cities, where they come into direct and even fiercer competition with white men. In its essence, the increasing strain in the South is because the Negroes, with expanding education, more property, and more confidence in themselves, are coming more strongly into competition with the poorer classes of white men.

But the strain due to the present distress in the cotton industry, which may be only temporary, is only one of the causes of unrest. There are several others.

First: The cause which an inquirer hears most about in talking with Negroes is the changing attitude of the Federal Government toward them. It has been a deep and comforting feeling among Negroes ever since the Civil War that, no matter what happened, Uncle Sam was their friend and protector. Without entering at all into the merits of the case, the movement to segregate Negro workers in the departments at Washington and the failure of the Democratic Administration to reappoint most of the Negroes who occupied important Federal positions have been regarded by Negroes as a body blow at their aspirations. The pressure in the last Congress for discriminatory legislation, including bills for preventing Negro immigration, for forcing segregation in the street cars in the District of Columbia, and the threat to cut off entirely the appropriation of Howard University, one of their best educational institutions, have added to their fear and distrust.

Second: Negroes feel a steadily changing sentiment in the North. The older generation of men who fought for the abolition of slavery, and who looked upon the Negro with peculiar sympathy, has passed away: and the men of the newer generation are not only not interested, but are impatient of being worried with a problem so essentially disagreeable. They dislike, quite frankly, to see Negroes crowding into Northern cities; and they are more than willing that the South should deal with its own problem in its own way, so long as they are not disturbed.

NEGRO SEGREGATION

Third: With increasing education and increasing property ownership, the Negro sees discriminations, instead of decreasing, steadily increasing. Nowhere in the Southern states has the Negro any direct political power (though, in a peculiar way, he does possess an enormous indirect influence), and segregation laws in cities are gradually becoming more strict. The recent vote at St. Louis in favor of the segregation of Negroes in certain sections of the city is a case in point. Certain broad lines of occupation, in which he was formerly largely represented, are gradually being closed to him: and though it is true that new opportunities are opening up, they are opportunities limited within racial boundaries. The masses of the Negroes in the towns, especially in the North, regardless of capacity, are being more and more held down to the lowest, most menial occupations.

Nor is this all. The Negro is now being threatened at the very point at which his opportunity for development has been the widest and freest, that is, in the country districts of the South. It was the wise advice of the late Booker T. Washington, as it is the advice of Major Moton, his successor, to the colored man to "get land," "own a home," and thus make himself independent. But now that Negroes have actually acquired millions of acres of Southern land, and are renting millions more (Negroes now own or control a territory equivalent in acreage to twice the state of South Carolina), a movement starts, supported by a leading agricultural paper, to force segregation also in country districts and to restrict the freedom of the Negro to purchase land where he will. This movement has not yet reached the point of legal expression in any state, and is meeting the opposition of certain able Southern white men, but it has served to increase the fear and unrest of the Negroes. They are asking whether this last avenue of free development is to be closed to them.

DISCRIMINATION IN SCHOOLS

Fourth: With increasing education and intelligence, the Negro has become more acutely conscious of the discrimination against him in the matter of educational facilities. Though Negro children represent about 40 per cent. of the school population in 11 Southern states, they are getting only 12 per cent. of the school funds expended in those states; and in certain states the colored people do not even get back all the money for their schools that they themselves actually pay in taxes. That is, in these states, they are not only paying for their own schools, but contributing to the support of the white schools. In Louisiana, the amount spent for education is only $1.60 a year for each Negro child of school age.

Fifth: Also, with increasing intelligence the Negro grows more impatient with what he regards as a continued unwillingness to do him justice. The most flagrant instance of this, of course, is the lynchings. Once, it was asserted that Negroes were lynched only for the "usual crime," but now they are lynched for all sorts of crimes and offenses, sometimes of the most trivial character, and there are numerous recent cases in which wholly innocent Negroes have been lynched. While for twenty years, down to 1905, there was a rapid and hopeful decrease in the number of lynchings, the last ten years, during which the progress of the Negro has been most rapid, have shown little change. Every year in that time, approximately 50 or 60 Negroes have been beaten or shot to death, or hanged, or burned alive by mobs of white men. The year 1915 proved to be one of the worst in this respect of the decade. Some of the more recent lynchings, involving women and even whole families.

have been peculiarly barbarous. A careful study of these lynchings will show that a trivial offense is often made an excuse for violence, the real purpose of which is to "keep the Negro down," to "show the Negro his place."

Sixth: Trivial causes of irritation are often as potent as more serious matters. Several of these have recently caused wide discussion and bitterness among Negroes. A film play, called "The Birth of a Nation," excellent in many ways, which gives a picture of the Negro calculated to stir racial hatred, has been a real cause of irritation. The treatment of the Willard-Johnson prize-fight at Havana by many newspapers, giving it the aspect of a racial struggle, served, as such minor things often do, to point and emphasize racial differences and animosities.

All these influences have combined to make the Negro, especially the intelligent Negro, more impatient, more restless. This restlessness is more evident in the North than in the South, because in the North the Negroes have greater freedom of expression, but it also exists in the South in a more muffled form—but not less, for that reason, to be seriously considered.

THE CHANGING POINT OF VIEW

Ten years ago the optimistic, constructive, educational programme of Booker T. Washington, the emphasis of which was upon duties rather than upon rights, was the dominant movement in the race and had, likewise, the support of the wisest white men, both South and North. It is still, probably, the best influence among the masses of the colored people and still has the support of leading white people. But in one sense it has been too successful. When it started it was thought by many Southern people that its purpose was to produce a kind of super-servant: but it has, instead, turned out independent, upstanding, intelligent men and women who have acquired property, and have come thus into sharper competition with the whites.

The influence within the race—I am speaking here of Negro public opinion—which is now growing most rapidly is no longer what may be called the Tuskegee movement, valuable as that continues to be, but it is the movement toward agitative organization—the emphasis upon rights rather than upon duties. Ten years ago, this movement was inchoate and confined largely to a few leaders like Dr. Du Bois; to-day, the chief organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has a wide membership throughout the country, with many branches, and includes a large proportion of the leading men of the race. It is also supported by a few Northern white men and women. This association maintains a strong publication called "The Crisis," which has the largest circulation of any journal devoted to the interests of the colored people—and has employed men to appear before Congressional and state legislative committees in racial matters.

The utterances of these leaders, like the editorials of the Negro press—and few white people realize that there are more than 450 newspapers and other publications in America devoted exclusively to the interests of colored people, nearly all edited by Negroes—have shown an increasing impatience and boldness of tone. The utter ignorance of the great mass of white Americans as to what is really going on among the colored people of the country is appalling—and dangerous. We forget that there are 10,000,000 of them, one tenth of our population, and that their strides toward racial self-consciousness in the last twenty years have been marvelous. We have known next to nothing about their constructive development, and have not wanted to know: we have preferred to consider the Negro and all his affairs as beneath notice.

Such, then, are the influences that are making for unrest and upheaval, and there is no denying their significance or their power. On the other hand, there are newly forming counterforces which must also be considered if we are to form a fair judgment of the situation.

THE SOUTH TAKING UP THE PROBLEM

In the South the older generation of white people, with its traditions and animosities, is passing away, and there are many signs that a few men of the younger generation are seriously turning their

attention to the "everlasting problem." Where the older generation was merely reactionary, dreaming of the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment, or discussing "exportation," "territorial segregation," "extermination," and other wholesale or theoretical remedies, the new generation is plainly, if a little hopelessly at the start, taking up the "white man's burden" and seeking to look at the whole subject constructively. Several different movements are under way. One has been organized through the Y. M. C. A., under the direction of an earnest Southern white man, Mr. W. D. Weatherford, and has taken the form of study classes among the students of the colleges and universities. There was a time when the Southerner thought there was nothing for him to learn about the Negro or the race problem, and that was a hopeless time, but the new spirit in the colleges takes the opposite view.

Another movement, also originating among the more thoughtful class of Southerners, and largely in the colleges, began with the University Commission on Race Questions, composed of representatives from eleven Southern states, which held a meeting at Nashville, in May, 1912. It was followed in August, 1913, by the still more important Southern Sociological Congress which met in Atlanta and conducted the most impressive discussions of the Negro question ever held in the South. The president of the Congress was Governor Mann of Virginia, and some of the ablest white men of the South took part in the proceedings. The addresses on the Negro question, bound together in a small book with the significant title, "The Human Way," mark a new departure in the Southern attitude toward the Negro. Dr. James H. Dillard, of New Orleans, struck the keynote of the present situation among the best white people of the South when he said:

"Let us be glad that what may be called the post-reconstruction period seems at last to be drawing to a close.

"This is the truth which I wish to emphasize at this time. I sincerely believe that the day of better feeling is at hand. I believe that the day has come when we shall, if I may say so, start over again and develop right relations in the right way. We Southern white people now realize two facts in regard to the relationship of the races. First, we realize that the old relationship, so frequently typified in the affection of the black mammy, is one that must pass. Second, we realize that the spirit of no relationship, no responsibility, no coöperation, is impossible. We see that our whole public welfare requires the education and improvement of the colored people in our midst. We see that public health depends on common efforts between the races. We see that the prosperity of these Southern States is conditioned on greater intelligence among the masses of all the people. We see that every consideration of justice and righteousness demands our good-will, our helpful guidance . . . and our coöperation."

CONSTRUCTIVE FORCES IN THE SOUTH

Another evidence of the changing sentiment of the white people is the tendency toward the gradual assumption of the obligation, so long borne partly by Northern philanthropy, of the burden of Negro education. The movement, while very slow, seems genuine. White supervisors of Negro schools are a new development in Southern education, and the fact that Negro leaders, like Dr. Washington was, can speak frankly—often with Southern white men on the platform—of the need and value of Negro education, indicates a wider popular acceptance of the idea that safety lies only in universal education. Compulsory education is now being seriously considered for the first time in at least two Southern states. Some of the Negro colleges and the teachers in them also report an increasing friendliness among white people toward them.

While these movements are confined to the highest type of Southern people, mostly educational leaders who do not meet directly the problems of economic or political competition, they are influencing those centres of thought where public opinion originates. Whether they are strong enough or can travel fast enough to meet the increasing friction between the races is still an open question. That they have not yet really influenced the masses

of Southern white people is indicated in various ways—by the failure to check lynchings, by the continued pressure for discriminatory laws, by the hostility to Negro education, and by the election to office of leaders who have made their reactionary position on the Negro question the foundation of their political existence. The pressure of Southern Congressmen for more discriminatory legislation against Negroes is a clear indication of the hostile popular sentiment in the South.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE HAMPTON GROUP

Another strong conservative force is the wise leadership of such men as Dr. H. B. Frissell, of Hampton Institute, who stand as mediating statesmen between the two races. One who studies the Southern situation will be surprised to discover how many of the constructive and hopeful organizations in the South, both white and colored, have had their origin in what may be called the Hampton group, which has had for its two great fundamental purposes the training of wise Negro leaders (of whom Booker T. Washington and Major Moton, the new head of Tuskegee, are the finest products) and the bringing about of a better understanding between the white man and the Negro, and between South and North. The Nation does not yet appreciate the debt it owes to General Armstrong, the prophet of the Hampton idea, and to Dr. Frissell, its statesman.

But the constructive movements are not all confined to the white people. Among the Negroes themselves, there is growing up a body of conservative opinion. Increasing property-ownership makes men comfortable, dulls the appetite for agitation and reform. There are nearly seventy banks owned by Negroes in the South, thousands of little stores, and much other property which, as the Negro well knows, would suffer in case any serious disturbance arose. These interests are actively organized in the National Negro Business League, with a wide and influential membership. Moreover, in the black belt, where nine tenths of the Negroes live, land-ownership, against which, until recently, there has been comparatively little opposition, has furnished the one great free opportunity for expansion and has operated as a safety valve for restlessness.

And finally, there continues to exist in the South a rather intangible but very real body of relationships, unknown in the North, between individual white people and individual colored people. It varies all the way from that sympathy and understanding which long association as master and servant has produced to a hard sense of the economic interdependence of the races. In the cotton belt, the recognition by the white man that he must have the Negro as a worker, and that nothing must be done that will go to the length of frightening him entirely away, acts as a salutary influence upon race-relationships. In one town that I visited to investigate a lynching, I found that the chief argument against the rapacity of the mob was that it was cotton-picking time, and Negro labor was being frightened away!

A DANGEROUS SITUATION

I have endeavored to set forth the present situation regarding the Negro. Radical and conservative forces are both operative, and, as usual, it is difficult to measure them quantitatively—especially the conservative forces, which are always the quietest, least clearly recognizable. But certain general tendencies are apparent. The Negro is being more completely thrown upon his own resources; and at the same time that he begins to feel his strength, becomes better educated, and more intelligent, he feels more distressingly the pressure and injustice from above; and he now has leaders who are able enough and courageous enough to make his situation clear to him. It is a condition full of danger, not only to the Negro and the South, but to the whole country: and its most menacing aspect is the contemptuous indifference of a large part of white America to what is going on in the depths of the volcano just below. Men of the North like to comfort themselves by thinking of the Negro as a Southern problem. He is not that: he is a national problem; and it must be sharply realized that injustice sooner or later brings its sure reward—and the more monstrous the injustice, the more terrible the consequences.

.AN AND HIS MACHINES

TOR-CYCLE MACHINE GUNS IN MEXICO

THE pursuit of Villa, the United ates Army employed several motor- machine guns which could either be from the cycle itself, or removed and p on the ground. Additional motor- s carried ammunition and the neces- equipment for the guns and machines ıg the march.

CLIMBERS FOR STEEL POLES

A CLIMBER for use on steel poles which weighs no more than a climber for use on wooden poles consists of a forged steel shoe with a toe that curves upward and two projecting hardened tool-steel clamping points. These points automatically grip the steel when the weight of the body is thrown upon them, and when the foot is raised the points are at once released.

CLIMBERS FOR STEEL POLES

rapid increase in the use of steel poles recently cessitated the invention of a new climbing shoe emen

NEW STYLE CREAM SEPARATOR

In which, the supply tank being hung low, the milk is drawn up into the skimming bowl by suctional force developed in rotating the bowl

THREE GRASS-CUTTERS IN ONE

A triplex grass-cutter which is guaranteed to cut three times as much grass in a day as an ordinary grass-cutter

POLISHED CONCRETE

The polishing of concrete table tops is an innovation that adds to the artistic value of concrete in many forms

A TRIPLEX GRASS-CUTTER

THERE are on the market triplex grass-cutters which are guaranteed to mow more lawn in one day than three ordinary horse-drawn mowers. One such cutter, which is drawn by one horse and operated by one man, cuts a swath eighty-six inches wide, and is suitable for cutting on uneven ground, as one mower may be climbing a hill, the second a level, while the third cuts in a hollow.

POLISHING CONCRETE TABLE TOPS

A DEVICE consisting of a carborundum disk on a polisher driven by flexible shafting is being used successfully for polishing concrete table tops. This idea opens up many new fields for the use of concrete in the furnishing of houses.

TROUBLE FINDERS FOR AUTOMOBILES

BY DIVIDING all the faults common to motor-cars into eleven classes, an instrument connected up to the battery of the automobile by an electric starting and lighting system automatically indicates to the driver what kind of trouble is present.

Each of the eleven classes of trouble is indicated by a number, and a pointer on the dial of the instrument points to the number in question, locating the trouble immediately for the motorist. A series of charts explains what should be done to correct each particular kind of trouble.

LOCATING MOTOR TROUBLES

By means of an instrument which automatically locates motor trouble and indicates it on a dial

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

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MR. CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

NOMINATED TO BRING PEACE WITHIN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, HIS TASK IN THE CAMPAIGN IS TO CONVINCE THE PUBLIC THAT HIS PARTY HAS A DEFINITE AND CONCRETE PROGRAMME FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE, AS WELL TO CONVINCE THEM THAT THE COUNTRY SHOULD RETURN TO A HIGH TARIFF

THE
WORLD'S WORK

JULY, 1916

VOLUME XXXII NUMBER 3

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

THE nomination of Justice Hughes continues in the Republican Party what the nomination of Mr. Wilson exemplified in the Democratic Party—the choice of able men of character and ideals. Both candidates are on a high plane. Both are better than their parties. Justice Hughes says that "at the outset of the [Wilson] Administration the high responsibilities of our diplomatic intercourse with foreign nations were subordinated to a conception of partisan requirements." This is, of course, a criticism of Mr. Bryan's appointment and an inference that he, Mr. Hughes, would not appoint any one like Bryan to be Secretary of State. It is not likely that the President would again. It was done to unite the party so that legislation might be passed. Mr. Hughes was nominated for the particular purpose of uniting his party, and if elected he would be faced with the same problem of uniting his party in order to carry out his platform that the President has had to face. Mr. Hughes stands for undivided Americanism and better provision for national defense, but the record of the Republicans in Congress does not indicate that he would have much support for his pledges, unless he did "subordinate" something "to a conception of partisan requirements."

There is something very inspiring about Charles E. Hughes's public record and in a somewhat impersonal way about the man himself. There is nothing inspiring about the present Republican Party, its convention, or its platform. Its programme is the familiar political straddle prepared to appeal to the large number of people who feel resentment against the President for allowing Germany to insult the country and kill its citizens for a year and at the same time not to offend that other large number who are willing to pay this price to have maintained peace.

Mr. Hughes's task during the campaign is to convince the public that he has a positive programme for foreign affairs and defense, as well as for the reënactment of class legislation for manufacturers in the shape of a high tariff.

Mr. Hughes holds very much the same place in the Republican Party that the President does in the Democratic Party, and they are much the same kind of men. On foreign affairs, Mexico, and preparedness there is no difference in principle between the two parties. These are the main issues of the campaign. The question between the two men, then, comes down more or less to whether Mr. Hughes has learned more from Mr. Wilson's experiences than Mr. Wilson has, and whether, if elected, Mr. Hughes would be able to exert more or less leadership than Mr. Wilson.

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EARL KITCHENER, OF KHARTOUM

'SH WAR SECRETARY, WHO PERISHED WHEN THE CRUISER "HAMPSHIRE," BOUND
OR RUSSIA, SANK OFF THE ORKNEY ISLANDS ON THE NIGHT OF JUNE 5TH

SIR WILLIAM R. ROBERTSON

WHO ROSE FROM THE RANKS TO BE CHIEF OF THE IMPERIAL STAFF OF THE BRITISH ARMY AND WHOM THE DEATH OF EARL KITCHENER LEFT AS THE FOREMOST MILITARY FIGURE IN ENGLAND

VICE-ADMIRAL SIR DAVID BEATTY

COMMANDER OF THE BRITISH SQUADRON OF BATTLE CRUISERS IN THE RECENT NAVAL ENGAGEMENT OFF JUTLAND. HIS TASK WAS THE HOLDING OF THE MAIN GERMAN FLEET OF DREADNAUGHTS AND BATTLE CRUISERS UNTIL THE ARRIVAL OF VICE-ADMIRAL JELLICOE

GRAND ADMIRAL ALFRED P. VON TIRPITZ

WHO IS MAINLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CREATION OF THE GERMAN NAVY, AND FOR THE EFFECTIVENESS OF ITS ORGANIZATION AND EQUIPMENT

THE "STRONG MAN
HIS DEATH REMOVED T
RESISTED THE ENCROA

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THE NATION'S VOICE FOR PREPAREDNESS

I. THE NEW YORK PARADE OF APPROXIMATELY 140,000 PERSONS OF ALL GRADES OF LIFE AND OF ALL TRADES AND PROFESSIONS FROM BANKERS TO INDUSTRIAL WORKERS. IT LASTED FROM NINE-THIRTY O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING UNTIL AFTER TEN O'CLOCK AT NIGHT

THE NATION'S VOICE FOR PREPAREDNESS

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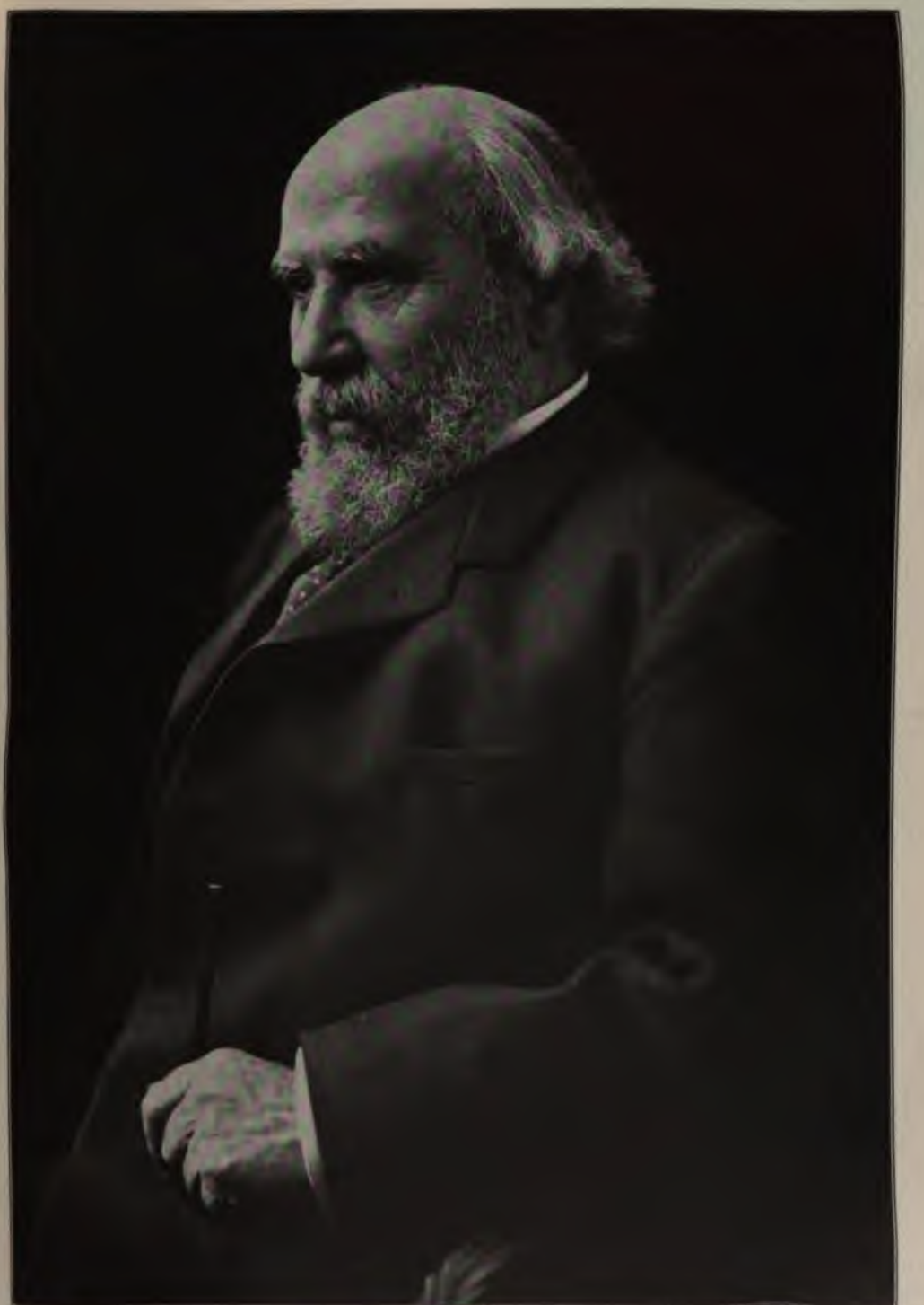
II. THE OTHER CITIES WERE QUICK TO CATCH THE SPIRIT OF THE DEMONSTRATION IN NEW YORK. WITHIN A FEW WEEKS BOSTON (AS IN THIS PICTURE) RESPONDED WITH A PARADE OF APPROXIMATELY 100,000 PEOPLE, AND CHICAGO WITH ONE OF MORE THAN 125,000, AND THE MAYORS OF NEARLY ONE HUNDRED CITIES IN NINETEEN STATES SIGNED A CALL FOR A PREPAREDNESS CONVENTION WHICH WAS HELD IN CHATTANOOGA, TENN., DURING THE FIRST WEEK IN JUNE

SENATOR BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA, CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS. "IT IS AS THOUGH MEN WERE WILD AND CRAZY OVER LOCAL AFFAIRS AND HAVE NO BROAD NATIONAL GRASP AT ALL," HE SAID RECENTLY WHEN THE RIVER AND HARBOR BILL PASSED CONGRESS

(See "The March of Events")



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JAMES J. HILL

FOREMOST PRACTICAL MASTER OF THE LARGE PROBLEMS OF PROGRESS OF HIS TIME; THE RAILROAD-BUILDING GENIUS WHO OPENED UP THE GREAT NORTHWESTERN WILDERNESS; A MAN WHO "KEPT FAITH IN THE SMALLEST DETAIL WITH EVERY MAN WHO ENTRUSTED SO MUCH AS A DOLLAR INTO HIS HANDS"

AMERICA'S PART IN WORLD DEMOCRACY

THE nations of the world have become each other's neighbors. It is to their interest that they should understand each other. In order that they may understand each other it is imperative that they should agree to coöperate in a common cause and that they should so act that the guiding principle of that common cause shall be even-handed and impartial justice.

This is undoubtedly the thought of America. This is what we ourselves will say when there comes proper occasion to say it. In the dealings of nations with one another arbitrary force must be rejected and we must move forward to the thought of the modern world, the thought of which peace is the very atmosphere. That thought constitutes a chief part of the passionate conviction of America.

We believe these fundamental things:

First, that every people has a right to choose the sovereignty under which they shall live. Like other nations, we have ourselves no doubt once and again offended against that principle when for a little while controlled by selfish passion, as our franker historians have been honorable enough to admit; but it has become more and more our rule of life and action.

Second, that the small States of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon.

And, third, that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression and disregard of the rights of peoples and nations.

So sincerely do we believe in these things that I am sure that I speak the mind and wish of the people of America when I say that the United States is willing to become a partner in any feasible association of nations formed in order to realize these objects and make them secure against violation.

These paragraphs the President spoke at the meeting of the League to Enforce Peace in Washington.

We believe in certain great principles: that any nation that can maintain order and govern itself has a right to its independence and a right to work out its own destiny—the principle of nationalities.

We believe in the spread of democracy *not only as beneficial* to the people governed *but because* autocracies, oligarchies, and the doctrine of the divine right of kings are menaces to the world's peace.

We have put on record the faith that is in us in the Monroe Doctrine and in the policy of the Open Door in China, in the restoration of Cuba and in fair and patient dealings with Mexico, Santo Domingo, and the Philippines. Here and there we have lapsed from our high ideals as have the other democratic governments. But on the whole democracy has tended toward a fairer and more civilized world than any other kind of government. If, then, we have the courage of our convictions and a belief in the progress of mankind, we should join with other nations which believe likewise to use our utmost endeavors toward a civilization based on justice and not on might—a civilization in which there shall be an opportunity for big and little nations alike.

The first objection raised to this deduction is that it transgresses the advice in Washington's Farewell Address against entangling alliances. Washington based this advice upon a then existing condition which he described as follows:

"Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation."

As long as Europe's interests affected us so little, Washington's advice was properly adhered to. But when European interests in the form of the Holy Alliance crystallized into a movement against democracy, we made an arrangement with Great Britain which insured us the assistance of the British fleet and announced the Monroe Doctrine. As Mr. W. Morton Fullerton explains in his article that appears elsewhere in this magazine, James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, and James Monroe disregarded Washington's advice for reasons which unquestionably would have led Washington to disregard it himself.

The dynastic bickerings of Europe in 1790 had little or no relation to us. An attack on democracy in 1823 did affect us. The maintenance of democracy, the progress of civilization, and the creation of conditions under which peace could be better maintained—these things are as vital to our interests now as they are to the democracies of Europe.

The President said, also, that the thought of the leading statesmen of the warring nations has come to this:

> . . . That the principle of public right must henceforth take precedence over the individual interests of particular nations and that the nations of the world must in some way band themselves together to see that that right prevails as against any sort of selfish aggression; that henceforth alliance must not be set up against alliance, understanding against understanding, but that there must be a common agreement for a common object, and that at the heart of that common object must lie the inviolable rights of peoples and of mankind.

Unquestionably these words express the best ideas of the statesmen of European democracies both before the war and now, but there is no indication that the statesmen of the autocracies believe any more in these principles now than before.

The question then comes: What will the United States do if one group of nations is ready to join forces to promote the kind of civilization in which we believe and another group believes in different principles altogether?

In the present Great War the forces of democracy are all on one side. The forces of autocracy are divided. What tendencies Russia will develop in the future it is hard to tell. The direction of Japanese policy is plain.

Mr. Theodore Marburg, before the League to Enforce Peace, proposed that the United States should join with those other nations which look upon civilization as we do, so that no matter what combinations should arise among the autocratic nations after this war a vigilance committee of democracies would be organized to keep the peace.

The *New Republic* magazine recently made something of the same suggestion editorially, but based it primarily upon present expediency rather for our own defense than upon the more lasting grounds of the progress of civilization:

> One truth sticks out violently in the crisis with Germany. If we break off diplomatic relations, we have made an enemy of a great Power. Once we force Germany to yield, we have taken from her a darling and perhaps an indispensable weapon. Should Germany lose the war, or merely deadlock it, as surely as the sun rises in the east we shall have to bear the odium. When the rulers of Germany start to explain they will say that our friendliness to the Allies, our shipment of munitions, and our stand on the submarine question turned the scale against Germany. Whatever the outcome we shall have made Germany bitter. If we have made an enemy, we must make a friend. This crisis has revealed to every thinking man the peril of isolation. We have ranged ourselves, unconsciously it would seem, on the side of Western sea power. Having made that bed we dare not refuse to lie in it. We have taken sides in the war, and if American diplomacy has any vision it will understand that its first duty is to turn the danger we have incurred from Germany into a constructive understanding with France and the British Empire.

The *New Republic* believes that every thinking man sees the perils of isolation. This is hardly true, for most of the people in the United States have never had the information given them on which to base any intelligent opinion of possible international dangers. The public has not been officially informed of our several serious differences with foreign countries in recent years. It was only in the "Life of John Hay," for example, that we learned that Mr. Roosevelt threatened to send our fleet to enforce our demands against the Germans in their controversy with Venezuela. But these and other similar facts were not generally known either by the public or by Congress, and the prevailing ignorance makes a just estimate of our foreign relations impossible. If the public knew the facts it would be in a position to know whether it believed in making some arrangements with other nations to keep the peace or whether we should try to continue to go our way alone.

If all the nations of the world could be induced to join a league devoted to the maintenance of a decent kind of civilization, such a consummation would be a far greater achievement than the organization of a smaller group, but there is no indication that Germany, for example, believes any less now in the might-is-right doctrine or any more in the sacredness of treaties or the inviolability of small sovereignties than when the war started. The question before the people of the

United States is whether this Government should join the other governments of the world which have the same idea of morals as we have or whether we shall continue our isolated position. It is not conceivable that we should join a league to enforce a system of international law contrary to the fundamental principles of liberty and justice in which we believe.

II

In the making of peace there are two ways in which the United States can use its influence. We can act as we did at the end of the Russian-Japanese War, purely as a mediator with no interest in the matter, and use our good offices to arrange any kind of a settlement that can be arranged. The technical neutrality of our Government leaves us in a position to do this. And this is evidently what the Germans expect of us. As soon as their revocable promise to make their submarine campaign regard our rights was accepted, one despatch after another came from Germany and Austria concerning possible peace activities by the United States. Almost simultaneously the German Chancellor says that peace will be based on the present holdings of the German armies. This is all natural enough.

Germany started a war of aggression and carried it on without regard for treaties or the dictates of humanity, and was successful in proportion to her military preparations. Having achieved this success she stopped her submarine inhumanities against us in time to suggest that we use our endeavors to stop the further shedding of blood at that point in the war which will most justify her policy that might is right by giving her the most fruits of victory.

A regard for life and peace above honor and morals and democracy alone would excuse our becoming Germany's aid in this proceeding.

The other basis on which we can use our influence in the establishment of what humanity hopes will be a more lasting peace is to give our energies in support of such fundamental things as the President *outlined:*

First, that every people has a right to choose the sovereignty under which they shall live. Like other nations, we have ourselves no doubt once and again offended against that principle when for a little while controlled by selfish passion, as our franker historians have been honorable enough to admit; but it has become more and more our rule of life and action.

Second, that the small states of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon.

And, third, that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression and disregard of the rights of peoples and nations.

The support of these fundamental things is in itself an indictment of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia, the German invasion of Belgium, the whole Teutonic attitude of *Deutschland über Alles*, and the unholy alliance between God and the German Emperor. And in supporting these fundamental things we cannot at the same time be a disinterested mediator on the basis of the present German conquests as Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg suggested.

III

The three fundamentals stated by the President, therefore, are:

(1) The right of every people to choose the sovereignty under which they shall live;

(2) The inviolability of the sovereignty of small states; and

(3) The right of the world to be free from wars of aggression.

In these the bulk of the people of the United States believe.

But they entail some further principles and practices which neither we nor any other country has ever publicly stated or acted upon. Elsewhere in this magazine Prof. Maurice Millioud points out in a striking way a fact which has been stated so often as to become axiomatic: that the struggle for trade often leads to war. The struggle for trade need not necessarily lead to war; but, con as it has been conducted in the past, is the logical result, for the diplon the armies, and the navies of the va governments have been, in c another, and in various degre

nerce. When the commerce as hard-pressed it called upon ınd with that call came the war.

tnerships of commerce and een used often with but very for the rights of the weaker :he earth and of the more eoples. The United States : Philippines by arms and d forthwith "protected" the n trading with other nations. nd German crises in Morocco, armies and gunboats, were by commercial struggles for rights to trade with the rithout regard to the Morocıces in the matter. The whole e opening of China is a series of the same kind, and the eats of wars in the Far East r origin in a struggle between ns to decide which shall have of deciding from whom and conditions some set of China-y and sell.

: an ambition to further the ıanity and to lead in the proization we can well afford to ne fundamentals of decent thout which the fundamentals ıal relations will be constantly

n one notable instance done olicy of the Open Door in ; merely that the Chinaman vhom he will deal with, rather ıother nation choose for him. ı Door is hardly open now.

d the effect of the war has ıgthen those who believe in ıercialism. There is a very nent on in England to conirit and method of warfare against the present enemies is declared. These English re trying to perfect a comıce of the Entente Powers. :rman League proposes to itish prosperity by keeping Austria in a permanent state ıment, by preferential tariff the Allies, by placing prohibupon Central European trade, by refusing German vessels access to their ports, and by placing compensating bounties on articles competing with bounty-fed and transport-aided articles exported from Germany to neutral countries.

The Central Powers on their part discuss making an offensive and defensive commercial union also, though no one in Germany has gone the lengths to which the more violent of the British commercial warriors would go.

In this country Judge Gary suggests that we discriminate as much as possible against all foreign trade, the obvious result of which would be to turn both these commercial groups against us, a proceeding which would hurt our general European trade, diminish the vast opportunities which we might accept in Russia, further curtail our efforts in the Far East, and perhaps precipitate a subsidized attack on our budding trade in South America.

In a commercial contest with a fair field and no favors there are ample opportunities for us to prosper in peace. In a commercial contest disarranged by every conceivable artificial governmental aid we shall temporarily be at a disadvantage, and when these artificial aids to commerce provoke another war even our peace is likely to be interrupted.

The high principles of liberty and humanity apply to commerce as well as to politics, and the most useful service we could render any league or alliance for the enforcement of peace is to stand against the adoption of commercial methods which lead directly toward war.

OUR PROTEST TO GREAT BRITAIN

THE Secretary of State's note to the British Government on the seizure of mails is a convincing document. The isolation of the Central Powers by the British fleet has practically put our economic pressure on the side of the Allies. The British, in trying to make this condition complete, have made it a practice to go through American mail whether it was destined for Germany or for neutral countries. We admit their right to capture articles of commerce going by mail under the same conditions as they have

the right to capture the same articles going by freight. But the British and French have used this right as an excuse to go through all mail and delay it so as in many instances entirely to destroy its usefulness. It may be that it is physically impossible to exercise efficiently the rights which we admit they have without at the same time making use of those which we do not admit they have. If that is true it is not our fault, but the fault of physical conditions which we do not control. And we cannot give up our rights to meet those conditions. Nor do the British expect that we will. The question between the two governments comes down to a definition of how much delay constitutes an infringement of our rights.

There seems no doubt that the amount of delay and loss that has actually occurred does transgress our rights, and that the Secretary's demand that the present practices be changed is justified, for not even that part of the American public which is most pro-Ally and believes that we should give our assistance in the war against Germany wishes to have our assistance forcibly taken.

MR. TILLMAN ON "STEALING"

DESPITE the vigorous protests of Senator Kenyon and a few others, Congress has passed a river and harbor bill entailing an appropriation of $44,000,000. Largely owing to the influence of Senator Burton, the river and harbor bills of 1914 and 1915 represented an improvement over their predecessors. Instead of specifying the particular "projects" and appropriating fixed sums for each, these measures gave the War Department flat sums—$20,000,000 in 1914 and $30,000,000 in 1915—to be spent in the ways that would best promote commerce. Whether this new scheme has worked well, is not yet apparent; one fact is clear, however, and that is that it has not satisfied Senators and Congressmen. These lawmakers have little interest in river improvements on commercial lines; the idea of leaving the engineering and business feasibility of certain dredging operations to an impartial outside body awakens no patriotic echo. And so the new bill represents a return to the old grab-bag system. Each Congressman and Senator gets his "slice"; certain creeks that run dry most of the time and particular rivers that have had no commerce since the Civil War are now "taken care of" by name. More money is "put into circulation" in Congressional districts where it will best promote the political fortunes of individual statesmen.

The abuse is an ancient one; is there any chance that it will ever end? Certainly the prospect is discouraging. In the last year the pork barrel has had more publicity than in any other period of our history. For the first time the popular masses have gained an intimate acquaintance with this blot on our national escutcheon. The newspapers have printed columns on the subject, and "pork barrel" cartoons have appeared by the thousands. The net result is one of the biggest river and harbor bills we have ever had, and one built upon more vicious principles than those of the two preceding years.

Senator Kenyon has said that this is the last bill of its kind that will ever pass Congress. Just what is the basis for this optimism is not clear. Certainly there are interesting signs of revolt. Senator Tillman presents the most encouraging. Speaking from a full heart, Mr. Tillman recently reviewed his twenty years' attitude on the subject of local appropriations. From the beginning he has said that this use of public money was simply "stealing"—this is his own word. Up to this time, however, he has demanded his "recognition." "The river and harbor bill," he declared, several years ago, "is a humbug and a steal; but if you are going to steal let us divide it out and do not go to complaining." "Every time one of those Yankees gets a ham," said Mr. Garner, of Texas, a few months ago, "I am going to do my best to get a hog." But Senator Tillman has now seen a new light. This bill contains $300,000 for South Carolina; for all that, declared Mr. Tillman, he would vote against it. And he did so. His conversion represents the one possible method of permanent reform. Until the individual lawmaker realizes, as Mr. Tillman now realizes, that his personal vote for these appropria-

nply makes him a pilferer from the treasury, there will be river and bills and public building bills and ɔrk barrels without end.

V $100,000,000 PORK BARREL

FORE criticising the new Army bill Mr. Hay suggests that ignorant newspaper editors and other de- ; carefully read it. The measure s well as Mr. Hay's speech present- completed plan, certainly do con- ticular facts that have so far made at impression. Disregarding all one or two facts stand out pre- ly. Most people probably believe is bill assures the American people ing army of at least 175,000 well- and well-equipped men. Accord- Chairman Hay's own interpreta- iis is not necessarily the case. the most favorable circumstances not have such an armed force until iration of five years. Mr. Hay's : provides that our present army is ainfully enlarged at the snail-like 12,000 men a year until, sometime 1921, it reaches the magic limit of which has figured so prominently ieadlines. If everything goes well, r military dictator, we shall have, 1, 1917, an army of 119,000 men. from that date, or July 1, 1918, y favoring circumstances will give ɔoo. And so on. Chairman Hay, r, expresses the belief that, long this date is reached, the present ia" will have died down, and Con- ill have prevented any additional ɔn of our military prowess. Mr. vords clearly indicate that even his enlargement is only a sop thrown popular "clamor"; he practically warning that, as soon as "the war throb no longer and the battle e furled," he will proceed to reduce erican army once more to its present iate proportions.

'ul inspection throws light upon an- lause of the bill—that providing the National Guard. This pro- ɔr the reorganization of the state to the limit of 420,000 men. Each enlisted man is to receive $48 a year pay; each captain $500, each first lieutenant $240, and each second lieutenant $200. The law also provides that the quota, 420,000, can be filled up immediately—there is no five-year wait. In this the National Guard has one great advantage over the regular establishment. Its promoters need not wait five years to complete the enrolment; the 420,000 men can be enlisted at any time. According to the estimate made by Mr. Hay himself this "federalized National Guard," when its organization is completed, will cost the federal treasury $100,000,000 a year.

For the last two years the American people, believing, unlike Mr. Hay and his associates, that an emergency exists, have demanded a large and immediate increase in our military defenses. They have looked to the majority party in Congress to provide this pressing national need. President Wilson, the responsible head of this majority party, has described in startling, almost alarmist and sensational language, the peril that constantly endangers us. Congress has spent six months in deliberation; and as a net result, it gives us a standing army that increases for five years at the rate of 12,000 a year and fastens upon the pay-roll 420,000 "constituents" in the National Guard of very questionable military value who will indefinitely take from the public treasury $100,000,000 a year.

It is not necessary to detail once more the inadequacy of the National Guard as a fighting military force; our troubles with Mexico have offered another conclusive example of it. Preparedness is not the motive that put the provisions for federalizing the militia upon the statute books; the motive was sectional politics. The law of 1916 marks a new date in American history—the date of the opening of another "pork barrel." Congress passed the first Civil War pension law about fifty years ago. This cost $15,000,000 in 1866; the amount increased to $33,000,000 in 1879, to $106,000,000 in 1890, to $161,000,000 in 1909, and to $174-000,000 in 1913. President Wilson's signature to the 1916 military bill merely inaugurates another financial rake's prog-

ress of the same kind. At the present moment the pension fund "takes care of" about 2,000 men in each Congressional district. All these pensioners are old; they are dying at the rate of 35,000 a year; in ten years only a few will remain. Thus, for the first time in fifty years, we can foresee an actual diminution in our huge pension roll. But the militia-pay clause of the new Army bill will supply the deficiency. It gives $48 a year to 800 men in each Congressional district—this much as a "starter." In a few years these militia-pensioners—for they will be little more—will demand an increase in pay; the slightest knowledge of Congressional psychology informs us that Congressmen, looking for votes, will comply with this demand. Instead of 800 to a district, we will have 1,000, 1,500, perhaps 2,000. If it costs us $100,000,000 a year now, what will it cost us in 1920, 1930, or 1940? The ghosts of the politicians who loaded the Civil War pension system on the Nation must marvel at their moderation.

The localities have triumphed once more; ruralism, sectionalism, "states' rights," the hatred of centralized authority, of efficient, responsible government: these are the conceptions writ large in this military bill.

Thus this new Army bill is not only an attack on American defense; it is an attack on American democracy. It gives full scope again to the most corroding influence in the body politic—the idea that the Government exists, not to be served, but to be plundered; that federal taxation is a system by which money is collected by a central authority for distribution in localities; that Congressmen come to Washington, not to serve the Nation, but to bring home as much money as they can for their districts. Until 1916 we had three great pork barrels—pensions, rivers and harbors, public buildings—and many smaller ones. We have now added the militia pay-roll pork barrel, which, starting lustily at $100,000,000 a year, promises eventually to make all the others pale into insignificance.

The federalization of the National Guard creates a military organization in each community whose interest it is to use its political strength to gain for special privileges. The political str of the National Guard in getting this sure passed is proof of this tendency.

On the other hand, under the democratic principle of universal se there would be no temptation by a ority to mulct the Government, for would be no military minority to do every man would have to contr time and taxes, and there would be a to no one in increasing military e ditures.

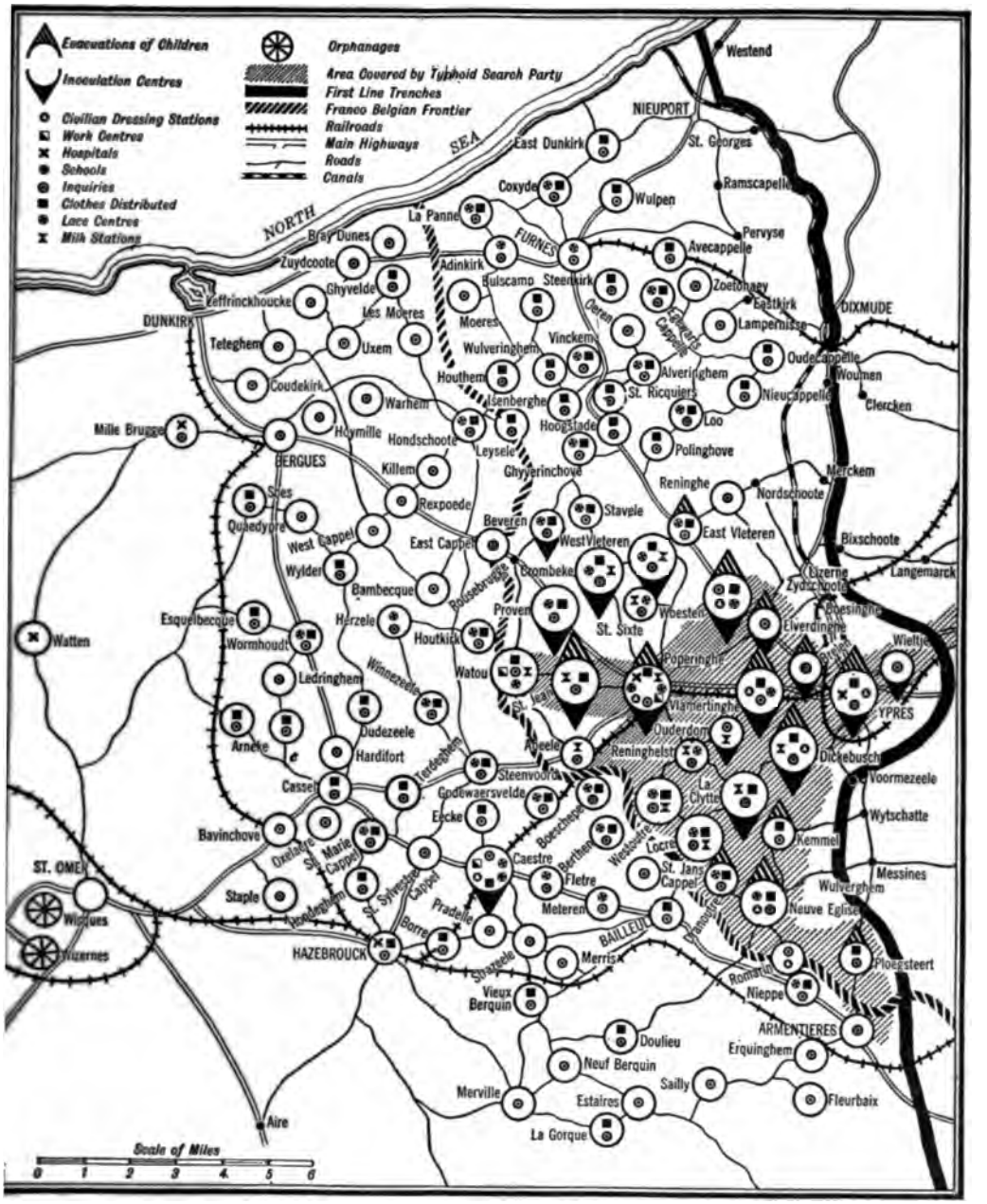
AT WORK IN THE REMNANT BELGIUM

THE strip of Belgium in which gians may publicly own alleg to their king is about twelve wide and twenty-five miles long, an about twice the size of the city of Phil phia. Every square mile of it is within reach of the German guns. The longer-r German guns sometimes shoot over gium at the French city of Dunkirk. part of the territory is entirely free shell fire.

In what is left of Belgium and in neighboring French Department of North are between 600,000 and 700,000 gian civilians, mostly women and chil Few active men remain among them.

The organization which cares for people is the *Aide Civile Belge*, orga by two patriotic Belgian women u the patronage of the Queen of Belgium carried on in large part by the Fri Ambulance Unit.

After the destruction of the hospit Ypres at the second battle for that the Friends' Ambulance Corps carrie its work in its two hospitals at Poperi and Bergues, and in the various me centres shown on the accompanying Up to February 15, 1916, the hospitals taken care of about 1,300 serious and the doctors had made 17,000 v At the fifteen inoculation stations, 2 people were inoculated against typho less than a year. By this and by a syste milk distribution the typhoid epidem the spring of 1915 was curbed and its prevented from occurring again.



ELIEF WORK OF THE "AIDE CIVILE BELGE" IN THE UNINVADED STRIP OF BELGIUM

The *Aide Civile Belge* is not only a epartment of health and sanitation, it ıkes care of necessary housing and feeding, ncourages the reëstablishment of the lk industries, conducts orphanages, :hools, distributes clothes, and moves ıose in destitution or danger to places here they can get food and clothes and ve in safety. The Aide Civile Belge consists of about forty Belgian nuns and a hundred English and American Quakers, all of whom serve without pay. To this fact is partially attributable the extraordinary amount of work accomplished by this organization on an expenditure of $5,000 a month, most of which has come from England and a small part from the Belgian Relief Committee of Philadelphia.

WHY THE CHINESE LIKE US

THE reason that Americans are the most popular of all foreigners in China to-day (as they are) is suggested by such unselfish and helpful work as that which is being done by Prof. Joseph Bailie, of the University of Nanking. With the aid of American funds and American Government officers, and with the sanction of the Chinese Government, Professor Bailie has gone far to solve for the Chinese their great related problems of afforestation and famines. At Purple Mountain, near Nanking, and at Lai An hsien, in the province of Anhwei, he has developed, respectively, an experiment in reforestation and an experimental agricultural colony where victims of the devastating famines are put on the land and are taught how to be self-supporting.

The forestry work was made possible by the Central China Famine Relief Association, an organization that had collected funds in the United States. After it had done what it could in relieving famine, it had a surplus fund on hand, and from this fund the Association set aside $10,000 for work to prevent similar disasters in the future. Famines in China are caused by the floods that sweep away the fields, and the floods are a direct product of the deforested condition of the hills and mountains. The Director of Forestry in the Philippines suggested that the directors of this fund and the authorities of the University of Nanking (an American mission enterprise) coöperate with him to found a school of forestry in connection with the College of Agriculture of the University. This arrangement was finally made: The Fund provided three scholarships for Chinese students of forestry, the University gave the services of Professor Bailie and other aid, the Chinese Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Chang Chien, granted $3,000 a year for traveling expenses of Government experts from the United States and the Philippines, and the United States gave the services of these experts. At the beginning of the year, forty-one scholarships in all (and students to use them) had been provided, a forest survey had been made to determine the best trees to use, and an experiment station on Purple Mountain had begun work to demonstrate the possibilities of forestry and to train the students. Ching Ming, the great Chinese festival day, was declared henceforth to be "Arbor Day" by mandate of the President.

The agricultural colonization work was started at Lai An hsien in May, 1914. Its purpose was to put on the land those flood refugees who were driven into the cities where they were unable to make a living at unaccustomed occupations that were already overcrowded. A Colonization Association was formed, again backed by American money. Professor Bailie finally got the approval of the local Chinese gentry in North Anhwei, and took over for the Association a tract of unused land on which he placed seventy-one Chinese families. Despite a most adverse season, these families were able to make a living the first year, and now are on the way to permanent success. This work is being extended as fast as the means for doing so are available. Its success is a product of American tools, American farming methods, and American courage in attempting to overcome local prejudice and old customs of land holding. And in both the colonization work and the forestry work Professor Bailie and the others responsible for them are unofficial representatives of the American people to the Chinese people, building a permanent bond of good-will between them.

There are many Americans in China who are disinterestedly serving the Chinese—missionaries, school teachers, doctors, etc. There are few other foreigners in China who are disinterested. This fact, the Open Door policy, and the return of the Boxer indemnity give us in China a pleasant and unique position.

PROFIT-SHARING

PROFIT-SHARING by American Employers" is the title of a report recently issued by the Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation. This report describes the various plans that have been tried by more than two hundred American employers, and

the results of the trials. Practically ese plans fall ultimately under three heads, as follows:

'ercentage of profit plan, under which nployer agrees to pay to his employees a n percentage, fixed in advance, of the ; of the business.

ipecial distributions or gratuities, under the employer voluntarily makes conions to the employees' income in a great y of forms, ranging from discounts on es purchased to cash bonuses paid usually end of the year.

itock ownership plan, under which the yee purchases stock in the employing ation, pays for the same in instalments, a addition to the regular dividends re- a bonus of so many dollars per share in eration of his not disposing of the stock leaving the company's employ for certain eriods of time.

e report cites the Eastman Kodak any, of Rochester, N. Y., as a al exponent of the first of these plans, Crane Company, of Chicago, of the d, and the United States Steel Corion, of the third. But the experiof every company known to be using of them is given in detail, and the t is well worthy of the study of businen and students of economics.

haps the most outstanding fact in istory of profit-sharing is the opon of union labor. The union at- is that profits should be shared in rm of permanent increases in wages, hat all profit-sharing plans are simply es to break up the unions by attachie allegiance of the workmen directly eir employers rather than to their s in employment. This report s some light on the correctness of iew, and tends somewhat to vindicate 'or example, it appears to be true rofit-sharing works best in companies maintain the "open shop." And employers are disappointed with lea, or have abandoned it, precisely se it has failed in their case to interest nen. Most employers who discuss oint frankly say that their interest ractical business interest and not in ruistic experiment looking toward the on of the relations of employer and yee.

A few, however, have installed profit-sharing from a sense of duty, to realize an ideal of exact justice in the apportionment of the returns from common effort. The experience of employers of this type usually sends them to extremes of opinion concerning the plan. Either they are bitterly disappointed with the "ingratitude" of their men or they are better satisfied than the "selfish" employers with the success they achieve with it. In general, those that approve the idea are content with a lower return upon their capital investment than most employers are.

These men believe, with labor, that employers have had more than their share of the profits, and are willing to take only a low rate for the interest on capital and for the services of management.

The more usual view is that if labor shares in the profits it will be sufficiently more interested and effective so that there will be enough extra profits to give both employer and employee more than they had before.

A few other concerns have had profit-sharing schemes coupled with low wages in place of the more usual wage scale.

Almost none of the concerns follows profit-sharing to all the logical conclusions. Almost never do the companies tell the employees what the profits are or what proportion they are entitled to. This leads employees to suspect the division.

On the other hand there is only one company in which the men share the loss when there is a loss as well as the profit when there is a profit. This is the A. W. Burritt Company, of Bridgeport, Conn., a concern engaged in the lumber business. The company is allowed 6 per cent. on its capital if profits are made, and divides any additional profits between itself and the employees in the proportion that total wages bear to actual capital invested. If the business loses money, the company gets no dividend and the loss is divided between the company and the employees just as profits would be divided, except that no employee is liable for more than one tenth of his yearly wages. In actual practice, the employees have averaged about 6 per cent. profit over their regular wages. The only year the company

seemed likely to lose money it warned the employees and gave them an opportunity to withdraw from the arrangement, but they refused to do so and took the risk of losing one tenth of their year's wages—a result which, happily, did not materialize.

But profit-sharing, all told, is evidently still in the experimental stage. Hardly two plans are alike, and no standard practice has been worked out of the experience of American employers. Nevertheless, the experiments are still being made on a big scale by some of the most important industries of the country, and that evidently means that employers still feel the need to evolve a workable system as a matter both of justice and of expediency.

THOSE WHO ATTACK

THE men who took part in the assault say that it was characterized by even greater fury than usual on the French side, for the men had been brought by their months of training to the utmost perfection, and had long been thirsting for a fight." Behind this sentence in the news of Verdun lies a story of the extraordinary organization of modern armies.

What the phrase, "months of training," means in detail is this: During the first part of the war, careful watch was kept by the French General Staff over the way every regiment and division acted. In the acid test of battle, this division proved its ability to advance under fire, that regiment failed. Gradually the "crack" organizations were known—the groups of men who, either because of their individual spirit or their perfect cohesion or their trust in exceptional officers, could always be depended upon for the severest duty. These bodies of troops were gradually withdrawn from the trenches and organized as a separate army, leaving in the first-line trenches troops still good but unequal to the fierce strain of attack in the open, and leaving behind the trenches the troops still less capable, to guard lines of communication and arsena d f like duties.

The first of these, t men, is encamped abo miles behind the lines, and the men live like athletes training for a prize-fight. They have the most comfortable quarters, the best possible food. They have great athletic fields, where they play football and practise field sports. Theatres and music are provided for their amusement. While things are quiet at the front they are kept in as perfect physical and mental condition as art and science can devise. Then, when the commanders at the front need men for a charge against German trenches across the shell-swept open fields, word is sent back for these special troops. The needed number are told off, they are loaded into automobiles, carried swiftly to the front, singing and eager; they make their charge; trench troops move up and occupy the ground they have gained; and the attackers—such as are left of them—go back to their football and music and training, to get ready to go to the next point in the line that needs them.

What the French have done the Germans and the British have done likewise. These "troops of attack" are a characteristic development of modern warfare.

THE GOVERNMENT IN THE TOURIST BUSINESS

LIKE a good business man, the Government of the United States has undertaken to advertise some of its wares. Thus Mr. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, has caused to be written and published a report on the national parks that would be a credit to the passenger traffic department of a railroad. It is a little pamphlet called, "A Glimpse of Our National Parks," and it tells in simple narrative and charming description what they are, what is worth seeing in them, how they may be reached, what the hotel accommodations are—in brief, makes them as attractive to prospective tourists as private enterprises have made the coast of Maine, the Adirondacks, or the pleasure Colorado.

Rainier, the Crater Lake, the Yosemite, the Sequoia, the General Grant, the Grand Cañon, or the Hot Springs Reservation. These parks are in wide diversity of location and altitude, and offer attractions that vary from geysers to glaciers, from deserts to forests, from living trees that are 4,000 years old to fossil trees that are 4,000,000 years old.

Most Government reports are about as readable as a time-table: imagine one, however, that uses such sub-titles as: "Where Storms Are Cradled," "A Romance of Geology," "Birth of the Glaciers," "How to Visualize a Big Tree," and the novelty of this report may be easily guessed. It is practical as well as readable, and will doubtless be of more use to the public than nine tenths of the equally valuable but forbiddingly dull documents that issue from the Government Printing Office. It can be obtained by writing either to the Secretary of the Interior or to the Superintendent of Documents in Washington.

THE WAY TO BE WELL

A MAN is as healthy as he chooses to be. Ninety times in the hundred, health is literally a matter of habit. Some folk instinctively develop habits that preserve their bodily functions in proper condition, where others unconsciously drop into wrong ways of living. But the right ways are now so well known that any man who will take the trouble to learn them, and will use the will power necessary to practise them, may be vigorous and free from pain. Those that have drifted into chronic ill health need the constant guidance of a physician along the path to recovery, but the average man needs chiefly information that is available and the exercise of a little self-control to make and keep him well. Besides these things, he should, of course, consult a good doctor periodically, just as he consults a good dentist; and for the same purpose—in order to detect incipient troubles and to correct them before they mount into serious ills.

To put as much of this universally applicable information as possible before its readers in practical form, the WORLD'S WORK begins in this number a series of articles on health. "What Can a Fat Man Do?" will be followed by articles for the thin man, the nervous man, the dyspeptic, and others, besides articles on the prevention of pneumonia, typhoid, and other infectious diseases. They will be written from information gained by consulting the best authorities on each subject, and will be in every-day language. Their purpose is to bring home to people the ease of health and the consequent absurdity of illness.

WHAT PEOPLE READ

A LAWYER recently conceived the idea of taking the books he had read two or more times and which he still occasionally enjoyed "dipping into" and having them rebound in special covers. When he came to make his selection, the first trouble he encountered was the fact that he felt that he ought—that it was a duty—to include certain of the works of the great authors. There were a few, such as "Pickwick Papers," "Ivanhoe," and "Vanity Fair," that he really enjoyed reading, but where the dividing line lay between what he thought he ought to like and what he really did like was hard to tell. He had most of the English masters in sets, so he left them out of his special library altogether, and turned his attention to other works he enjoyed.

His choice of pleasure-reading carries well back into his childhood. "Alice in Wonderland," "The Merry Adventures of Robin Hood," by Howard Pyle, "Tom Sawyer," all hold their own against such books as "A Gentleman of France" and "The Three Musketeers. "Out of the yearly deluge of new works one finds one or two best sellers of past years: "Queed" and "The Broad Highway." And here, as the eye goes over the titles, one can find the owner's special hobby in reading: three volumes of Stewart Edward White.

That is not all. "Les Miserables," his most friendly volume of poetry, and others that you immediately recognize as pleasing—twenty-eight books in all are on that shelf, every one of which he, in

different moods, enjoys picking up and reading in his leisure time.

It is a rather fascinating study to figure out honestly what books you get the most pleasure from reading; not what books you feel that you ought to like, nor yet what books you wish to impress your friends with—to give them the idea that you are a "literary" person.

After all, are not the books that this lawyer picked out more attractive-sounding to the majority of business men, substituting each one's peculiar hobby for the Stewart Edward White books, than a library full of leather-backed, gilt-edged standard authors with the pages still uncut—a library built for looks and not for the great pleasure of reading?

The plan should commend itself to many. It is keeping up with old friends and adding, as time goes on, new ones.

COTTAGES FOR COUNTRY SCHOOL TEACHERS

THERE are approximately sixteen million children of school age living in the rural districts of the United States. The task of providing the proper kind and number of teachers for them is as difficult as it is important. One of the chief obstacles to the maintenance of a good corps of teachers in good teaching condition is that the teachers do not have good places to live in.

If the teacher of the little red school or its consolidated successor is compelled each evening to prepare her presentation of the lessons for the following day while the lady of the house at which she is boarding regales her with the hundred and one gossipy commonplaces of small village talk, the effect on the presentation is inevitable and bad. The teacher has an alternative: she may leave the living room of the house (which she is usually compelled to use with the rest of the family) and seclude herself in her own room. But boarders' rooms in the country are often cold and damp because of obsolete heating systems or because of the absence of any at all. The irony of it all is that families *who can* afford homes with up-to-date *heating systems usually do not* care to "take boarders." There is still another alternative for the teacher, and it may be suggestive of the fundamental reason for the comparative failure of many rural schools: that is, not to prepare her lessons!

"Under the circumstances," says a booklet on the subject that was written by Mr. R. S. Kellogg in coöperation with the United States Bureau of Education, "the teaching of a country school often becomes simply a temporary expedient for the teacher the first term after getting a certificate, and ambitious teachers who are anxious to grow in their profession and make something of themselves go to the city schools just as soon as possible, where opportunities for learning are greater and living conditions better."

That may not be idealistic pedagogy on the part of the teachers; but it is inevitable, incontrovertible human nature.

A solution of this aspect of the rural school problem lies in what has been called the "teacher's manse," or "teacherage." Its function to the rural school is that of the parsonage to the church. The "movement" for the teacherage, although of comparatively recent birth in this country (it has for many years been the custom in England, the Scandinavian countries, Germany, France, Denmark, and Switzerland to provide residences for the teachers), is rapidly gaining momentum. The state of Washington is the leader in this movement, with 108 such cottages located in twenty-nine of its thirty-nine counties. And many other states are following Washington's example.

The remarks of Dr. P. P. Claxton, United States Commissioner of Education, on the subject are significant:

> The teachers of rural schools in the United States drift from place to place more than do the members of any other profession. Approximately two thirds of all the teachers in these schools in any year are teaching where they have not taught before. So long as this practice continues we may not hope that these schools will be much better than they are now, nor that their teachers will have much influence on the life of the communities in which they teach. And the practice will probably continue until a teacher's home becomes recognized as a necessary part of the equipment of the country and village school, as I believe it soon will.

INVESTING A DECEASED FRIEND'S FUNDS

Every month the WORLD'S WORK *publishes in this part of the magazine an article on experiences with investments and lessons to be drawn therefrom.*

WHAT would you do if you suddenly found yourself empowered by a deceased friend's will to invest his estate in the interest of the widow and children, and if you were left without specific instructions in the will as to what method of investment to pursue?

This is a responsibility which men in every walk of life are continually being called upon to shoulder. It is among the gravest of all financial responsibilities, yet one all too frequently found to be underrated by those upon whom it is thrust.

In the correspondence of this department we have to deal regularly with cases where the welfare of dependent widows and orphans is seriously menaced by ill-devised schemes proposed by inexperienced and careless trustees or executors.

For example, a financial administrator living in a Middle Western state wrote, a short time ago, to ask about a certain concern of more or less prominence in his locality which was offering a small issue of collateral notes to yield nearly 8 per cent. on the investment. He said he had known the concern in a general way for some time, and that he had about made up his mind to use some estate money recently placed in his charge in the purchase of the notes, because they looked "like a good thing," the more so as their yield was considerably more than he could obtain on any securities handled by local bankers.

The reply to his first letter was in the nature of an effort to explain why the income basis on which the notes were offered would ordinarily be sufficient in itself to ear-mark the issuing corporation's credit as third or fourth rate at best; and to emphasize the necessity of learning, in any event, more about the underlying security than could be gleaned from the published description of the notes.

The man's second letter protested mildly against what he seemed to consider an over-cautious attitude, at the same time revealing the astonishing fact that it had never occurred to him to inform himself at all about the pledged securities behind the notes, which investigation had proved meanwhile to be of highly problematical value. This, he was frankly told, was a piece of culpable negligence that even under the rather vague statutes of his state would probably have made him personally liable for any loss which might have been sustained through an unfortunate turn of the investment.

But to guard against arousing resentment on his part he was told also that there was no exact and uniform line of conduct prescribed for the American trustee; and that, after all, the responsibility for the errors commonly made in situations like his rested in part upon those who would lean altogether upon the judgment of relatives or friends to manage their assets after death for the benefit of their dependents.

A little study of the laws or precedents governing trustee investments in the commonwealth in which his estate is "domiciled"—to use the legal term—would serve in most instances to convince the man about to make his will that in turning his assets over to an executor a certain amount of instruction ought to be given as to their use. Most of the state laws, where they are at all clearly defined on the subject, are open to one of two main criticisms. They are either so rigid as to make it impossible for an uninstructed executor to obtain for the beneficiaries an income adequate to ordinary requirements; or so lax as to make it

possible for him to take with more or less impunity the kind of risks in business enterprise that lead almost inevitably to losses and disappointments.

At one of these extremes, for instance, are the laws of those states which limit the securities in which executors and trustees are authorized to invest to the bonds of the United States and those of the commonwealths themselves. Funds thus invested would yield now a scant 4 per cent. income at best. And who would not look upon such a rate with contempt, especially in these times of mounting prices for practically everything the bond owner has to buy?

At the other extreme are the laws of those states which vaguely instruct executors that they are permitted to invest in any interest-bearing or dividend-paying securities that are regarded by prudent business men as safe investments. Such latitude, of course, opens up no end of income possibilities, but the records show that it is apt to be abused. At least it should be made clear that there is a wide difference between what is proper investment conduct for the "prudent business man," dealing with his own funds, and that of the same prudent man dealing, as trustee or executor, with funds belonging to some one else.

Between these two extremes are laws which, while aiming specifically to keep the uninstructed executor within the bounds of conservatism, leave him free to observe to some extent at least the scientific principles of investment distribution by means of which to obtain a reasonable rate of income along with adequate safety. The classic examples of such laws are found among the Eastern states, notably New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Connecticut, which may be said in general to confine the investments of trust funds to the same securities in which the savings banks of those states are authorized to invest. With qualifying provisions, on the whole too detailed to be mentioned here, these securities are, by classes: first mortgages on real estate, United States Government, state, and municipal bonds, mortgage bonds of the leading railroads, and as in Massachusetts, for example, selected utility bonds.

The laws of such well regulated states, most of which now provide, fortunately, for the official annual publication of lists of bonds conforming to their standards, may be taken as probably the safest guides for the inexperienced executor anxious to be true to his trust in all respects, no matter where he may reside. This is assuming, of course, that he is not bound by any of the more restrictive laws referred to, which happily are few.

A good distribution of a $10,000 estate under such general rules is:

	AMOUNT	INCOME
Cash in bank	$ 500	$ 20.00
First mortgages on farm land or improved city property	5,000	300.00
Steam railroad bonds .	1,500	71.25
Selected municipal bonds	1,500	71.25
Selected utility bonds .	1,500	75.00
		$537.50

It is encouraging to find a steady growth in the tendency among men to safeguard their estates against haphazard investment methods, not only by resorting to careful instruction in the framing of their wills, but also by providing for the administration of their estates by the so-called "modern trust company" method.

Experience has taught that the uncertain tenure of the life of the individual executor may frequently result in the serious complication of estate management, even in cases where competence has been of the highest order. Such situations the trust company's practically perpetual existence serves to avoid.

Add to that the fact that such institutions are organized with special facilities for giving just this kind of service, that they are subject to the constant supervision of state banking authorities, and that they are generally as willing to take charge of the relatively small estate as they are the large, and you have the explanation of how it has come about that along with their divers other activities they have, as a whole, undertaken the custody of estates valued at between seven and eight billions of dollars.

WHAT CAN A FAT MAN DO?

THE FIRST OF A SERIES OF PRACTICAL ARTICLES ON HEALTH

THE THEORY OF "EAT AND GROW THIN" IS HERE HALED BEFORE A JURY OF EXPERTS—TESTIMONY THAT IT "WORKS" IS ADMITTED, BUT CERTAIN DRAWBACKS ARE PROVEN—THE VERDICT IN EXPERT OPINION AND ADVICE

BY

CHARLES PHELPS CUSHING

[*Every time the* WORLD'S WORK *publishes an article like "Why Not Be Well?" (printed in the issue for March), the letters of inquiry for further information are so numerous that they indicate a widespread demand for practical facts about health. To meet this need, the Editors have undertaken to get and to publish a series of articles, of which this is the first, of sound advice about, and simple rules for the prevention of, the commoner ills, such as*

Fatness
Leanness
Nervousness
Biliousness
Insomnia
Dyspepsia
Typhoid
Pneumonia, etc.

BASEBALL and politics, preparedness and the war have of late encountered a new rival in the field of conversation. In homes and clubs, on suburban trains, in restaurants and tea rooms, in gymnasiums and tailor shops—wherever girth is a matter of concern and double chins occur, a topic of lively discussion is Eating to Grow Thin. Two years ago a little handbook on the subject appeared, with a preface by Vance Thompson; and one "Mahdah," who we may guess is Mrs. Thompson, furnished the treatise with a series of menus. It took a little time for the idea to gain currency, but to-day it has won wide recognition—for there is no denying the fact that *it works*. Walking testimonials, which range from a burlesque-house queen to an ex-President, greet you everywhere; and you have to look twice when you meet one of these remodeled bodies to make sure that your eyes are not deceiving you. The one point of contention is whether, when the Mahdah plan is rigidly followed, it may not do the weight reducer an injury.

This is one of the things I have been trying to find out in the course of an investigation into the difficulties of the fat man. As a reporter on an assignment—not as a health fanatic, a physiologist, a chemist, or an expert on foods—I have been interviewing eminent health specialists, physiologists, chemists, food experts, and a variety of ex-fat folks. Any one with facts furnished grist for the mill; and business offices, studios, editorial offices, laboratories, gymnasiums, and consultation rooms were called on for their quotas.

What can a fat man do? First of all, he can literally eat and grow thin. The Mahdah book is emphatic on the point that the reducer need not starve himself; he may dine well if he will—in the Thompsonian definition, dine "wisely." And here is the part of wisdom: certain foods make for fatness—quit eating them. Cut from your menus all the starchy and sugary dishes, oils, fats, pork, and alcoholic drinks. To make the prohibitions quite explicit, the author lists the following forbidden foods:

1st: Pork, ham, bacon, and the fat of any meat.

2d: Bread, biscuits, crackers, anything made of the flour of wheat, corn, rye, barley, oats, etc. Cereals and "breakfast foods" must never be eaten.

3d: Rice, macaroni, potatoes, corn, dried beans, lentils.

4th: Milk, cream, cheese, butter.

5th: Olive oils, or grease of any kind.

6th: Pies, cakes, puddings, pastries, custards.

7th: Iced creams, sirup-sweetened soda-water, etc.

8th: Candies, bonbons, sweets.

9th: Wines, beers, ales, spirits.

What is there left? "More than enough," replies the author, "to furnish an epicure's table." For breakfasts: fruit, fresh or stewed, coffee or tea without cream or milk, "sweetened, if desired, by crystallose or saccharine," and "twice a week boiled or poached eggs may be served." For luncheons and dinners: various selections, à la Mahdah, from a list "far longer than the list of forbidden things." You may eat of any kind of meat but pork, any kind of game, any kind of sea food, any kind of fruit but bananas or grapes, any kind of salad but one made of "forbidden" vegetables, any kind of meat jelly, any kind of green vegetable, and tomatoes, cucumbers, mushrooms, peppers, olives, celery, and pickles.

You are not to eat too much, even of these "lean" foods, and not to eat at all if you are not hungry; not to drink anything with your meals, even water; to eat no bread but gluten bread, toasted, "and this in moderation"; not to sleep too much, and not to take naps. Walk instead of taking a cab—but no particular stress is laid upon strenuousness in exercise. The reward: "Follow this system and you should lose twenty to twenty-five pounds in the first three months."

"Above all," writes Mahdah, in conclusion, "be cheerful. Try and 'see' yourself growing thin. Remember the mind exercises a powerful influence on the body. And do not forget that an indolent, indoor life—the breakfast-in-bed and afternoon-nap kind of life—slowly but surely increases flesh." Then, for the last word: "In addition to eating the right food try and lead the right life."

This is the theory in capsule form; and the book modestly disclaims that it has discovered anything new. Mr Thompson's readable preface enlivens the treatise with examples, one of them his own, and with some epigrams, of which this is characteristic: "To the scientist there is nothing so tragic on earth as the sight of a fat man eating a potato."

Possibly no one in America has had more experience in handling fat men who long to reduce than Dr. Louis R. Welzmiller, physical director of the West Side Y. M. C. A., New York City. To him I went first, having been told that he had reduced as much tallow as a soap-works. The West Side Y. M. C. A. is an eight-story citadel on the outskirts of New York's uptown skyscraper district; and the physical director's consultation room is a little office in a corner of one of the noisiest gymnasiums in the land—noisy with the shouts and laughter of business and professional men who live sedentary lives and come here to recuperate. Among the gym's clients are, of course, hundreds of fat men. Dr. Welzmiller has been on the job for more than twenty years, and never yet, he declares, has he found a fat man who could not be benefited.

FUNDAMENTAL CAUSES OF FATNESS

This expert's philosophy of fat is that unless there happens to be something amiss organically, a man is fat because he does the things a fat man does—sits around too much, eats too much (yes, and of foods which are fat producers!), sleeps too much, and loathes activity.

Dr. Welzmiller's heavyweights get no very vigorous exercise at the start, for he believes with Vance Thompson that the fat man is an ill man.

"The simplest kind of exercises at first; done in heavy clothes to stimulate perspiration and 'loosen up' the fat—a little twisting and turning, and, perhaps, gymnastic dancing. We don't put them to playing handball and such games until later. One reason is that many men have forgotten how to play, and some never knew how. This may surprise you, but it is a solemn fact."

I suggested to Dr. Welzmiller that thus far he had placed most of his emphasis upon activity (with a caution not to overeat) but had said little about choice of diet. How about these Mahdah menus? And does the Thompson system work?

"Yes," he answered, "it works. The

ıle with it is that it may produce too ı acid in the system and even acid ication—an unfortunate physical con- n which science calls "acidosis." Mr. npson and Mahdah cut from the bill e all the oils and fats and starches and s. The system needs some of these. fat man eats too much of them—true! e him cut down on them, but do not : the mistake of advising him to do out them entirely. Few of the Mah- 'olks follow the menus religiously, and just as well that they do not. As for mphasis on exercise, it needs no more ication than this: a normal state of is worth working to possess, and like things that are worth while it costs a effort."

DANGER OF ACIDOSIS

:. Welzmiller was only one of a ber of experts who pointed to the er of acidosis in the Thompson system. ınd them placing varying emphasis the amount of exercise necessary for n of sedentary habits, and disagreeing t the virtues of fasting, but all gave ically the same advice concerning the dah menus—that the idea was capital was not followed too closely. If you ıt, eat less of the starches and fats and nd sugars, they said, but do not try to vithout them.

ofessor Irving Fisher, of Yale, a alist in political economy and health ıches of knowledge which are far more y related than the average man is ' to suspect), is chairman of the hy- reference board of the Life Extension tute, which occupies a dignified big of offices and laboratories in an up- New York skyscraper building in -fifth Street near Fifth Avenue. Institute associates itself with no k" propagandas. Its business is to : physical examinations and to supply nation on health topics; and it fur- s these services to life insurance com- s for their policy-holders, to employers heir employees, to schools, and to e interested in keeping healthy.

e whole duty of the fat man, according ofessor Fisher, is to keep the proper ıce between the intake of food and the expenditure of energy; and unless overweight is due to disease, as in cases of dropsy, heart or kidney trouble, or disturbances of the thyroid or pituitary glands (which contain peculiar secretions affecting growth), overweight always means either too much food or too little exercise —or both. If you coal up with 500 calories (units of heat- or energy-producing matter in food) a day more than you require, the surplus is laid on in fat. "So it is evident that this matter of keeping weight down is merely a problem in simple arithmetic." The fat people store up a burden which menaces their health and becomes increasingly dangerous to them after the age of thirty-five. They become, in the eyes of insurance companies, highly undesirable risks.

Among many examples that Professor Fisher can cite to show how the commonsense theory works, one of the most interesting is that of the chairman of the board of directors of the Institute, Prof. William Howard Taft. A majority of newspaper readers, who have seen photographs of this distinguished citizen slashing at a golf ball, have a notion that he reduced his weight seventy-five pounds by working overtime on the links. Professor Taft himself gives this written testimony and practical advice:

HOW MR. TAFT LOST 75 POUNDS

"I have lost seventy-five pounds since the 4th of March, 1915. My diet has not been severe. I have not drunk a great deal of water, not more than a glass or two at my meals; I have given up bread and toast and all farinaceous food, all butter and fat, confined my meat to beef and mutton and fowl, and eschewed pork and veal, have omitted fat fish, like salmon, and have taken no sweets of any sort. You can eat all vegetables but potatoes, and fruit that has not too much sugar. You ought to take moderate exercise every day. I have tried to play a game of golf, or walk four or five miles each day. You ought not to lose too rapidly, because it is likely to injure the muscles of your heart if you do; and above all you ought to be examined by the best physician you can get. Don't get a quack. Have your physician ex-

amine you; then have him recommend a diet which, I think, will be similar to the one I suggest, if your constitution will stand it. You may have some organic trouble that would make it unwise to attempt such a diet. Don't do anything except under the observance of a physician, consulting him every ten days or two weeks. If he will allow you to pursue this diet, and you stick to it, I think you will reduce your flesh. . . . I do not smoke or drink intoxicating liquors."

Most men steadily gain in weight as they grow older. Professor Fisher and his colleagues hold that they should not; that they should keep their weight to about what it was when they were thirty. Dr. Eugene L. Fisk, director of hygiene of the Institute, testifies that he keeps his own weight where it ought to be (he is now forty-eight) and that he trusts he will scale the same at seventy; this, by diet chiefly, accompanied by a moderate amount of exercise.

MEETING THE PSEUDO-EXPERT

These experts, we may as well say now as later, are not formidable to meet. It is the pseudo-expert, the posers, the fellows with a "system" to exploit that daunt us. I am not stepping out of my rôle as a reporter to make this comment, for I learned the lesson in the course of preparing this article. I encountered several of these pseudo-experts after I talked with Dr. Welzmiller and before I discovered the Institute. One of them was a prize-fighter turned "health expert." He opened fire on me with a bombardment of technicality—vitamines and vitelline, proteins and proteids, metabolism, and hyperthyroidism—and had me gasping for air in half a minute. Never was living man so sure of his ground. He always said "carbohydrate" instead of starch and sugar, and I never could come to grips with him. Yet all I wanted to know (I was seeking "human interest") was whether his tendency to fat was the cause of his imminent downfall. I could not find out. The pseudo-expert's refuge is technicality and an air of mystery.

For a contrast turn to Dr. Fisk. He "sees no mystery in the matter of fat-fighting," cautions against the use of any drugs, and has a fine scorn for the gentlemen who try to make something baffling (and a fortune) out of patent "systems" of exercise. "The principles of exercise are simple and well known, or ought to be, to every one," he says. Moreover, he is opposed to much introspection, and the test to which he puts himself oftenest is the extremely simple one of stepping on a weight machine. If he finds himself overweight, he eats less fat-producing foods. If he is not hungry, or is not feeling well, he doesn't eat at all.

"LEARN THE VALUES OF FOODS"

With a twinkle in his eye he added: "Our wives are to blame sometimes for the protraction of our illnesses. They are prone to insist that we eat whether we ought to or not, for they feel that if we don't eat we're about to die. Stand firm!"

Then how about prolonged fasting?

"A little won't hurt," he replied, "but don't carry it far. No sleep that we can produce in the laboratory is so nearly deathlike as the bear's hibernation, and the fasting, active business man is not to be likened to a hibernating bear. The fat man can take off weight by fasting, but what assurance has he that he is reducing only the fat? What is happening to the rest of his body? To his protoplasm and to the cells of his muscles and organs? No. fasting is not the secret, for there isn't any. Just learn the values of foods and eat of them in proportion to your activity. There is nothing more to say. Then men with 'systems' of exercise, fakirs with patent medicines, and all the massagers and boilers and bakers won't prey upon our purses.

"But aren't we a great people for secrets and novelties! Fat folks seeking secret cures, publishers searching for something new to boom circulation figures, theatrical producers thirsting for novelties to pack their houses! And all that the fat folks need is some common-sense information. All that the publishers need are good stories, good pictures, good articles; and all that the theatres need is drama that holds our interest. Every once in a while

Picture on left copyrighted by Harris & Ewing

THE RESULT OF PROPER DIETING

esident Taft, by living on a diet which excluded farinaceous foods, alcohol, and sweets, and by moderate exercises, succeeded in reducing his weight by seventy-five pounds in ten months

REDUCING BY EXERCISE

l opera singers have a tendency toward obesity. Mme. Fremstad, the well known operatic star, endeavors to overcome this by hard manual labor on her farm

we hear a great to-do about a theatrical novelty. The play is booked weeks in advance. When we finally get in we find that it is a success simply because it is a first-class play."

No need to undergo any form of torture to reduce, the argument continued; it is all a matter of common sense in eating and exercise. For a sedentary man of average size and activity 2,500 calories of food a day is sufficient. After one learns the food values of what he eats, and knows, for one example (as Professor Graham Lusk has pointed out), that a dime's worth of sugar would furnish the same amount of energy in calories as $9 worth of lettuce and tomato salad, he has only to apply simple arithmetic to the problem. A walk of three or four miles a day, simple setting-up exercises, for which no apparatus is required, or swimming, golf, hill-climbing, and the like will do the rest. He need not labor like a wood-cutter, nor will he be wise to eat like one.

Dr. Fisk proposes this common-sense compromise on the Mahdah plan:

"The fat man who usually takes three lumps of sugar in his coffee should cut down to one; should eat one slice of bread instead of two, and spread the butter thin —and so forth."

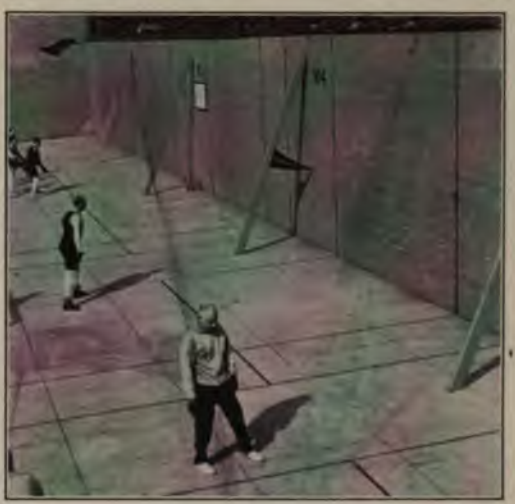
He smiled at Mr. Thompson's epigram on the "tragedy" of a fat man eating a potato.

"No more heat calories in a potato than in one and a half lumps of sugar. It ap-

THROWING THE MEDICINE BALL

Many physicians are agreed that the endeavor to reduce weight by violent exercise does more harm than good. *Moderate exercise in* conjunction with a proper diet is the best flesh-reducing treatment

pears more formidable only because it is larger. But do not misunderstand me," he hastened to add. "The idea of regulating weight by diet—accompanied, of course, with a certain amount of exercise—is the only rational one. And I don't lay the weight of emphasis on exercise. Modern human beings, living the sedentary lives that most of us do, cannot be expected to exert ourselves like cave men."



I told the doctor about one of the ex-fat men I had interviewed, a business man who had reduced his weight from 300 pounds to 200 by heroic measures—kicking a medicine ball 300 times every morning, 300 times every evening, month after month, and violent handball, but eating pretty much what he pleased.

"No need for such violence," he commented. "If he had used a little wisdom in selecting his foods, he could have spared himself half the labor."

Professor Graham Lusk, of Cornell Medical College, who has been mentioned above as an authority on food values, is another real scientist. He works in a daunting setting of white-coated students, test tubes, and medical books, but his earnest endeavor is not to make information formidable, but to bring it home to us. He is not lacking in humor himself, as so many of the pseudo-experts are, but he finds plenty of reason to believe that the American sense of humor is a fearfully costly luxury when it enjoys itself at the "expense" of experts who offer to furnish

PLAYING HANDBALL

By indulging in exercises such as playing handball and throwing the medicine ball, which, while causing copious perspiration, *do not strain* the muscles of the heart, superfluous fat may be removed.

TRADES AND OBESITY

The policeman, because he does not ordinarily have to exercise much, has a greater tendency to become fat than the postman, who, burdened by the weight of his sack of mail, has to walk several miles a day in the performance of his duty

information about foods. "Even among educated persons," he writes in a little book on nutrition, "one may hear the grossest errors of judgment regarding the nutritive value of a hen's egg, and few of those who eat in restaurants realize that the greater quota of nourishment which is brought to them lies not in the specific dish served but in the bread and butter which ostensibly is presented as a gift."

(This was written before the day when many of the big hotels began charging ten cents for this gift.)

If Professor Lusk had his way, he would, wherever possible, have the number of nutritional calories of our foods advertised. Why? Because we spend our millions for food quite blindly. For example, how many economical housewives would, if they knew the food value of what they were buying, make so bad an investment as the purchase of a can of tomatoes, which in nutrition is "little else than flavored water"? As a nation we thus waste millions of dollars a year by not knowing nutritional value of the foods that we buy.

I am taking no chances of misquotation in what follows. In Professor Lusk's own words, addressed recently to

the American Medical Association:

. . . That great class of human beings whose business it is to sit at their desks or to watch machinery, and who may walk to and from their work, require 2,500 calories. In their class are included writers, draughtsmen, tailors, physicians, and other professional men, clerks, accountants, etc. Mental effort is accomplished without any increase in the quantity of energy required.

Individuals who stand at their work, such as bakers, dentists, car conductors, decorators, and glass workers, require about 3,000 calories. If muscular labor be constant, more is required. Thus carpenters making tables and painters painting furniture require 3,300 calories. Farmers require 3,500 calories, stone masons, 4,500, lumbermen, 5,000 and over a day, and a man riding in a bicycle race during twenty-three hours requires 10,000 calories.

STANDING LABOR

People who stand up at their work, such as conductors, bakers, and dentists, need foods that will supply 3,000 calories of energy a day

With this information at hand it is no difficult feat to prove against the fat man (and a great many of the rest of us!) a charge of overeating. One of Professor Lusk's colleagues, Mr. F. C. Gephart, has made the "problem in simple arithmetic" easy by compiling a reference table of the food values of dishes

MENTAL LABOR

The human body requires certain amounts of units of energy, called calories, to function properly. The average business man (including doctors, lawyers, clerks, bankers, and accountants) requires 2,500 calories a day

MUSCULAR LABOR

For men whose muscular labor is constant, such as carpenters and house painters, 3,300 calories are needed to perform the day's work fittingly

CONSTANT ENERGY

The stone-cutter must have a large share of energy to wield a hammer and chisel all day, and he needs about 4,500 calories

served in Childs's Restaurants. What is a typical business man's menu when he eats all three meals at a restaurant? Perhaps it is something like this:

Breakfast: Grape fruit, two soft boiled eggs, buttered toast, and coffee, with cream and sugar. Luncheon: Ham sandwich and a glass of milk. Dinner: Soup, small steak and fried potatoes, bread and butter, apple pie, and a cup of coffee.

Set down, in round numbers, the nutritional calories that this totals and you will find that our typical business man is consuming more than enough food to nourish him. (See the table on facing page.)

Dr. Lusk smiled when Mr. Thompson's epigram about the fat man eating a potato was quoted to him, but he failed to see the "tragedy" mentioned. Potatoes, the doctor observed, are useful, on account of the salts they contain, in dissolving and eliminating uric acid from the system, and to cut them from the menu is an absurd fad. To strike out all the dishes which include starches and sugars, oils and fats is, he said, equally absurd; the value of these foods is that

OUTDOOR LABOR

A man who works hard all day in the open air uses more energy than an indoor worker. Consequently farmers need 3,500 calories

NAME OF FOOD	NUTRITIONAL CALORIES [IN ROUND NUMBERS]	COST [AT CHILDS'S]
Grape fruit	75	$ .10
Two boiled eggs (with toast and butter) .	365	.15
Coffee (with cream and sugar)	195	.05
	635	.30
Ham sandwich . . .	200	.05
Glass of milk . . .	145	.05
	345	.10
Vegetable soup . . .	195	.10
Small steak (with potatoes, bread, and butter)	965	.35
Apple pie.	335	.05
Coffee (with cream and sugar)	195	.05
	1,690	.55
Total	2,670	$0.95

INTENSE ENERGY

The trade of the wood-cutter is of the most exacting nature. The lumberjack works outdoors strenuously and must have all of 5,000 calories

THE MOST STRENUOUS EXERCISE OF ALL

A man riding in a six-day bicycle race, with long hours of riding, irregular, hastily-eaten meals, and snatches of sleep, needs approximately 10,000 calories, double the amount of energy required by even the lumberjack

of fuel; "they are oxidized in the body and keep the body warm, and when work is accomplished they furnish the energy with which to perform it." Rather than attempt to quote from memory, here is set down next what Dr. Lusk has written on the advantage of taking a diet which includes a mixture of carbohydrates (starch and sugar) and fats. It "lies in the fact that the intestine is not called to excessive effort in caring for the digestion and absorption of a large quantity of a single food material, and that equivalent amounts of fat are less bulky than carbohydrates."

Like the other authorities I consulted, Dr. Lusk advised the fat man to eat less of the starches and sugars and fats and oils, but not to attempt to live without them. And like several others he *pointed out* that Mahdah menus are *rather costly purchases.* They are likely to prove far more popular in Fifth Avenue tea rooms and luxurious hotels than in the side-street restaurants.

"I would be the last to deny," he concluded, "that the Mahdah menu works, for my old master in Munich knew it fifty years ago. And he knew another thing," the doctor added, with a chuckle —"that when the fat man reduces too swiftly and by methods which are not what we describe as 'common sense,' he loses good humor as fast as he loses weight, and his family and his friends are always relieved to see him fleshing up again. I advise exercise and a compromise on the diet by which one may, truly, eat and grow thin."

This is the consensus of opinion, apparently, among the experts. The near-experts laid greater stress on their various hobbies and sources of income—drugs, long fasts, massage, patent systems of exercise, and the like—or were reticent.

THE CASE OF JOSEPHUS DANIELS

THE PERFECT FRUIT OF THE BRYAN THEORIES OF POLITICS AND ETHICS—"DEMOCRACY," PERSONAL MORALITY, GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP, AND PUBLIC EDUCATION AS SUBSTITUTES FOR DISCIPLINE, NEW BATTLESHIPS, AND THE FIGHTING SPIRIT

BY

BURTON J. HENDRICK

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THE presence of Josephus Daniels in President Wilson's Cabinet has reached the proportions of a political issue. When Mr. Wilson's administration began, everybody was asking this question: Who will be its Ballinger? That the genial and personally inoffensive gentleman from North Carolina would ever occupy this position occurred to hardly a soul. But fate evidently had this unfortunate preeminence in store for him. Nearly all our leading organs of public opinion are daily holding Mr. Daniels up to ridicule and demanding his elimination. Magazine articles denouncing his administration have become a commonplace. These articles are usually accompanied by a certain photograph—herewith reproduced for completeness—exhibiting Mr. Daniels with his hands affectionately imposed upon the

MASTER AND PUPIL

Josephus Daniels is the finished product of the Bryan policy. He has regarded his office as Secretary of the Navy *as an experimental* laboratory for trying out Mr. Bryan's ideas

shoulders of an enlisted man and a petty officer, and another illustrating the First Sea Lord, clad in not over-elegant civilian garments, with his head surmounted by an officer's cap. The accompanying text usually tells how Mr. Daniels has abolished rum on shipboard, how he has demoralized the Navy by attempting to establish social equality between bluejackets and their officers, and how he has permitted the Navy to deteriorate in its personnel, its equipment, and its efficiency. The conclusion is that anything in the nature of naval preparedness must have, as its essential preliminary, Mr. Daniels's retirement as the Navy's head. What is the truth in all these charges?

It is useless to consider Mr. Daniels as a personal entity; we must estimate him *in connection with his* training, his environment, his political associations. When Mr. Wilson assumed the Presidency, he was faced with a condition not unusual in parliamentary countries, but not common here. In 1896, an earthquake had struck the Democratic Party, splitting it in two parts. For sixteen years these two sections had revolved in separate orbits. Mr. William Jennings Bryan, who had produced the original disunion, led one of these factions; the second faction can hardly be said to have had any leader at all. For sixteen years there had thus been two types of Democrat—the Bryan Democrat and the other kind. These two wings abhorred each other. For the first time since 1896, however, they succeeded, in 1912, in uniting cordially on Mr. Wilson as a Presidential candidate. Thus Mr. Wilson, on his inauguration, had at his back a

OUR SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

"The most thankful day of my service as Secretary of the Navy," said Mr. Daniels, "was the day when the House Committee on Naval Affairs in Congress decided to increase the number of chaplains from twenty-four to fifty-two"

reunited Democratic Party. Only in co-operation with this party could he accomplish the great legislative programme for the realization of which, as he interpreted the popular will, he had been placed in power. It was clearly Mr. Wilson's duty, as a political tactician and party leader, to hold this majority intact. To have ignored either wing would have split his party in two and made the Administration a failure at the start. His Cabinet, therefore, represented what would be styled abroad a "coalition ministry." It recognized both the Bryan element and the more conservative forces. Mr. Bryan himself became Secretary of State, not because he was a great diplomatist or because he strengthened the Administration with any ability or dignity, but because he had a following *in the party of* several million voters who would have been mortally offended had he been ignored. Mr. Wilson placed him in the Secretary of State's office, not to negotiate with Germany or to uphold American rights on the high seas, but to conciliate that element in the public and in Congress whose coöperation was necessary to pass the Federal Reserve law and the Underwood tariff. And there can be no question that his appointment, made when the present world convulsion was unforeseen, and the difficulties in which it would involve us not faintly understood, was a wise one.

VISITING A BATTLESHIP

Mr. Daniels's failure has consisted in the fact that he works for the fighting fleet only from popular pressure. He has to be nagged constantly in order to get him to descend from ideals to realities in the performance of the duties of his office

The same Cabinet list that contained the name of Mr. Bryan contained that of Mr. Josephus Daniels. And for precisely the same reason. People deeply versed in the politics of the preceding decade had occasionally met with Mr. Daniels; his

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ON THE BRIDGE

The fundamental trouble with the Secretary is that in the three years of his administration he has shown little interest in the Navy as a fighting force

was one of those names that is sprinkled in the general news, conveying no meaning and never magnifying into a well defined personality. The minutely informed knew that he was the Democratic committeeman from North Carolina; but such functionaries seldom become part of the popular consciousness. The biographical paragraph printed when he was appointed said that Mr. Daniels was born in Washington, N. C., in 1862, that he had been educated at the Wilson Collegiate Institute, that he had been a newspaper editor at Raleigh for nearly thirty years, that he had served as state printer, had attended Democratic conventions—and so on. Certainly there was nothing in all this that was redolent of the salt sea. But Mr. Wilson did not expect Mr. Daniels to be a Von Tirpitz any more than he expected Mr. Bryan to be a Disraeli. He had one qualification—he was a Bryan Democrat. Party solidarity demanded a good Bryan representation in the Cabinet; hundreds of Bryan Democrats could have filled the bill quite as well as Mr. Daniels; but circumstances hit upon the North Carolina journalist. Most people believe that Mr.

SECRETARY DANIELS AND HIS ADVISORY COUNCIL

This council replaces the aid system established by the former Secretary of the Navy, George von L. *Meyer. So far Mr.* Daniels has refused to advocate a general staff

himself dictated the selection, but int is not important.

thing we can say of Mr. Daniels omplete assurance: he was—and is ndiluted Bryan man. For twenty Bryan has been the god of his y. If we catalogue the several es" that have become the woof of ryan's political philosophy, we shall lso the substance of Mr. Daniels's And this point has the greatest ance, for it completely explains aniels's career as a sea dog.

Bryan conception consists now of well identified ideas. Mr. Bryan his campaign, in 1896, by arraying masses against the classes"—such e phrase that constantly filled his . When he left Nebraska for his -making tour in the East, he an- d that he was "about to enter the 's country." The poor man, the nt man, the workman who toiled Mr. Bryan's eyes, a person vastly r to the denizen of what he called lasses"; likewise the agriculturist rthy of far more consideration than y dweller. Real democracy insists Americans occupy the same level;

AT A LAUNCHING

Though Congress authorized two battleships a year ago Mr. Daniels has held up work on them until Government yards could be cleared to build them

THE NAVAL CONSULTING BOARD OF CIVILIANS

business it is to bring all the *resources of* modern science to the improvement of the Navy. The *creation of this board is* a real contribution to an effective Navy

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REAR-ADMIRAL FISKE AND THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

The former has a world reputation as a naval officer. He resigned as Aid for Operations because he disagreed with Mr. Daniels on "preparedness." It will take five years or more to make our Navy efficient, he says

COMING ABOARD

"There is nothing the matter with our Navy," says the Secretary; "there is nothing the matter *with our discipline; there is nothing* the matter with our splendid personnel: there is a great deal the matter *with the public viewpoint"*

FROM ADMIRING FRIENDS

Personal amiability is one of Mr. Daniels's most attractive characteristics and has won him many admirers, who are continually sending him tokens — from 'possums to watermelons — of their esteem

TALKING FOR PUBLICATION

"My great ambition is to make the Navy a great university with college extension . . . Every ship *should be a school* and every officer should be a schoolmaster"

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L'ENTENTE CORDIALE

Mr. Daniels's determination to make the Navy a "democracy" and to make officers and jackies social equals chiefly accounts for his unpopularity with both

Bryan democracy showed a decided preference for the "masses." "Democracy," "democratization," and other similar words have largely figured in recent political discussion, in many cases standing for ideas that represent genuine progress. But, along with this Bryan conception of "masses" and "classes," other notions, originating in the same school, have gained great prominence. One is pacifism: the

idea that armament of any kind is an evil, that war under practically all circumstances is the greatest national crime. Mr. Bryan also stands for anti-imperialism, meaning the holding of the Philippines until their people are ripe for independence. He has added prohibition to his political armory. Government ownership has been part of his programme. He has a great detestation of corporations and wealth; anything that savors of a trust, even a "good trust," is anathema. Mr. Bryan is also extremely moral, in the conventional sense, and he is also religious. In a personal way, Mr. Bryan is honest, though it is impossible to say that the man who once publicly acclaimed and fraternized with Tammany Hall and who wrote the "deserving Democrat" letter has a high conception of political integrity.

DANIELS A REFLECTION OF BRYAN

Mr. Daniels, in all these respects, is a perfect reflection of Mr. Bryan. In sketching Mr. Bryan's political portrait I have sketched Mr. Daniels's also. What makes his official career an amazing study is that he has attempted to introduce all these Bryan ideas into the American Navy. He has never regarded the Navy as a fighting machine; he has looked upon it as an experimental laboratory in which to try out his ideas of social equality—of "democracy," prohibition, pacifism, government ownership, antagonism to wealth, trust-busting, personal morality, and religious revivalism. In the last three years Mr. Daniels has been fighting the campaign of 1896 over again; our Navy policy under his guidance has included nearly every Bryan doctrine except the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen parts of silver to one of gold.

Now democracy, trust-busting, social equality, education, peace, government ownership and operation, and a single standard of morality are all important questions. Primarily, however, the American Navy does not exist for the purpose of promoting them. The Navy fulfils that end set forth in the preamble to the Federal Constitution, which says that the Union is formed, among other things, "to provide for the common defense." That is the only purpose for which we have dreadnaughts, destroyers, and submarines. If their guns and torpedoes are not made to shoot, and shoot to kill, we ought not to make them of steel, but of papier mâché. We may properly debate whether we are to have a Navy or not; there can be no question, however, that, if we are to have one, it should be an efficient fighting machine. And the maintenance of fighting efficiency means much more to-day than it meant a hundred years ago. We have passed the day when navies can be improvised, or even when a neglected fleet can be hurriedly made ready for action; money spent on a navy is wasted unless that navy is constantly kept in condition where it is ready to go to war at a moment's notice. These facts are fundamental; it seems rather absurd to insist upon them. But Mr. Daniels has not grasped this primary truth. Therein consists his failure as Secretary. The Navy as a fighting machine has not aroused his interest; in his eyes the Navy has not visualized itself as ships, men, reserves, ammunition, organization, general staff, and target practice.

MR. DANIELS'S "GREAT AMBITION"

We need not accept the gossip freely circulated in the Navy to demonstrate this fact; Mr. Daniels himself, in numerous speeches and reports, has made his position clear. What, for example, is his ambition as Secretary of the Navy? "My great ambition," he says, "is to make the Navy a great university with college extension, high school extension, and primary extension, all on board ship . . . . Every ship should be a school and every officer should be a schoolmaster." Now, what other Secretary have we ever had whose "great ambition" it was to transform the American Navy into a floating university, with primary, preparatory, and university courses? This is no chance inspiration; the idea is almost a pathological obsession; Mr. Daniels continually harps upon it. Most people, for example, think that the greatest present lack in the Navy is the absence of battle cruisers, scouts, sea-going submarines, and an adequate personnel. Not so Mr. Daniels. "The chief lack in the American Navy to-day,"

he says, "is a systematic and proper instruction of the young men who respond to our calls to enlist in the service and who man our ships." Apparently the failure of our gunners to shoot straight shocks Mr. Daniels less than their frequent failure to spell correctly or their faulty penmanship and grammar. In his three years' administration, what is Mr. Daniels's achievement toward which he looks back with satisfaction? In an address before the Naval War College at Newport—of all the places in the world—he recorded himself on this point: "The most thankful day of my service as Secretary of the Navy," he said, "was the day when the House Committee on Naval Affairs in Congress decided to increase the number of chaplains from twenty-four to fifty-two."

HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD THE NAVY

I quote these official statements, not to show disrespect to education, still less to religion, but merely to indicate Mr. Daniels's attitude toward his job. For his main difficulty is this one of attitude. He entered on his duties as civilian head at a critical time. His detractors usually compare the Daniels administration with the administrations of his predecessors; they seek to convey the idea that he inherited an efficient navy and has permitted it to go to seed. This comparison is absurd. Mr. Daniels usually defends himself by showing that we have a stronger fleet than under President Taft; this defense, while the particular point made is true enough, has no bearing on the case. Let us disabuse our minds of the idea that the Navy, under Mr. Daniels, has gone to pieces. It was in wretched condition when he entered the Navy office. That failure for which Mr. Daniels has been most criticized, for example, the cessation of target practice, is chargeable, not to the North Carolinian, but to Secretary Meyer. Our gunners, poor as their shooting is now, do somewhat better than they did four years ago. It was under Taft, not under Wilson, that the Navy dropped from second to third place.

In 1910, President Taft was present at an ostentatious review at New York, *making a flamboyant speech, in which he congratulated the Nation* on having its fleet "instantly ready" to meet the enemy. Captain Sims referred to this demonstration in his recent testimony before the House Naval Committee. "There was not a man or an officer or a mess attendant," he said, "who did not know that this was a perfectly fake mobilization." Several of the reserve ships had a speed trial in the harbor; according to the statement of Captain Sims, "they broke down in all directions." President Taft's speech merely represents the kind of stuff that had been ladled out to us for years. There has hardly been a time, since 1860, when our Navy has not been politician-ridden.

OUR INADEQUATE NAVY

The organization which Mr. Daniels inherited lacked all the essentials of an efficient fighting fleet. A Navy, to perform its purpose in the world, must have naval bases; we had not a single one three years ago and haven't any now. A navy should have a general staff—a centralized organization head whose business it is to keep the fleet in constant readiness for war. The American Navy has never had such a head. It needs men to man its ships; under President Taft we had the dangerous custom, which Mr. Daniels has continued, of having a considerable proportion of our fleet tied up, rotting at the wharves, because Congress had refused to provide an adequate force. We had only a handful of dreadnaughts—the ships that ultimately decide the issue of any struggle; not a single battle cruiser, which have won the only important sea engagements fought in the present war. We had only a few submarines, many of which, as subsequent events have disclosed, will not "sub." In other auxiliary vessels needed to make up a well-rounded fleet—scout cruisers, destroyers, hospital ships—our Navy was ridiculously inadequate. We simply had no balanced fighting force—that is the unpleasant truth; our Navy was an indiscriminate collection of war vessels, some of which were excellent examples of marine architecture, but most of which were antiquated and of little fighting value, in so far as the first line of battle was concerned. The Taft Administration had done little for the Navy; its building programmes, as they were presented

ngress, showed little comprehension naval needs.

Daniels's position, however, differs y from that of his predecessors. lives were passed in comparatively times. Neither they, nor the Ameri- eople, had had the startling illustra- f the significance of a fighting fleet re all have gained from the European They did not constantly face the ility that the United States might self at war with the second naval and st military Power in the world. No ndous popular sentiment, alarmed peril in which the Nation suddenly itself, demanded adequate protec- Mr. Daniels's crime is not that he t an efficient Navy deteriorate; it is with our defenseless condition ex- in all its nakedness, with the threat earful war hanging over our heads, n aroused public sentiment demand- stant action and entirely willing to e cost, he sits back, his face bathed in tual sunshine, and, like another Mark y, tells us all what a fine Navy we gives out misleading information ning its condition, cuts to the quick commendations for its improvement by his experienced advisers, post- the building of ships which are al- authorized, wastes his time fussing armor-plate factories and Govern- shipbuilding plants, and goes before ess, not to advocate a Navy com- rate with our needs, but to persuade ugust body to do about as little as sibly can toward satisfying the pop- clamor."

"HOLDING CONGRESS DOWN"

s the chief grievance against Mr. ls is not that he is a positive in- e for evil, but that he is not an aggres- rce for good. It is not so much that he Navy's enemy; it is that he is not avy's friend. He acts only when a al sensation explodes—and then acts s little as he thinks will keep the quiet. Mr. Daniels can even point ellent things he has done; but he has done them under pressure, as a of constant nagging. Take, for ex- , his building *programmes; his* main effort has been invariably not to get as many ships as he can, but to get as few. Former secretaries have scandalized Congress by asking for more than the legislative body has had any inclination to grant. To ask for more than the Department expected to get, in full consciousness that Congress would use the pruning knife, has become a sanctified custom. But the Daniels administration has reversed this process. Mr. Daniels usually asks for fewer ships than Congress has been willing to vote. He has made his regular appearance before the Committee, given so-and-so as the Department's needs; then Congress has given him more ships and more money than he has requested. The legislative branch has not had to hold Mr. Daniels down; Mr. Daniels has tried to hold Congress down. Thus, in 1913, he submitted estimates asking for fourteen ships. Congress replied by giving him eighteen. He had asked for only three submarines, but the legislative department insisted on voting nine. In 1914—several months after the European war had opened —Mr. Daniels's new building programme included eighteen vessels. Congress responded by providing for twenty-seven! Instead of the eight submarines Mr. Daniels regarded as sufficient—and this after the Germans had shown their value—Congress insisted on having eighteen.

A FUNDAMENTAL DEFECT

He shows this same attitude at every opportunity. He does not spend his time trying to do needed things, but is constantly looking for excuses for not doing them. The Navy at present is distracted over the lack of men. "You can't get them," replies Mr. Daniels, "they won't enlist." Obviously we cannot get them unless we try—and Mr. Daniels refuses to try. The General Board insists on seven capital ships this year. "Where are you going to get the money?" asks Mr. Daniels. When confronted with the Nation's great financial resources, he answers that our shipyards are so occupied with work that none in the Government's interest will be accepted. There you have the man—always pulling in the other direction, constantly heaping up obstacles, instead of

enthusiastically putting his shoulder to the wheel to redeem a bad situation. It is all, as I have said, a matter of attitude; a lack of interest in the Navy as a fighting force.

All Mr. Daniels's enthusiasms indicate this same fundamental defect. His first official report elaborately portrays his conception of American naval prowess. He devotes one hurried paragraph to new construction—two battleships, eight destroyers, and three submarines; he then discusses in great detail the real needs of the Navy. Mr. Bryan himself might easily have penned the document. It is a plea for "democratization"—for more cordial relations between enlisted men and Annapolis graduates; for education, academic and vocational. It denounces the Steel Trust, the Standard Oil Company, and all people who profit from the manufacture of munitions. It calls upon our Government to summon an international conference for the limitation of armaments, demands the construction of a Government armor plant, and announces Mr. Daniels's intention to make our navy yards great shipbuilding establishments. But the pressing needs of the fighting Navy receive practically no attention from the Secretary.

MR. DANIELS VS. THE GENERAL BOARD

An episode that preceded the presentation of one of his annual reports showed this same disinclination to regard the Navy as a matter of ships, men, and gunpowder. The General Board, in its annual report, had requested 19,000 new men. According to Admiral Knight, two thirds of the trouble with the Navy is accounted for by its numerically inadequate personnel. Congress goes on, year after year, building new ships, but making no provision for crews to man them; as each new dreadnaught is commissioned, the Navy provides its crews by stripping older vessels of their men, and placing these older vessels, most of which have value for fighting purposes, in reserve. But Mr. Daniels would not listen to this appeal. He ordered the General Board to excise that recommendation from its report; he informed them that he would not permit its publication until this change was made. *The aspect of Mr. Daniels*, a man who had spent the larger part of his life in crossroads politics and provincial journalism, ordering such men as Dewey, Fiske, Badger, and Knight to rewrite their report is one that arouses little enthusiasm in patriotic Americans. This episode has figured much in general discussions of Mr. Daniels's career; he has himself denied it or pleaded a faulty memory; any one who will take the trouble to read Admiral Badger's recent testimony before the House Committee will find that the proceeding is a historic fact.

Instead of listening to advisers like these "naval statesmen," to use Mr. Daniels's own expression, he started gaily riding his several hobby-horses. Whenever the Secretary boarded a battleship, he usually hurried past the officers and made for the headquarters of the enlisted men.

"How do your officers treat you?" he would ask.

"All right," the men would answer.

"That's good. But if they don't, you come straight to me!"

COMPULSORY INSTRUCTION

Mr. Daniels apparently had an obsession that American naval officers were abusing their subordinates. His implication was an insult that made practically every officer in the Navy his enemy. His suggestion that the men rush to him with their complaints meant, of course, the impossibility of maintaining discipline on shipboard. But this was "democratization"; it was Bryanism let loose in the Navy. The officers were "classes"; the men were "masses." Acting on the same idea Mr. Daniels at once began the intellectual improvement of the bluejackets. It was his sacred job, he thought, to remedy their deficiencies of education. For years the enlisted man had had the opportunity to study in the Navy; the only change that Mr. Daniels introduced was to make this instruction "compulsory." Thus for a certain period every day the melancholy jackies—many of whom had enlisted for the express purpose of leaving school—were lined up for spelling bees, for lessons in "jogafy" and long division. The officers, in one unanimous chorus, complained that this instruction interfered

sential lessons in gun pointing, range ; and other brutal details of practical e; but to no purpose. Similarly, aniels began establishing vocational ;. The Navy found its real occupa- he thought, in teaching sailors raphy, bookkeeping, carpentry, ing, blacksmithing, electrical en- ng, and other trades that would useful when they returned to civil Mr. Daniels also informed the en- men that each one "carried an l's star in his ditty box." Such was of saying that he purposed to make ible for every worthy bluejacket to the ranks, and even to reach the : command. The Nation applauded reform," and properly. The idea ed to every one's Americanism.

NEW OLD "REFORMS"

only mistake we made was in ig that Mr. Daniels's proposition was ing new. But it was not new at all. l Vreeland, one of the best of our ficers, started his career as a blue- and nearly every ship contains who have risen from the ranks. The l long provided that six enlisted men could be admitted to Annapolis; Ir. Daniels did—and he is entitled to for doing it—was to increase this r to fifteen. Only eight men quali- st year; therefore, the quota stip- long before Mr. Daniels's time had ntly worked little injustice. Still, rease was an excellent thing; the riticism is that Mr. Daniels's ex- int manner of talking has conveyed ression that, in accordance with his of "democratization," he had burst id of caste that had for years con- ie ambitions of the bluejacket to the tle.

democratization policy angered the , because it tended to destroy ne and interfered with the training ien in seamanship. But the saddest ntary on this "reform" has been ed by the men themselves. They eenly resented Mr. Daniels's med- ness. An episode on board one of tleships that was stationed at Vera lisclosed not *only Mr. Daniels's* unpopularity but the demoralization that has resulted from his stewardship. In the course of an entertainment one evening, Mr. Daniels's picture was thrown on the screen. The enlisted men heartily hissed it. The Navy has known no such shocking episode as this in recent years.

HIS PLAN FOR GOVERNMENT SHIPYARDS

So much for "democracy"; how about Mr. Daniels's trust-busting campaign? Here again the genius of Mr. Bryan overshadows the Navy. Mr. Daniels immediately took the position that profit-making on war materials was a crime. The munition-traffickers must be scourged out of the Navy. The Government spent, say, $75,000,000 on new construction a year—battleships, destroyers, submarines, auxiliary vessels. Why should private shipbuilders do this work? Why should not the Government do the work itself? The question, as Mr. Daniels saw it, jumping fresh from the stump into the Secretary's chair, was exceedingly simple. He saw that the Government owned seven or eight "first class" navy yards. Only one —that at New York—had the equipment for building a capital ship. How simple! Just spend a few million dollars on the rest; Uncle Sam would then have at least half a dozen fine shipbuilding yards, and could do all his own work. A splendid experiment in Government ownership, the very thing Mr. Bryan and his party had been preaching for years! However, had Mr. Daniels investigated a little further, he would have had additional light. These so-called navy yards, he would have discovered, were a standing reproach to American political institutions. They are monuments to that kind of political graft which has become familiarly known as "pork." Their chief purpose is to serve as a medium for distributing federal money in Congressional and Senatorial districts. Far from improving our naval efficiency, these yards are a standing menace to naval efficiency. It is necessary only to say that only one—that at Puget Sound—has a channel deep enough to admit our first-class ships at all times, to show the great crime we are daily committing in retaining them. The enlightened admirals of the Navy have many

times attempted to persuade Congress to close the navy yards and build two or three real naval bases, but unsuccessfully. The question was acute when Mr. Daniels came in. Mr. Secretary Meyer had raised the issue in his reports and had closed two of the most worthless naval stations, those at New Orleans and Pensacola. When Mr. Daniels entered office, he found awaiting him a recently completed report of the Joint Army and Naval Board—a body which comprises the greatest strategists in both services—which exhaustively treated the navy yard situation, recommended that nearly all the existing stations be closed, and that five great naval bases, three on the Atlantic and two on the Pacific, be established. Instead of adopting this expert advice, Mr. Daniels called upon Congress to spend more millions on these useless stations and make each one a shipbuilding yard.

DELAY IN BUILDING AUTHORIZED SHIPS

This navy yard outrage is a long-standing one; I do not purpose to go into all the malodorous details again. Mr. Daniels has simply made it worse than before. He has Bryanized this department of naval affairs as all the others. Let us consider how his fondness for these outworn naval stations has affected our naval efficiency at this critical period. For the last two years navy men, the public, and the newspapers have been crying for more ships. We must have ships; the earlier we can get them the better. Congress, in the early part of 1915—a year and a half ago—authorized the construction of two superdreadnaughts. These vessels, according to the plans, will be about the most powerful warships afloat. Added to the Navy now, or a year from now, they would enormously increase its fighting strength. But Mr. Daniels has not yet begun building them; only within a few weeks has he awarded the contracts. Had these ships been placed in the hands of a private builder and made an emergency order—and the country's critical condition would have justified such action—both ships would now have been launched and could have been commissioned next spring. *But Mr. Daniels, although facing a European war, has done nothing.* Why? Simply because he was determined to build these vessels in Government yards. The welfare of the Nation could wait on one of his experiments in Government ownership. One of these ships is to be built at the New York navy yard. But the slip at that station is already occupied by the *New Mexico*. Not until that vessel is launched can the keel of this new dreadnaught, authorized more than a year ago, be laid. The construction will be much slower than if built by private contract; and the cost, if it follows other precedents, will be considerably higher than that of a privately constructed vessel.

THE FOLLY OF BATTLESHIP NO. 44

Mr. Daniels has decided to build the other 1915 dreadnaught at the Mare Island navy yard in San Francisco Bay. This yard has never built a dreadnaught and has no facilities for building one. Practically all the materials must be freighted from the East to the Pacific Coast, naturally greatly increasing the cost. But New York has its "pap" in dreadnaught No. 43; it is only fair, according to the Daniels philosophy, that California should have its "slice" in dreadnaught No. 44.

But Secretary Daniels's new dreadnaught will be the first that has ever been in the Mare Island navy yard, for the large ships cannot negotiate this channel even at high tide. We all remember how Robinson Crusoe built a boat and then discovered that he couldn't get it to deep water. Battleship No. 44 will present a similar problem to Mr. Daniels. With its heavy weights, said Admiral Badger before the House Committee, it will not be able to leave the navy yard. Either the Department will have to take it elsewhere to install its armament and other fittings or we shall have to spend a large sum dredging a new and deep channel to it. This latter recourse will be only temporary, as the Mare Island channel silts up again almost as soon as it is dredged. These two vessels, which the Navy sorely needs, will probably not be finished until 1919; given to private contractors, with orders to rush construction, they could have been made ready next year.

Then there is the question of armor-plate.

roposed Government factory to make Daniels evidently plans as his lasting ment. The proposition, extremely ble on the surface, is precisely the impress a superficial mind. Indeed, had Mr. Daniels reached Washing- fore he began to preach the doctrine deral armor plant. But this project not new. Several secretaries pre- Mr. Daniels have suspected that the manufacturers were robbing Uncle They had hit upon his own solution problem: a federal armor factory. however, had carried the proposi- hrough. Mr. Daniels assumes that ration influence smothered them; bly it never occurred to him that the e complexity of the problem may furnished the real difficulties. Mr. ls sees things in their simplest out- thus the remedy for excessive charges mor-plate took the form of a Govern- factory. But Government manu- e of war munitions is not so simple as t appears. European governments at times discussed government armor ies, but all have abandoned the idea.

THE ARMOR-PLATE QUESTION

e fact remains that the United States, e the trust, buys its armor at a price than any other nation, and that e country that does maintain a gov- nt plant, Japan, pays higher prices mor than we do. But I do not pro- o discuss the question here, for it is tricate. Whether we should adopt articular form of government owner- ltimately, one point is clear: we have e to waste over it now. Our pressing is not for an armor factory, but for . After the Secretary has equipped avy with men, ships, and ammunition, me may come when he can turn his ion to Government munition fac- Then the question can be dis- l on its merits.

ere is nothing the matter with our ," says Mr. Daniels—I quote from his before the Navy League, June 8, "there is nothing the matter with scipline; there is nothing the matter ur splendid personnel; there is a great the matter with *the public view-point.*" That sentence gives a picture of Mr. Daniels's deficiencies. The trouble is not with him or with the Navy—the trouble is with us. Unfortunately public attention has focussed largely upon one of Mr. Daniels's official acts—the abolition of the wine mess on shipboard. The public knows Mr. Daniels chiefly as the "prohibition crank" who has abolished rum.

THE WINE MESS QUESTION

My own conviction is that this abolition is Mr. Daniels's one important contribution to naval efficiency. His manner of issuing his order was offensive, in that it conveyed the false impression that drunkenness was a common vice among naval officers; no one, however, who has studied the effects of alcohol on the human system, and especially upon the faculties of perception, attention, steadiness, endurance, clearness of vision, and mental and muscular coördination can well believe that alcohol, even in moderate amounts, is a desirable element in the making of a naval officer. The mechanism of a battleship is as delicate and as easily dislocated as that of a watch; certainly when railroads, in the interest of saving human life, forbid their engineers from drinking, either off or on duty, and when large employers, purely as a matter of efficiency, are everywhere eliminating men with alcoholic inclinations, the American people are justified in removing this standing menace from the officer's locker. It is not a question of morality or of religion; it is purely a question of efficiency. Anything that makes the Navy a better fighting force is a move in the right direction; since the wine mess order does increase fighting strength, or at least has that tendency, it is an excellent thing. Very likely Mr. Daniels's motive in this instance was simply fanaticism—merely an extension of the North Carolina prohibition campaign into the Navy; the scientific laboratory, however, indorses Mr. Daniels in this particular reform that he has brought about.

But Mr. Daniels has not worked toward efficiency in his other spectacular performances. His attitude from the first, as quoted above, is that "there is nothing the matter with the Navy." A man

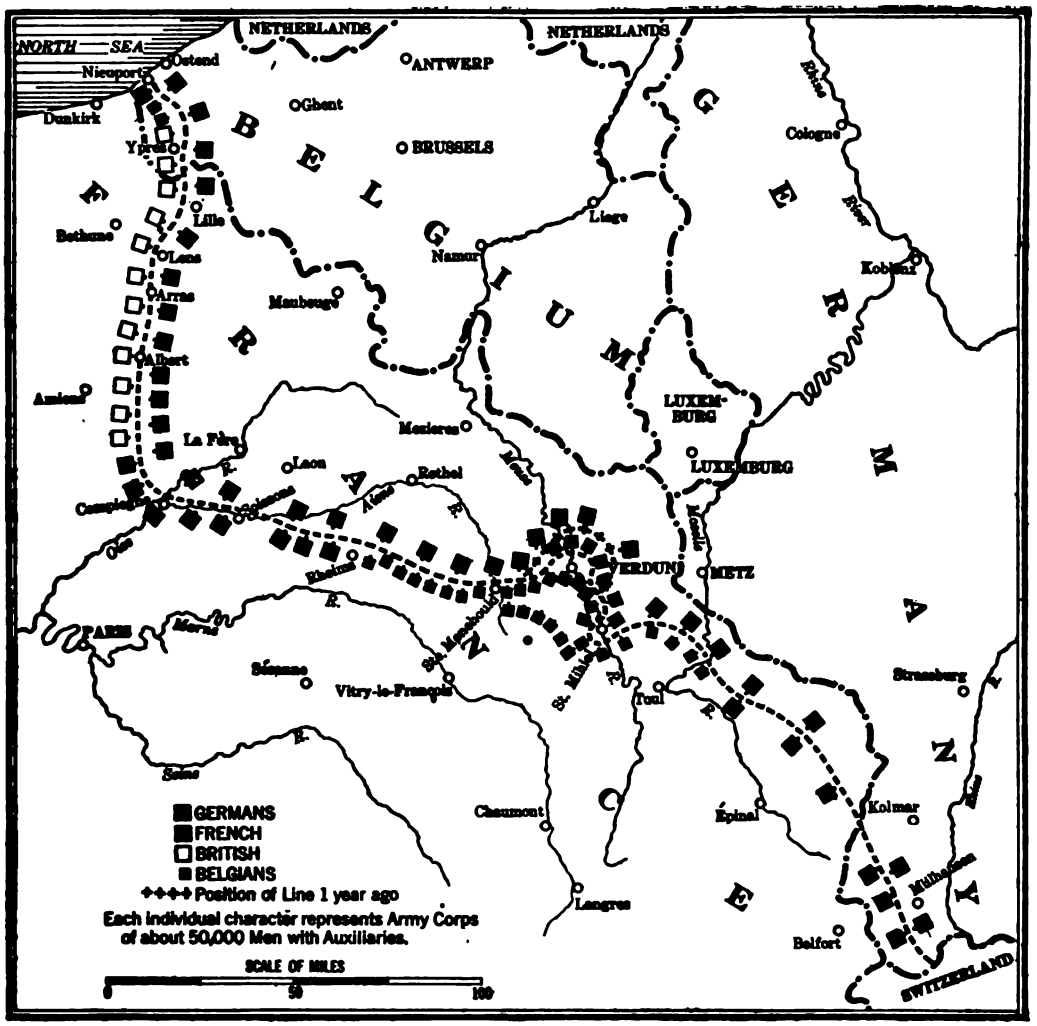
suffering from such a delusion can do nothing for our sea defenses. The time has arrived in American history when we must abandon our make-believe Navy, and organize it on modern lines. We must have a powerful force in both the Atlantic and the Pacific, strong enough to meet any enemies than can possibly be foreseen, and kept in a state of constant readiness for eventualities. When this idea is put up to Mr. Daniels he replies that, "ship for ship and man for man," we have the finest Navy in the world. We say that the Atlantic fleet—our only organization that makes any pretense at efficiency—is short 5,000 men, and that valuable fighting units are going to ruin at the docks because they have no men to man them. In reply we get a spread-eagle speech about the wonderful showing our Navy made in the Spanish War—though everybody knows that, at the Battle of Santiago, we fired about 6,000 projectiles and scored 123 hits! We accuse Mr. Daniels of recommending inadequate building programmes—of a lack of interest in dreadnaughts, battle cruisers, and submarines. His answer is that the Wilson Administration has voted more new ships than did Mr. Taft's. We say that Mr. Daniels has neglected target practice; his answer is that Mr. Meyer neglected target practice also. We become angry over the crippled condition of our submarines; in reply Mr. Daniels gives out a statement describing a remarkable cruise made by the submarine fleet from New Orleans to New York, omitting the fact that two of the submarines he mentions were towed and that four did not make the voyage from New Orleans but joined the fleet at Annapolis. We make the general charge that the Navy, as a fighting force, is entirely inadequate; he replies that the Republicans are to blame. We say that discipline has deteriorated, that officers and men are in almost open rebellion against the Washington authorities; Mr. Daniels's answer is that the Navy has become a "great university" and, for the first time, "democratic." And so on. His attitude is negative, exculpatory, instead of aggressive, "forward looking." From whatever angle we regard the Secretary, we come back to the familiar fact, as manifest now as on the day when he took office, that he has little interest in the Navy as a navy, that he regards it rather as an opportunity for the exploitation of Daniels and the tenets of the Bryan stripe of democracy. His official career is an example of the danger of treating great public matters sentimentally and demagogically.

In 1904, the British Navy presented certain resemblances to the American fleet of the present time. For a generation, although the British people never suspected the fact, inefficiency had ruled in nearly every branch of the service. Just as President Taft entertained us with absurd speeches about our naval efficiency, so English politicians had fed the people with splendid stories about the mistress of the seas. The navy was ornamental, a comfortable nesting-place for second sons and social favorites; its fighting strength, however, was a consideration that was little regarded.

Then, in 1904, a great naval genius, Sir John Fisher, became First Sea Lord. Admiral Fisher had only one interest in the British Navy—and that was as a navy that was constantly prepared for war. With a few sledge-hammer blows he destroyed its antiquated organization, sent about 140 useless vessels to the scrap heap, made the North Sea the main headquarters of the fighting ships instead of the Mediterranean, and instituted two new types of war vessels, the dreadnaught and the battle cruiser. He thus modernized not only the British Navy, but every other navy. England is now reaping the fruits of Lord Fisher's labors. The historian will point to his reforms of 1904 as the forces that really saved the British Empire. The United States should profit from this experience. Our Navy needs, at its head, the inspiration of a Fisher.

THE STRATEGIC PROGRESS OF THE GREAT WAR

TOLD IN MAPS AND TEXT—THE MIGHTY EFFORT OF THE GERMANS AT VERDUN, THE OUTSTANDING EVENT ON THE WESTERN FRONT—A GAME OF PREPARATION AND WAITING ON THE EASTERN LINE—AUSTRIA'S OFFENSIVE AGAINST ITALY—THE BALKAN THEATRE—GREAT BRITAIN AND TURKEY IN ASIA MINOR, AND THE SLAV DRIVE FROM THE CAUCASUS AND PERSIA



THE WESTERN FRONT

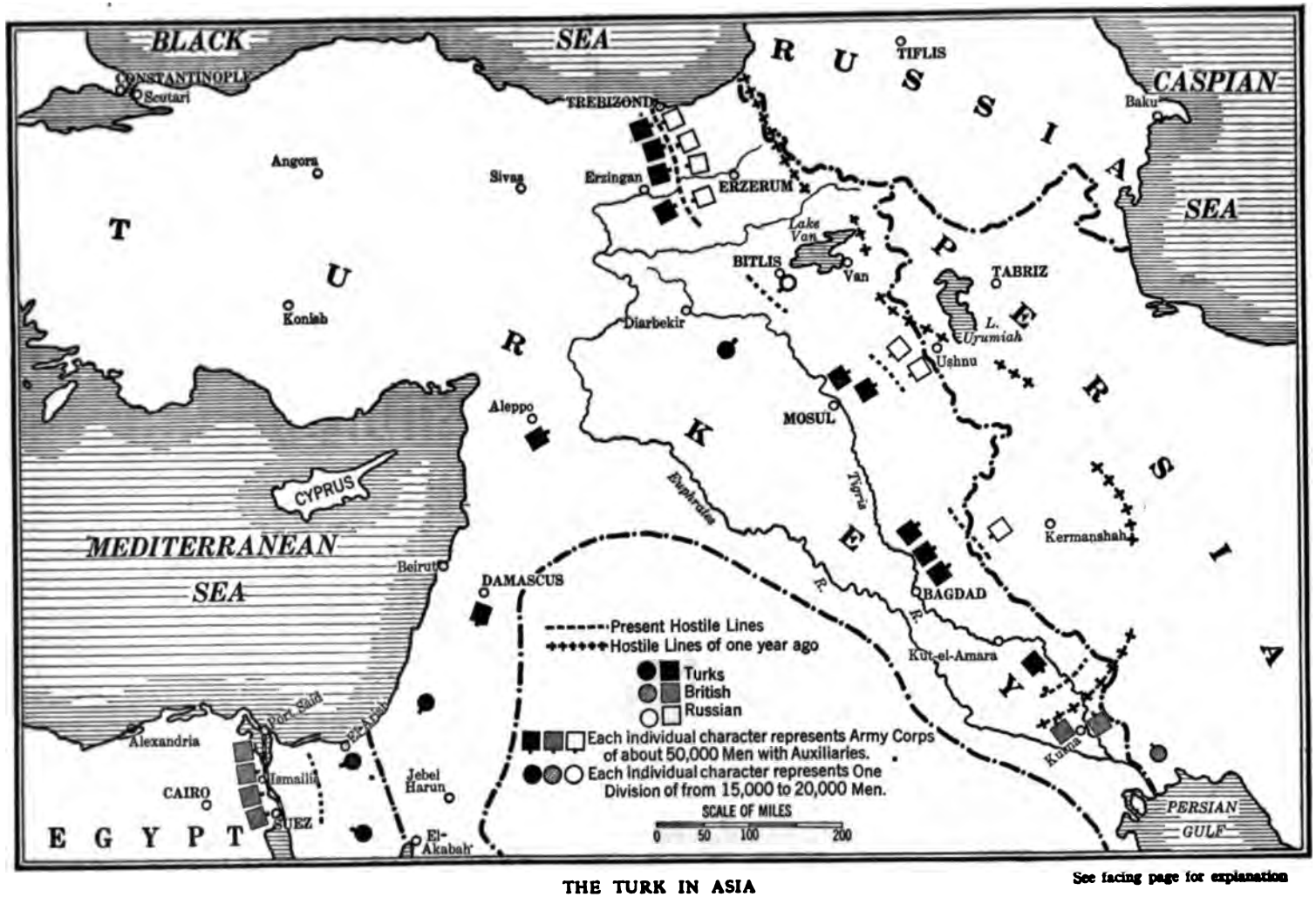
SPRING in the western theatre of war again, as was the case last year, found the initiative in the hands of the Germans. They desired, first, to capture the French position of Verdun, which controls the line of the Meuse River. The French, however, resolutely *refused to be driven* back and, in the first weeks after the launching of the great German attack at Verdun, managed to make good their ground. To the hammering of the most powerful heavy artillery ever brought into action, and the persistent assaults of the machine-like German infantry the French with equal persistence opposed their ow

incomparable foot soldiers and the barrier fire of their field guns. The Germans swung their attacks from one side of the Meuse River to the other, north of Verdun, in an effort to obtain the main line of the heights from Vaux, east of the Meuse, to Avocourt, west of the Meuse, on which the French defense centres. Along this line since the 21st of February the most desperate battle of the war and of all wars was fought. The Germans reached the edge of the main French position but there they were held until the end of May. The French tried a general counter-offensive in the first part of May but were thrown back. It will be remembered that when the French were called upon to defend Verdun to the utmost, they withdrew troops from the vicinity of Arras and the British front, whereupon the British took over these positions, thereby extending their own lines by a total of twenty miles. Some demonstrations made by the British were immediately checked in vigorous counter-attacks by the Germans along the whole area from Ypres to Albert. No gain of any consequence for either side resulted from any of these attacks. During April and the first part of May, in addition to the great masses of German troops held in the Verdun theatre, German infantry and artillery began to appear in Belgium en route for the British front. By the middle of May these were all in position and the attacks of the Germans against the British front began to take on a serious aspect. We then found the Germans attacking at both ends of their strategic front in this theatre. On previous occasions the Germans have carried out this same manœuvre with a view to an eventual direct attack against the centre of the hostile position. In this latest case, they have found Verdun a tremendously hard nut to crack and, as is always the case with a thoroughly efficient military organization, a second phase of the operations has been put into effect. This aims to make the British in the west and the French in the east concentrate on the extreme ends of their lines, thereby weakening the centre in the area from Compiègne to Rheims. Should the Germans succeed in forcing their opponents into this manœuvre they will attack the strategic centre on either side of Soissons with a view to splitting the British and French forces apart from each other. The French appreciate the significance of this move just as well as their adversaries, but to meet it they were in a predicament. They long ago estimated that this spring would find nearly all their available reserves placed on the lines, but at the same time they expected, or rather hoped, that the British would be keeping their own units well filled with men. In England, however, due to various exigencies and to the delay in receiving small arms contracted for from American manufacturers, the recruiting was not only cut down but it was also necessary to keep large bodies of troops at home which could not be sent abroad. The result was that during April and May the British troops on the continent have lost in total effective strength. Consequently, with the French pressed for men, with the British temporarily unable to augment their forces, and with the German troops well equipped and well versed in a war of manœuvre, the German Staff tried hard to force the French out of their trenches and to bring on a great battle in the open. The experience of two months proved this to be a most difficult object to attain.

THE TURK IN ASIA

THE impetuous rush of the Grand Duke west of Erzerum soon came to a stop because of the great difficulty of keeping up supplies. Trebizond, the important Turkish port on the Black Sea, was occupied by the Russians, an event which was sure to follow the Russian occupation of Erzerum. The high road between the two cities thus opened was menaced along a great part of its length by Turkish mounted forces. In the north the Turks, with prodigious effort, sent forward troops and supplies via Angora and Sivas to the vicinity of Erzingan. In this area military operations took place during the first part of May which checked the Russians and drove them back toward Erzerum. The Turkish counter-offensive was effective to the northeast of Erzingan as far as the Chorok River, which flows along the southern slope of the Pontine Mountains rimming the Black Sea. In this northern area of the Russo-Turkish campaign, the Turks, at the first of June, were barely holding their own. In Mesopotamia, while the Turkish forces were accomplishing the capture of General Townshend's British force at Kut-el-Amara, the Russians busied themselves in transporting troops and supplies from Tabriz to the Lake Urumiah, district and to Van and Bitlis, with a view to a move against the Bagdad Railway near Mosul. This objective, if successful, would entirely isolate any Turkish forces that might be operating in Mesopotamia. The Russians, advancing against the Bagdad Railway, had reached the mountains about 70 miles northeast of Mosul during the first part of May. Against them the Ottoman army held the passes and maintained heavy reserves ready to strike the invaders should they succeed in forcing their way through. In this local theatre the test of battle is necessary to determine what the strategic result will be. West of Kermanshah, on the road to Bagdad, the Russians were also advancing; this column supplied by way of the southern ports of the Caspian Sea. Here, also, the Slavs had succeeded in reaching the mountain line east of Bagdad, but again the Turks concentrated in force and calmly awaited their approach. The Russian columns were widely separated into four distinct elements, no one of which was able to support another. The Turks were separated into two principal groups; namely, the group west of Erzerum and the group around Mosul and the Tigris River. The former had no railroads close to it, but its lines of communication reached directly behind it; the latter was connected and united by the Bagdad Railway along its entire strategic front. The German general, Liman von Sanders, in April, took command of the Turkish army in this theatre. The advance of the Russian armies under the Grand Duke into Asiatic Turkey was as impetuous as was his advance into the Carpathians a year ago. His troops were being scattered in a dangerous manner. If they cross the mountains toward the Bagdad Railway in widely separated columns, the Turks will have an excellent chance to pounce on one of them with concentrated forces very much as the Austrians a year ago fell upon the Russians in the Carpathians. That the Ottoman army, under the same strong leadership, will quickly avail themselves of such an opportunity seems probable. The British, since their defeat and the capture of their force at Kut-el-Amara, have been content to remain on the defensive in the lower Tigris. To the end of May they had given no sign of resuming the offensive. To do so with any hope of success will require greatly augmented forces.

Against the Suez Canal the Turks still kept up their threat, and their railroad building and general preparations went steadily on in that theatre. There were frequent small combats between outlying detachments of Turks and British, but nothing of importance occurred during the spring months. The revolt of the tribesmen in western Egypt continued and a considerable amount of desultory fighting took place in that area.

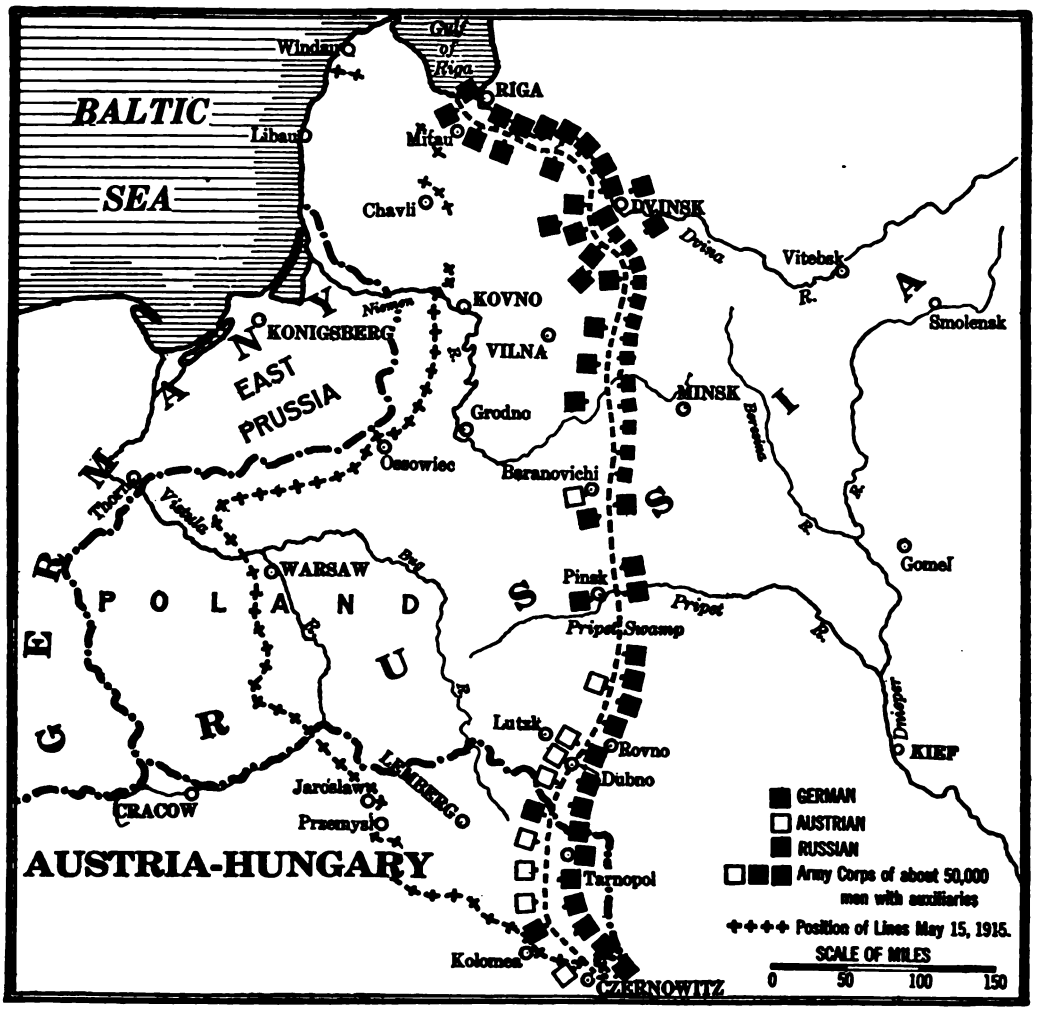


THE TURK IN ASIA

See facing page for explanation

ITALY ON THE DEFENSIVE

SINCE her entrance into the war in May, 1915, Italy has attempted to assume the offensive and maintain it on all parts of her frontier. The most decisive part of the Austro-Italian line is the Tyrolean salient, which projects into Italy like a great stone-walled bastion. Through the middle of it leads the valley of the Adige River, which furnishes easy access to the fertile valley of the Po and the northern provinces of Italy. When the Italians at the beginning of the war found that no advance could be made in this place they prepared this sector of their front for defense and shifted their main offense to the eastern frontier against the line of the Isonzo River. Great attacks were made in the area near Gorizia in an attempt to take the Istrian Peninsula with the important city of Triest. While the accomplishment of this object would have given Italy little strategic advantage, it would have given heart to the Italian people in the prosecution of the war. It was, moreover, the only place where the Italians could hope for any measure of apparently rapid success. But here again they were eventually thrown back with very heavy losses. At the beginning of the war, when the Italians jumped across the political frontier in practically all places, they were securely held at all points as soon as they came in contact with the Austrian main lines of defense. Since the beginning this battle front has changed less than any other, even the French. In the first part of May, 1916, the Austrians, who had *moved strong forces into the Tyrol*, began a de*termined attack against the Italians* in the southern apex of that salient, while force was exerted all along the frontier to hold the Italians to other positions. Considerable headway was made at once against the Italian outlying positions and, by the middle of May, the general movement began to take on the appearance of a main attack. The greatest power was developed in the southern Tyrol. This is the critical point for the Italians because, if an Austrian offensive move is once successful in taking Verona and extending across to the Adriatic, all the Italian army deployed along the eastern frontier would be cut off. Taken in connection with the great German offensive against France, theAustrian move, if successful, would be designed to capture Milan, the great centre of communications for northern Italy, and Turin, the concentration point for an attack against France's Italian frontier. This latter line is almost as difficult to surmount as any other along the Alps Mountains, but a determined attack against it and in the direction of Nice would make the French detach strong forces from their northern army for its protection. Should Austria be successful in an offensive campaign against Italy, her troops would then be used against France's back door in the same way that the treaty of the Triple Alliance intended that the troops of Italy should be used in case of war with France. For the first time since the war began Italy, during the month of May, was forced to assume the defensive while the Austrians were searching out Italian lines with heavy attacks, particularly south of Roveredo, in an attempt to find a place weak enough to break through.



THE EASTERN FRONT

ONE year ago, on May 1st, the Teutonic campaign against Russia was ushered in and, by the middle of the month, was well under way. During the present year, up to June, the eastern front has been one of the quietest places in all the areas of war. The opposing lines stand virtually where they did at the end of last summer's campaign. For brief periods in the spring the Russians took the offensive both north and south of the Pripet Swamps. In the south they tested the strength of the allied German-Austrian wall all the way from the Rumanian frontier to the southern part of the Pripet area or in the old fortress triangle of Rovno, Dubno, and Lutzk. In the north they attacked along the Dvina River at Friedrichstadt and Dvinsk. In the south Ivanoff, the most energetic of the Russian generals, held command, while in the north General Kuropatkin, General-in-Chief of the Russian armies in the Japanese war, again took his place under the imperial eagles. Everywhere in that theatre the Russians, unable to advance, have been held at arm's length by their adversaries. For several months the Russians have expected that they would be the target for a tremendous Austro-German campaign during the summer. Just where this new offensive would strike they were at a loss to know, but prepared for it no matter from what direction it might be launched. This was one of the strategic reasons for their heavy attacks against the allied lines, as they particularly desired to find out where their enemies were massing troops. Weak as they are in the air, the Russians had to adopt this expedient, aided by spies, in order to find out their enemy's strength. The Russians expect a German campaign in the direction of Petrograd. They have therefore built elaborate fortifications at many points between the Dvina River and that city. A campaign in the direction of Kief or Odessa south of the Pripet Swamps is also considered a possibility, and lines have been prepared for defense in that theatre as well. The winter was spent by the Russians in recruiting their much depleted forces, developing officers, and obtaining arms. They are very badly off for officers; their men are only partially trained. They have a sufficient supply of small arms, field artillery, and ammunition, but are woefully deficient in heavy artillery. They appear to be as well off as ever to fight defensively, but their ability to sustain a general offensive movement for long is questionable.

THE BALKANS

WITH the beginning of the heavy fighting around Verdun, the Balkan theatre of operations passed from the public gaze. The campaign for the opening of the road to Turkey had long since been finished, and in order for this theatre to become important again an entirely new campaign will have to be undertaken, this time, however, by the Entente Allies, who are content for the time being to dig themselves in at Saloniki and make their position so strong as to defy attack. On their side the Central Powers have been reluctant to attack because, so long as their enemies remain at Saloniki the French and British troops kept there can be used at no other place, and if they desire to take the offensive more than 500,000 men in their expeditionary force will be necessary. On the first of June, the Entente forces at Saloniki were not actively engaged. Nevertheless, the fact that the French and British held it kept nearly a quarter of a million Bulgars confronting them. The Bulgars have expended comparatively little military effort, and, as their territory forms the principal avenue of commerce between Austria, Germany, and Turkey, they have *reaped a rich reward. The sale to the Central Powers of their great warehoused supplies of* grain and foodstuffs has brought and is bringing in a golden harvest. The Balkan railroads are now completely repaired. Through Serbia they are operating to all parts of the lines, while in Bulgaria itself they have been extended, and ample terminal facilities, especially at the Danubian ports, have been provided. Since the occupation of Montenegro and the northern part of Albania by the Austrians, there has been little activity in that theatre. In May, the Italians, with a strong force, still occupied the port of Avlona and a little of the country around it, while the Bulgars held the western districts and the Greeks looked covetously across at the southern tip. No disposition on the part of the Central Allies to try to get Italy out of Avlona had shown itself for the shrewd political reason, among others more military, that Italy in Albania continues to be an apple of discord in the ranks of the Entente Allies, a very small apple, to be sure, but one that might grow. Greece, caught between the Teutonic devil and the deep blue Ægean Sea, had to make the best of a bad proposition because, no matter which side she joined, her fate would be similar to that of Belgium—she would furnish an excellent battleground for the combatants.

THE AMERICAN ILLITERATE

SIGNIFICANT INCREASE OF ILLITERACY AMONG THE WHITE IMMIGRANTS OF THE NORTH AND WEST, AND ITS DECREASE AMONG EVERY OTHER CLASS OF PEOPLE IN THE COUNTRY

BY

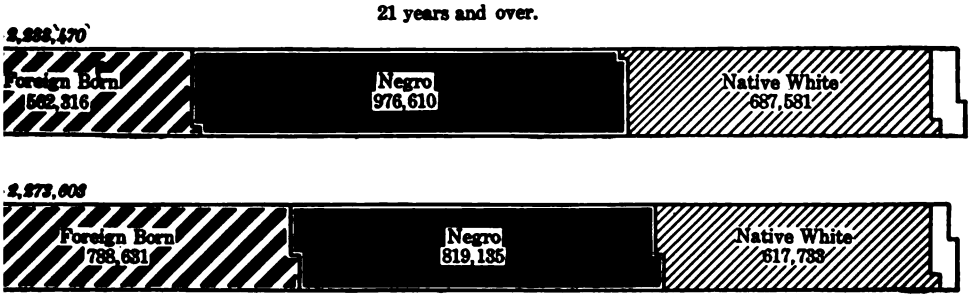
WINTHROP TALBOT

.LITERATES are increasing in numbers in New England and in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and in the Far West. Illiterates are ecreasing in numbers in the Southern ;. The increase in illiterates is al- ıer a product of white immigration. ;outh is meeting its problem of the ıte Negro: the North and the West ıot meeting their problem of the ıte white man.

; true that the percentage of illiteracy ing everywhere—except in Connecti- but chiefly because population is sing rapidly. But percentages do ell the story. Illiterates are not c numerals applied to Latin deriva- they are human beings who are part social organism, voters in our democ- :itizens whose welfare affects our lives. ill-equipped human beings are being by tens and hundreds of thousands tain sections of the country, and the fect of their coming is intensified by ıct that they are being lumped in lable groups in a few industrial and g centres instead of being spread out thinly over the whole country where they could be more easily assimilated.

To grasp concretely the fact that absolute figures, not percentages, alone can tell the story, imagine that all the illiterates in the United States, five and a half millions strong, united and took bloodless possession of Illinois, evicting every person now living there. The state would then be as populous as it is now; the throngs in State Street, Chicago, would be as dense; every farmyard in the corn belt would be tenanted as before. Now picture the civilization of that state and that great city. Railroads would cease to run, for no trainman could read his orders, no dispatcher could write them. Street lights would be darkened while hapless European peasants and Negro field hands gaped idly at the meaningless characters printed on the voltmeters of useless power houses. The great daily papers of Chicago would go out of business; commerce would stop because no man in all the state could write down the record of transactions. Public schools would be abandoned shells; the University of Chicago would be deserted; the Field Museum would

ILLITERATE MALES OF VOTING AGE.
21 years and over.



THE INCREASE OF ILLITERATE FOREIGNERS IN THE UNITED STATES

ıring the ten years from 1900 to 1910. During the same period, as this diagram shows, Negro illiter- ıd native white illiterates decreased in number, as well as "all others" (indicated by the white spaces right), who *declined from 61,863 in 1900 to 48,104 in 1910*

be closed. In the country, the corn belt would recede to the agricultural practice of the Russian mir and of the bayou squatter. Poverty, famine, pestilence, and anarchy would be the inevitable fate of that now rich and enlightened region.

This picture is, of course, extreme and impossible, but on a smaller scale, in a less but still serious degree, an exactly analogous situation is being created by industrial greed or shortsightedness in the factory districts of New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Illinois, in the mining districts of Colorado, Pennsylvania, Montana, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, Wyoming, and New Mexico, and in the farming sections of California, Washington, North Dakota, and Nebraska. These are the states that are increasing their numbers of illiterate immigrant laborers on the plea that "resources must be developed" at any price.

While these prosperous states have been adding to their burden of illiteracy, the Southern states have every one reduced the proportion of their Negro illiteracy by *25 per cent. in ten years* (1900–1910), and *together they have reduced* the number of illiterate Negroes by nearly one million, notwithstanding that the Negro population has increased approximately one million in the same decade.

White immigration explains the increase in the number of illiterates. Every other class of illiterates has decreased—Negroes, Chinamen, Japanese, poor whites, moonshiners, native-born whites of native parents, native-born whites of foreign parents, native-born whites of mixed native and foreign parentage. Only the foreign-born illiterates have increased.

THE "BLACK BELT" OF INCREASING ILLITERACY

In the shaded states the number of illiterates is increasing, especially in the shaded states east of the Mississippi River. Foreign immigration is the explanation

Why do they come?

"Cheap labor" is the answer. The textile mills and shoe manufactories of New England have a characteristic story to tell. A generation ago the native whites were lured from their farms to the factories. Some inept genius figured out that French Canadians could perform the simple operations on the highly perfected machines and do it cheaper than the Americans. Soon the French Canadians had largely replaced the natives. Later a similar influx of Italians followed the French Canadians, and they in turn are being replaced by Greeks, Poles, and Slavs. Each swarm has brought

oblem of congestion of aliens—illiter-
gnorant of American ideals of govern-
, poor—into the crowded centres of
lation.

e same story is repeated in the mining
ns of Wyoming, Pennsylvania, Col-
), and the rest, and in industrial dis-
centering in New York and Chicago.
is, therefore, not at all by chance that
ig semi-anarchistic strikes have been at
ence and Lowell, Mass., at Paterson,
, at Pittsburg, and in the coal mines
olorado. As centres of an economic
m that consciously aims at production
e lowest wages that can be paid, re-
ess of the race, color, intelligence, or
l quality of the laborers, they are
atural centres of activity for agitators
play upon a legitimate grievance to
: the laborers to un-American and law-
ethods of relief. On the one hand the
ins of industry exert their influence to
tain immigration laws by which they
: in the importation of lawless labor,
n the other hand they appeal for the
ction of the law against the lawless
f the laborers they import.

similar irony exists in the story of
ornia and Washington. Land owners
nd cheap laborers to harvest their
on the plea that the vast acreage of
ed land must be "developed." They
that it must be "developed" now, by
neans, at any price. It is, in their
as if the idle land were polluted by
disease that would infect the country
ere not speedily cured. They are not
nt to have it "developed" in small
y American citizens as they migrate
the East. The result, in California
ample, is that the Japanese have re-
d the native white settlers in whole
ies in the richest part of the state,
hat California has embroiled the Na-
in the menace of a war with Japan
the question of the rights of Japanese
merica. A similar result has been
ved in Washington.

teracy is a serious condition, giving
dangerous economic, social, and polit-
endencies in American life. Illiteracy
is an index of the quantity of untrained human material that is clogging certain sections of the country. With it goes lack of manual and mental skill, ignorance of American ideals, susceptibility to appeals to superstition, fanaticism, and the violent emotions that arise from economic distress. It is growing as immigration grows. What the increase in immigration will be after the European war ends and Europe faces the task of paying its enormous war debts out of taxes upon the crippled industry and the ravaged fields of that continent, only a prophet could predict: Some basis of calculation may be got from these facts: that similar miseries have caused probably four million Irish people to emigrate in the last sixty-five years, most of them to America; that since 1876 more than eight million Italians have emigrated, of whom more than four millions went to various South American countries and the United States; that in the nine years 1905–1913 more than eight and a half million immigrants were admitted to the United States.

What should be done to meet this situation of growing illiteracy? An illiteracy test is easily outwitted and in any event would be ineffective in materially reducing the immigration of undesirable aliens. Illiteracy, however, is closely bound up with mental defectiveness and with physical disability. In the $8,000,000 unexpended balance of immigrant head tax now in the United States Treasury are funds available to amplify greatly the work of the immigrant medical inspectors. A larger force would immediately be able to reject very properly thousands more of those who now step into the country despite the law. If thus the number of physical and mental defectives among immigrants were reduced the hopeless illiterates would in the main be debarred. After admission the means of handling the illiterate lie in the direction of compulsory public day school classes in places of industry to provide requisite elementary schooling and teaching of English and training for citizenship.

WAR IN THE WAKE OF COMMERCE

THE DANGER OF CERTAIN KINDS OF FOREIGN TRADE—THE GERMAN EXAMPLE AND ITS LESSON FOR THE UNITED STATES

GERMANY publicly claimed, and the world in large measure admitted her claim, to be the most efficient manufacturing and trading nation.

Germany also claimed that the present war was engineered by her enemies out of envy and fear of German commercial conquests. This claim the enemies of Germany deny.

But these two claims logically go together. If Germany could conquer the world peacefully by commerce, there would be no reason to test the costly processes of war. It is not logical to admit that Germany is irresistible in trade but leaves trade and turns to war.

The Germans point this out. They claim their trade superiority and say that England engineered the war because it feared commercial rivalry more than war. This is logical enough but it runs counter to the facts, for it has been abundantly proved that England neither engineered the outbreak of war nor was prepared for it. But there is still another set of facts which are logical and which do not run counter to what we know of the origins of this struggle. Contrary to general belief, there are facts to prove that German efficiency in foreign trade was to some extent an over-stimulated, expensive efficiency, that part of Germany's overseas business was a costly luxury; that Germany could not conquer the world peacefully. On the contrary her commercial expansion was getting so luxurious that she could not much longer afford to continue it unless new sources of raw materials were found and new outlets for finished goods could be made. In one way or another Germany's fears for her commercial future were more potent in precipitating the always-possible war than were the commercial fears of her neighbors.

These facts are set forth and analyzed by Prof. Maurice Millioud, of the University of Lausanne, Switzerland, in his book, "The Ruling Caste and Frenzied Trade in Germany," [Houghton Mifflin Company] of which the article beginning on the next page and one that will appear next month form a part.

In setting forth a significant sequence of facts concerning the relations of Germany's trade and the outbreak of war it is not possible to take into account all other elements. The facts outlined by Professor Millioud show how the conditions of German trade were unfavorable to the maintenance of peace. If all other conditions had been favorable to peace, probably the trade conditions alone would not have precipitated war. But there is no question that the disturbing element of the condition of German trade was one of the more potent influences that made the war.

The situation to which Germany's "efficiency" reduced her has a vital interest for the United States. For we have been counseled to imitate Germany. We have had preached to us the same economic doctrines which Germany practised. In part we practise these doctrines also. We have advocates here of every part of the German programme, good and evil alike, with little discrimination. Yet German efficiency did not lead to peaceful supremacy. It led to war. The reasons why efficiency failed are analyzed by Professor Millioud in a way that offers many significant lessons to us.—THE EDITORS.

GERMANY'S FRENZIED TRADE

DIFFICULT PROCESS OF GAINING MARKETS FOR OVERSTIMULATED INDUSTRY

BY

MAURICE MILLIOUD

N MAY 11, 1912, Herr E. Possehl, one of the greatest merchants in Lübeck, delivered a lecture in Berlin on what would be the effect nan industry and trade if there ır. It will be remembered that ere ominous threatenings of war vhen the Morocco affair took place. Possehl spoke at the invitation ral Klein, a well-known disciple Germanism. He commenced by that his address should not be , because, of necessity, he would call attention to the weak points erman State as well as the strong. onvinced," said he, "that the war ngland would wage with all her n our sea-borne trade would— e surely than war on land with -have most serious results for y and end in dragging us to our

he went on to speak of the stop- work and of blockade, of the more ;00,000,000 worth of German trade, ted by exports and imports, of ore than $3,250,000,000 worth would he mercy of the English navy. e of the scarcity of corn and food- nich Germany buys abroad to the approximately $250,000,000 per the risk of stoppage of factories, of rolling-stock, the six or eight persons who would be thrown e State, all of which appeared to have such an element of danger went on to suggest the setting up nding committee composed of the rominent business men, drawn ranks of the manufacturing and lasses, agriculturists, and bankers. e economic problems," he cried, greatly affect the destiny of our hat surely they *are as important* as military considerations." (It is only a little while since the newspapers spoke of the arrest of Herr Possehl, of Lübeck, a personal friend of the Emperor, on a charge of dealings with the enemy. The matter has not again been referred to. Was Herr Possehl too good a prophet, and did he unwisely give a reminder of his warning?)

It is impossible that Herr Possehl's cry of alarm was not heard. It had been forecast by panic on the Stock Exchange, by commercial failures, by mischief of all sorts brought about merely by the threatened possibility of war.

Would such a thing as war be provoked, would such grave perils be risked with the sole object of stimulating the manufactures and trade of the Empire, when already they have increased to so unlooked-for an extent as to rival those of England and America?

Consider the political, social, and economic conditions one with another and one arrives at no plausible explanation.

Highly prosperous, with no danger threatening, a people does not risk its all with the blind fury which it is ours to witness. No, everything points to the fact that the war was a step of despair.

Was it, perchance, that all was not well; that desperate trouble threatening the very life of the nation was foreseen; that Germany rushed into war in order to forestall it?

What could the trouble be?

Let us turn to history.

In 1879, Prince Bismarck initiated a policy affecting business matters by instituting a protective tariff. He so adjusted it as to reconcile the interests of the National Liberals and of the landlord conservatives. So he hoped to oust the Socialists and to render the Catholic centre party more tractable, whilst at the

same time adding to the revenue of the country large sums for which it would not be necessary to apply to Parliament.

No time was lost in applying the tariff, and keen was the discontent with it; yet it had been calculated on a basis that would adjust internal trade by means of compensation given to the great landlords on the one hand and to the manufacturers on the other.

A MINORITY RULES GERMANY

From the fusion, or at least alliance, of the two classes, there resulted the foundation of the existing ruling class. From time to time since there have been quarrels and reconciliations, but this composite aristocracy, part noble-born, part money-bred, is more than ever the one which governs. It matters little whether it commands a majority in the country. At the last elections, for instance, it represented four and a half million votes, whilst the liberal parties in all won 202 seats, representing seven and a half million votes. But Germany is not a country in which public opinion counts.

It is not simply because the Chancellor and the Ministers of State do not have to answer to Parliament that Germany is not a country in which public opinion finds its own expression, but on account of the view held of the nature of the State, namely, that it is not representative of the people, but a kind of system superimposed upon and high above them.

Let us trace the evolution of this governing class, for if a clue to what has come to pass is to be found, it is there that we shall discover it.

The death of William I in 1888 was quickly followed by that of his unhappy son, and William II came to the throne. In 1890 growing like a wounded bear, Prince Bismarck was removed from office.

Only a few years before, he who was so soon to come to the throne had, in the course of an after-dinner speech, uttered these memorable words: "The state resembles a ship whose captain has been killed, whose second officer lies seriously wounded, yet she keeps on her course."

Has she kept her course?

In a sense yes—in a sense no.

True, Count Caprivi carried on Bismarck's policy, but in a manner of which the man of iron did not approve. He had introduced laws benefiting labor, but at the same time had set up powerful machinery aimed at Socialism. Under the new Chancellor, the famous universal labor conference was called. The labor movement was encouraged to spread in all directions, whilst the sword with which Socialism had been kept within bounds was sheathed again.

On the other hand, when the commercial treaties were renewed in 1892, Count Caprivi carried on Bismarck's policy by showing himself a staunch supporter of the interests of German trade. But he did not go about it in the same way. He gave up all attempt to pander to both the agrarian and the industrial parties, dropped the policy of compromise in favor of one, if not of free trade, at least avowedly anti-protectionist. "Germany," he proclaimed in the Reichstag, "is an industrial country."

THE AMBITION OF THE KAISER

The agrarian party, in other words the nobles, and in particular the Prussian nobility, resented this deeply. On several occasions the Emperor found it necessary to remind them of their duty to the throne. He was leading them, he said, to a new and greater destiny in spite of themselves, and little by little he won them over.

His influence it was, in great measure, which brought about the change in the political opinions of the governing class.

He created nothing new; perhaps not, but the adoption of the new policy was due to the influence he wielded.

Two years after he came to the throne, in 1890, the very year in which he dismissed Bismarck, he coined the now famous expression, "Our future is on the sea."

He it was who inaugurated the policy of *Weltpolitik*, from which, however incoherent some of his proceedings may have appeared, he has never departed.

Without harking back to all the details of this piece of history, let us try to reduce it to its main issue, namely, that to the Germany of William I and Bismarck, at last united through blood and iron,

ccupied in developing her own re-
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nd recognized how happy it was?

dream of his was not based upon
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f his coming to the throne until the
r crisis in 1905, he left France in
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Certainly he aimed at conquest,
the guise of peaceful penetration.

often let fall the suggestion that
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er could ensure peace in Europe.
as economic dominion at which he
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as an example of it. He proceeded
round himself with bankers and
acturers, and to dabble in business.

great design of his reign should be
elop the riches of the German soil,
to account the vigor of the people
find occupation for all, to open up
increase the number of factories,
methods of transport, widen the
of commerce, and increase the field
ancial operations, not alone with
ject of benefiting home markets,
obtaining control of those of the
The influence of German thought
and a taste for things German could not fail to follow wherever her manufactures had penetrated, and so, secure by reason of Germany's military strength, reaping untold advantage by reason of her wealth, the world entire would live thereafter in the contented enjoyment of German peace. He has been termed the Emperor of Peace, and Emperor of Peace was his aim.

Standing erect in his gray cloak, on his head his shining helmet surmounted by the spreading eagle, his hand on the hilt of his sword, he would gaze upon his own people thrilling with gratitude and pride, and beyond them, to all mankind, reaping rich profits from its daily toil.

At his command the arts would burst like flowers into bloom. The diverse mental impulses of mankind would be reduced to a state of order and the hubbub of social unrest be calmed at the sound of his voice; and that mystical affinity uniting down the ages the great men of history, from Hammurabi, the friend of Abraham, to his grandfather, William the Great, would reach its climax in him and perpetuate his good work; and in days to come, yet another marble statue would be erected in Berlin in the Sieges Allee, to stand there, a witness to his own glory and the fulfilment of his high mission.

THE MEANS EMPLOYED

The first thing necessary was to unite the nation in one huge effort to put an end to class strife by dropping Bismarck's repressive legislation, and by passing acts in the direction of trade unionism; to abandon the system of tariffs which closed the German markets, in order to encourage foreign trade.

That was Count Caprivi's task, and he did it. It was necessary to give a strong impulse to manufacture and trade, to support each by wise financial organization, and to find outlets in every quarter of the world.

All that was done and with success. From about 1890 till 1900 or 1905, Germany underwent such a transformation and expansion as partook of the nature of a miracle.

Professor Ostwald has recently explained that the Germans have discovered a new

"element" of civilization—the "organization element." We shall see in what this consists. The results have staggered and fascinated most visitors to the cities of the Empire during the last fifteen years. A few figures will suffice to give the reader a fair, if general, idea.

The mining and metallurgical, the chemical and textile trades, and the youngest, the electrical, have advanced with giant strides; the latter, for example, which has grown up since 1895, now has no less than $156,250,000 of capital invested in it.

The output of the mines and of the metallurgical trades was, round about 1900, represented by $1,000,000,000 *per annum*, and that of the chemical industry was estimated in 1905 at $312,500,000.

THE INDUSTRIAL GROWTH OF GERMANY

The iron and steel industry gives occupation to 400,000 workmen, without counting colliers numbering 700,000.

What is most striking, and sets one thinking, and to which I shall return in due course, is the way in which production has increased in geometrical progression. For instance, the output of coal, which was 72,000,000 tons in 1886, amounted to 225,000,000 in 1906. Statistics show that it exceeds 250,000,000 tons, valued at $625,000,000 per annum. In 1912, 16,000 factories were at work in the textile trades, employing 900,000 hands. There were 20,000 engineering workshops employing 900,000 men. Then there are the trades occupied in the production of drink and foodstuffs, the india-rubber industry, leather, and paper. There are the stone and earthenware trades and many more. There are, or at least were in the German Empire before the war, more than 300,000 factories and workshops working full time and giving employment to 6,500,000 hands.

The Germans have, of deliberate purpose, set themselves systematically and hugely to exceed the requirements of their home market. They have set themselves to flood the markets of the world, and have done it with their eyes open.

The years from 1890 to 1900 constituted a period marked by such economic conquests as have never before been known, in which the skill of their engineers, their chemists, their craftsmen of every kind has been of no small account. Hundreds of them are employed in all the big works—their energies directed to the discovery of new applications of science to practice, the perfecting of machinery and processes of manufacture with a view to increasing output, the discovery of fresh uses for by-products, and means of developing those products which would otherwise be wasted.

Hundreds are employed where foodstuffs are made; in the textile industry—indeed, in all their industries. Moreover, neither time spent nor money expended on experiment weighs with the Germans when it is a question of establishing some new process which is likely to make them masters of the foreign market, and to recoup them ultimately for their expenditure. They turn machinery to wonderful purposes. By means of stamping plant, by making large numbers of articles to template, they have so lowered the cost prices as to crush, for the time being, all competition.

I intentionally use the words, "for the time being."

To manufacture on a large scale the outlay must be large. Their factories are huge, and they do not hesitate to keep them up to date, to scrap plant and buy newer, without waiting until it is worn out.

Now that can only go hand in hand with the growth of a very large volume of foreign business, and, as a matter of fact, in respect to trade alone, German imports for home consumption amounted in 1911 to $2,425,000,000, and exports of German goods to $2,025,000,000, making a trading total of $4,450,000,000. For the same year the total reached by England was $5,250,000,000.

So to the manufacturing problem is added a trading one. Where is this huge production which the workshops and factories of Germany are ceaselessly turning out to be dumped down? A newcomer in regard to foreign business, Germany, having exhausted her home markets, was faced with the essential need of establish-

rself abroad, whether by the crea- colonial outlets, or by driving other s out of the markets which they had d; for that reason, as all the world izes, Germany adopted a colonial . It was not in order to find an for her surplus population that ny needed colonies at any price. as not enough manhood on the soil, s, and she has to import labor every She has barely enough hands for umber and size of her factories. ation figures grow less every year, re now negligible, amounting to 5,500 in 1910, of whom all but 1,800 o the United States.

eover, although the birth-rate is than in England and France, it is sing more rapidly than in either of countries; for instance, in Prussia ure was, in 1900, 36.1 per 1000; in 30.5. In Saxony, 38.1 in 1900, and n 1910. In Bavaria, 36.8 in 1900, 1.4 in 1910. Over the same decade ll was from 28.2 to 25 per 1000 in nited Kingdom, and from 21.4 to France.

EEDS FOR OUTSIDE MARKETS

fierce desire for colonies came from cess of population penned within rs and struggling for breath. What n prospectors go hunting about the for are mineral deposits. Germany and must have raw materials, also eds corn, seeing that she has become h an extent an industrial nation he no longer grows enough cereals r own consumption.

nany's imports of cereals, after ing those which she exports, amount at 6,000,000 tons, or say 16 per cent.; to say, notwithstanding improved ds of agriculture, the amount of f every description imported has ed in twenty-five years from 6 to cent. of the total consumption.

nany's colonial ventures are eco- in aim; their object is to obtain sources of corn and mineral pro- n, and outlets for her finished manu- s. She is by no means put off by t that countries on which she has r eyes are already *peopled*, so long as they meet her requirements; if, in addition, there are mineral deposits, all the better. Minerals were what the brothers Mannesmann went off to seek in Morocco, just as so many others were seeking them elsewhere; the plan being to build up interests, real or fictitious, and then to contrive excuses for intervention; yet their colonial enterprises have been none too successful.

By studying their methods in different markets, by observing their behavior and noting their acts and deeds, one may trace four methods employed by them to attain that commercial conquest which has been exceedingly profitable.

I lay no claim to any estimate of its moral aspect; I have, to the best of my ability, indicated a well-planned scheme of trade warfare, which I maintain has turned out well; and this commercial warfare having been a success, we must seek the reason why Germany has entered upon war of another kind.

METHODS OF COMMERCIAL CONQUEST

The first method is that of infiltration; in other words, personal and economic penetration. In regard to that, I will now, at a time when public feeling is so much aroused, say nothing, and confine myself to citing a well-known fact, namely, that the Germans, even in the United States, do not become assimilated with the population as they used to, or perhaps as we only fancied they used to. To-day they hang together, and form a solid party of their own. The German thrusts himself in everywhere. Holding positions of all kinds, from humble waiter in a restaurant to posts of the most confidential nature in factories, in business houses, as newspaper editors, Germans seldom, if ever, lose sight of the material and political interests of their own country. I do not mean that they all act as spies, but that they never lose an opportunity of spreading German propaganda.

Before the war Belgium was largely controlled by them. In some of the states of South America, where they form a strong and compact body, the governments have been seriously preoccupied as to how to deal with them; whether to

oblige them to go home again, or to force them into the undeveloped interior of the continent, where they would of necessity be less cohesive.

Switzerland is a country in which they carry on their conquest by infiltration.

Very significant facts point to their having, to no small extent, retarded the awaking of Swiss opinion and the expression of Swiss feelings of late in Switzerland itself; there are no less than 40,000 Germans settled in the canton of Zurich, not to speak of those in Bâle, Bern, and elsewhere.

There have been two chief methods with them of economic penetration: through the agency of representatives of industrial and commercial firms, and by purchase of interests in businesses or the establishment of new and entirely German firms.

A German house, established abroad, is a means of outlet for goods made in Germany as well as those which itself manufactures, whether finished articles or not.

Part holdings in business houses have the same result. Care is taken to have German representatives on the directorate; perhaps only one, but he is a holder of a majority of the shares.

These houses are also of the nature of information bureaus. It was thus that Germany came to be France's competitor in the matter of women's fashions, and in *articles de Paris*.

The Americans, for example, come over to place their orders in the month of January. In the course of their visit to Europe, they find themselves in the office of some German commission agency, where they are urged to go and see some of the dressmakers in Germany; they are even personally conducted. There they see charming models at a moderate price. What is their surprise on arriving in Paris to find the same models! "But that is not new," they say. "I have just seen the same thing, much cheaper, in Germany!" And the order is placed beyond the Rhine.

Now, how is the thing done?

The commission agent in Paris, no matter what it may cost him, gets early examples of the fashions which are going to be put on the market, and sends them to Germany, where they are immediately turned out in quantities, in standard sizes, made with less care, and, as ill-disposed critics are apt to say, with less taste than in Paris, but cheaper, and that is all that is required.

The second step in the scheme of commercial conquest is dumping.

SELLING BELOW COST

Dumping consists in selling at breakdown price in order to defeat competition and seize the market; for instance, the German ironmasters sell their girders and channel iron for 130 marks per ton in Germany, for 120 to 125 in Switzerland; in England, South America, and the East, for 103 to 110 marks; in Italy they throw it away at 75 marks and make a loss of from 10 to 20 marks per ton, for the cost price may be reckoned at 85 to 95 marks per ton. That is dumping. The rival manufacturer is ruined outright, unless he comes to a working agreement and accepts all conditions.

It is pointed out to me that dumping is in vogue to some extent at least all over the world. That is true, but in order, at times of crisis, to find a market, at whatever loss, so as to keep one's factory at work, and one's workmen on the pay sheet. Dumping of that nature is intermittent and depends upon circumstances: it comes to an end as the market rights itself, and consequently is not practised in order to bring ruin to competitors. It is one thing to dump for the purpose of clearing one's own excessive stock, and quite another to do it systematically, with the object of killing out competitors in other countries and seizing their markets. The German practice is that of over-production with a view to dumping. The distinction between the two forms of dumping is an essential one.

Dumping is not just an incident of trade—an exceptional occurrence. It is a weapon used in respect to all countries when commercial conquest is intended; it applies to the iron trade, chemical trade, electrical, and to trade of all kinds.

The Germans had established several factories for turning out formic acid. This acid seems destined to take the place

of acetic acid, which is much used in the chemical trades. Three years ago a Frenchman proceeded to set up a works to make formic acid. Immediately the price fell from 225 francs to 80 francs per 100 kilogrammes, and the Frenchman was driven out of the market. Yet of the three or four German manufacturers two were forced to close down, which shows that they were selling at a loss.

Consider the case of Italy, for it is there that the method is most in evidence. Why? Because the Italians in the North are building up an iron industry. Their smelters aim at freedom of trade. The competition which they have to face is a real drama—indeed, at times it amounts to a veritable tragedy.

It would take too long to narrate here the most notable episodes in the conflict, and to describe the fluctuations that have taken place.

The Germans sell bar iron at 130 marks per ton in Germany and 95 marks in Italy; many other manufactured articles, such as iron wire, steel springs, cold-rolled iron and sheets, etc., are sold in Italy at a price 15 or 20 francs below the market price in Germany.

Austrian makers of sheet iron sacrifice 7, 10, or even 12 francs per quintal.

In the case of steel rails the price has been lowered to 40 francs below that at which the Germans have kept it elsewhere.

Competition must be crushed forever.

If Switzerland enjoys a favorable position as regards the price at which she can buy iron from Germany, it is because it is the gateway to Italy, and Germany keeps the gate closed against Italy.

In spite of all, the Italian ironmasters are determined to exist and do exist, but what spirit is theirs! What a deadly struggle they are engaged in all the while!

The Central-Verbund of Düsseldorf controls the iron market of Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France, and Belgium. Italy and England, as might be expected, have escaped its toils.

Consider what it means to control the iron market and to be the arbiter of prices! It means control to a large extent of all engineering construction, control of the output of a vast number of manufactured articles, of machinery of all kinds, of shipping and railroads and many other industries.

I will not press the importance of the two other methods, though their importance should not be under-estimated. One is the system of long credits, the other the help rendered by the Government.

LONG CREDIT INFLATION

The offer of long credit has been one of the most insidious means used to allure the consumer—six months' credit, twelve months', even eighteen months', and more. In trading with Russia, in many cases there has been no fixed limit—merely payment by check from time to time, the account running on.

Compare this with the system in vogue in France, which is one of three months' credit, certainly never longer than 120 days. The Brazilian, Argentine, and Chilian markets have been won by giving long credit. It secured the commercial penetration of Mexico.

How many hundred millions of marks have been locked up in this way?

The ramifications of the fourth method are even more difficult to follow. State intervention takes many forms, of which that of political influence is the most obvious.

In Bismarck's words, "the flag follows trade." Germany has largely reversed this and made commerce follow the flag. And the flag has been carried here and there over the world to good purpose.

It is superfluous to recall the German Emperor's journey to Jerusalem or Prince Henry's more recent mission to South America, and the skilful manner in which Germany has seized every opportunity of asserting her prestige.

Prestige is a powerful element for success. It is the weapon used by all diplomatists and consuls to achieve their countrymen's aims, and it is in this respect that the Germans are well favored; but until recent years no sovereign has himself entered the lists of commerce and made use of his personal influence in order to advance the trade interests of his subjects.

Orders for manufactured goods, finan-

cial loans, mining concessions, opportunities for the development of new territories and for railroad construction have fallen like some new kind of imperial manna to the Germans.

The State, moreover, supports trade by joining in it; and, by reason of owning mines and railroads, is one of the largest commercial concerns in the country. Its chief aim has been to encourage export trade. Prussia owns collieries, and it is the complaint of the members of the federation of German manufacturers that the Government uses all its influence to advance the interests of the Essen Coal Syndicate, with which it has a working agreement.

The board of the "Bund der Industriellen" has strongly condemned a very remarkable policy of state railroad rates:

> For a double wagon of coal the freight charge is only 37 marks from Duisbourg to Emden, a seaport, the distance being 260 kilometres, under the special rates affecting the export of coal. Over the same distance, a double wagon of German coal for home consumption pays 64 marks for freight, and English or Bohemian coal for home consumption as high as 69 marks.

More to the point still:

> The freight of a double wagon of German coal from Duisbourg to Hamburg, a distance of 367 kilometres, costs 57 marks, whilst, in the reverse direction, from the seaboard to the industrial centres in the interior, the freight charge is 86 marks in the case of German coal, and as high as 93 in the case of foreign coal.

What the industrial league demanded was that these export rates should at least not be reduced still further, as the Prussian Minister of Trade had announced in the Reichstag, on March 4, 1912, that they would be.

What is that but dumping and State encouragement of dumping by means of preferential freight rates? Here we have the State itself going to the conquest of foreign markets—and if we can see so much, how much more must there not be that we do not see!

A word as to the *Einfabrscheine* or bounties on imports, which are in fact bounties on exports. How can Germany, which does not harvest enough corn for the needs of her own people, afford to sell to Denmark and even to Russia, where the price is lower?

The big farmer, who does not breed beasts for the markets, and who sells his produce, would get 17.7 marks in Germany for a ton (100 kilos) of rye. He pays the railroad charges and sells in Denmark for 14.5 marks per ton what has cost him 18.75 to produce. That looks like selling at a loss, but it is not so in fact, for the State gives him a bonus on imports amounting to 5 marks per ton, and with this bonus he pays the import duty on certain articles, such as cereals, coffee, or petroleum, of which the State frames the schedule; or else he sells his bonus on the Hamburg bourse. In 1911, the sale of bonuses on imports reached a value of approximately $30,000,000.

The cattle-breeder and small countryman complained, but the big landlords, members of the Agricultural League, the feudal and conservative agrarian class found the system too profitable to allow it to be altered.

THE PYRAMID GERMANY BUILDED

Penetration by establishing a business man here and there, by buying controlling interests in foreign companies, or by setting up German factories abroad, Government support everywhere, and exerted in every sort of way, dumping without mercy, tariffs and bonuses do not represent all the activities of the Government-supported Germans, but these are the chief and the least obscure.

Still, industry and trade cannot exist of themselves, and these factories built on all sides, these vast trading concerns, this incessant perfectioning and renewing of machinery, the creation of a mercantile marine, the winning of foreign markets, the giving of long credits necessitate the expenditure of vast sums, require huge capital. Where does the money come from? The industrial and commercial system in Germany is erected upon a wonderful system of finance. The Tower of Babel was also a remarkable erection.

[In the August number "Germany's Frenzied Trade" will be concluded.]

THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND THE WAR

HOW THAT DOCTRINE IMPLIED A MORAL ALLIANCE WITH GREAT BRITAIN TO RESIST THE SPREAD OF AUTOCRACY—HOW, TO-DAY, IT IMPLIES AN ACTIVE ALLIANCE OF ALL DEMOCRACIES FOR THE ENDURING PEACE OF THE WORLD

BY

W. MORTON FULLERTON

NO AMERICAN will have forgotten the calm and beautiful accents of the President of the United States, when, a few weeks after the outbreak of the Great War, he said in his annual message to Congress:

> We are at peace with all the world. No one who speaks counsel based on fact or drawn from a just and candid interpretation of realities can say that there is reason to fear that from any quarter our independence or the integrity of our territory is threatened. Dread of the power of any other nation we are incapable of. We are not jealous of rivalry in the fields of commerce or of any other peaceful achievement. We mean to live our own lives as we will; but we mean also to let live. We are, indeed, a true friend to all the nations of the world because we threaten none, covet the possessions of none, desire the overthrow of none. Our friendship can be accepted and is accepted without reservation, because it is offered in a spirit and for a purpose which no one need ever question or suspect. Therein lies our greatness.

When Mr. Wilson, who is not only President of the United States but also a historian of great learning, penned, in his annual message to Congress, the eloquent passage I have just cited, it is not unlikely that he recalled the immortal Farewell Address of Washington. Washington found himself, in 1793, face to face with responsibilities and a problem singularly resembling those that confronted his successor of 1914. The young Republic of France had just declared war against Prussia and Austria, and the heroes of Valmy had prefigured the glory of the armies of the Third Republic in 1914 on the battlefields of the Marne. Europe was on the brink of a cataclysm all but equaling in magnitude that which we are now witnessing. Napoleon was in being, and the world was to be torn with war for more than twenty years. Washington made a deliberate examination of the situation and, on the 22d of April, 1793, proclaimed the neutrality of the United States. That neutrality he maintained with moderation, perseverance, and firmness, and three years later, in the famous message to our people known as his Farewell Address, he made a remarkable apology of his action. "With me," he said, "a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country, to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes."

Thus Washington declared and maintained our neutrality in 1793 in order to further our unity, without which, in his view, it would be impossible for our country to secure "command of its own fortunes." "Union," on Washington's lips, meant no mere suppression of sectionalism, not merely the coöperation of North and South and East and West; it meant a really organic consensus of minds and hearts, making us worthy of the name of Nation.

No one, indeed, ever dwelt more eloquently than Washington on the immense value of our national union for our collective and individual happiness. National union he called "the palladium of

our political safety and prosperity." And when, in the same Farewell Address, he said that the name of American "must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations"; when, addressing his countrymen, he said: "You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes," he would have recoiled before the vision if he had foreseen the vast, heterogeneous American world of the twentieth century, in which the new, unassimilated millions of immigrants, who have not shared "the common dangers, sufferings, and successes," are menacing that traditional moral unity which is the chief mark of nationality.

OUR LACK OF NATIONAL UNITY

The truth is that the United States is, in certain altogether essential respects, less of a nation to-day than it was when Washington penned his famous political testament, or than it was even a quarter of a century ago. But while a host of alien influences have been corroding many of the most characteristic of our national traditions, the conditions on the European continent and even in Asia have been reviving there the spirit of nationalism; and we Americans, no longer isolated in our Western Hemisphere, are face to face with a host of problems which we fondly fancied we would never have to solve.

It was possible for Washington to declare, in 1796, that Europe had a set of primary interests which have only a very remote relation to us, and that therefore it would be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of European politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities. But the globe has been steadily shrinking, and it is no longer true, as it was 120 years ago, that, to use Washington's words, "our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course" from the nations of the European Continent.

For our situation is no longer "detached and distant." We may already, if we like—that is, if we prepare ourselves properly—defy material injury from external annoyance; we may become strong enough, if we will, to secure scrupulous respect for any neutrality that we may resolve upon. But in this modern world, whether we wish it or no, our destiny has become interwoven, not with that of any particular part of Europe, but with that of the whole of the planet, and we are no longer as much at liberty as once we were to steer completely clear of those permanent alliances which Washington so dreaded. Thus Washington's Farewell Address, like every other human document, from the Book of Genesis to the Pact of London, must be read in the light of the time, and of the moment that gave it birth. Even less than a quarter of a century later Monroe and Madison and Jefferson, as we shall see in a moment, found themselves face to face with an international situation with which they were able to deal only by ignoring completely the warnings of the Founder of the Republic as to the risks of entangling alliances. But in the same breath in which Washington uttered counsels of prudence, the efficacy of which the march of time was bound to modify, he gave expression to certain everlasting verities that times and seasons cannot alter. "Constantly keep in view," he said, "that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another"; and that there can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. "It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard."

WASHINGTON, PREPAREDNESS ADVOCATE

What was Washington's conclusion? The necessity of what we to-day are calling "preparedness." He held—I quote his own words—that we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies, if we take care always to keep ourselves by "suitable establishments" (Washington's expression for the naval and military forces of the country) "on a respectable defensive posture." The one object at which our national policy should aim, in Washington's view, was, as has

seen, to attain "command of our fortunes."

ıt Washington had not been buried ıty years when the Force of Things, development of world events, had vened to impose on our statesmen a y, for the "attainment of the command ır own fortunes," which rendered hington's counsel as to temporary ıces obsolete. The remarkable triume, Monroe, Madison, and Jefferson, vhom had fallen the responsibility eeping alight the vestal fires of our al American tradition, found them-s confronted with new problems, to olution of which Washington's prin- had ceased to apply. The worldtion was now so altered that the est of the United States demanded liar readjustments. The device of ıporary alliances for extraordinary gencies" no longer sufficed. The ıvirate of our great statesmen was ıelled—driven, I repeat, by the Force hings—to consider the advisability permanent alliance with one of those ıpean Powers which our forefathers hastily imagined to be governed by ests radically unlike those that would eforth govern American men.

PURPOSE OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

hat was the fruit of their meditations? as the famous decision and declaraknown as the Doctrine of Monroe. Monroe Doctrine was, in reality an ıce with Great Britain for the defense e common security of the two States. as, furthermore, an alliance inspired concern for the very same principles ideals which France and England, ıum and Serbia, Russia and now even —and, may I say, Japan?—are deng to-day, to their incomparable and honor. It seems to me an ıt duty at this moment of world to draw attention to this great forn fact: and I cannot forget in this ection the excellent words of President s Monroe in his message to Congress ecember 8, 1823: "The people being us exclusively the sovereign, it is pensable that full information be ɔefore them on all important subjects, to enable them to exercise that high power with complete effect. . . . It is by such knowledge that local prejudices and jealousies are surmounted, and that a national policy, extending its fostering care and protection to all the great interests of our Union, is formed and steadily adhered to."

Every one has heard of the Bolivar idea which is expressed by the phrase "America for the Americans," and is often confounded with the Monroe Doctrine. Now, any unbiased reading of the famous Presidential message of December 2, 1823 (the Monroe Doctrine) shows that the motives of the two were wide as the Cordilleras asunder, but that the meaning of both Bolivar and Monroe was that European monarchical systems based on Divine Right must not be suffered to encroach on any portion of the Western Hemisphere. The claim and implication were that there was incompatibility between a certain traditional European conception of government and the American idea of government. The Monroe Doctrine, as well as the Bolivar idea, was originally directed against a certain form of government, and it is a debatable question whether in Monroe's mind there was any thought of protecting the Latin-American neighbors of the United States against the possible encroachment, should ever the case arise, of a government, even European, that was really representative, and free from what he regarded as the taint of the Powers of the Holy Alliance.

ITS LATER INTERPRETATION

The essential point is that there was, as a matter of fact, no pretense of arresting an expansion westward of the world, or even, as a matter of fact, of one Hemisphere's saying "Hands off!" to another Hemisphere. The whole point of President Monroe was that contact with a certain kind of "political system" peculiar to Europe might be dangerous to the United States, and could not be regarded with indifference. But, as time went on, and as the United States grew in power and increased its contacts with the European nations, American public opinion tended to give to the message of President

Monroe a bearing and a sense which easily appeared both absurd and intolerant. Written to deal with a certain occasion in world-history, it was speedily given the monumental rigor of those laws of the Medes and the Persians that have defied the ages because they were inscribed on brick or brass. It is true that President Monroe must be held to be partly responsible for this misinterpretation of his own thought. He himself said, in so many words, that in negotiation with Russia with regard to the respect, rights, and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of the North American Continent he had seized the opportunity to lay it down as a principle that "the American Continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Power." The entire context as he continues, however, conclusively shows that what really concerned him was the possibility that, just as "the Allied Powers" had "interposed by force in the international concerns of Spain," they might be led to carry such "interposition" farther into the continents of the Western Hemisphere, where circumstances were far from being the same; and it was against such "colonization" as that, by such Powers as that, that the President protested in advance both on behalf of his countrymen and on behalf of "our Southern brethren."

FREEDOM VS. DESPOTISM

In a letter written, two days after the publication of the message, to Thomas Jefferson, the President says: "I consider the cause of South America essentially our own." This assurance was made in reply to a letter addressed by Jefferson from Monticello, on October 24th, to the President, in which Jefferson had said: "Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe, our second never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs." It was thus Jefferson who, in this document, dictated to Monroe the idea that "America, North and South, has a state set of interests distinct from those of Europe and peculiarly her own," that therefore she should have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe. Jefferson's point, which became Monroe's point, was that Europe was bringing forth despotism, while America's object was to become a land of freedom.

THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN

But now comes the important point. How little either Jefferson or the President he inspired really wished, by such formal declarations as have historically become known as the Monroe Doctrine, to exclude from proper action in the Western Hemisphere Powers that were not despotic in their tendency was clearly shown by Jefferson's subsequent remark: "Great Britain," he said, "is the nation which can do us the most harm of any one, or all, on earth, and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world. With her, then, we should the most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship; and nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting once more side by side in the same cause." Anything, in a word, to wreck or hamper the manœuvres of "the lawless Alliance calling itself Holy." Even to preserve England's friendship Jefferson forewent all his ambitions to round out the "measure of our political well-being" by the acquisition of Cuba, so that the United States might sign a declaration to the effect that she had no aims for the possession of "any one or more of the Spanish provinces," but that she would oppose with all her means the interposition of any other Power.

The action of Jefferson and Madison, therefore, is seen to be national and American indeed, but not in such sense as crude jingoism or a defective historical spirit and criticism have often ascribed to it. It was action for a definite purpose taken at a definite time. In putting forward the ideas adopted by the President, Jefferson apologized even for the "haphazard" way in which he had had to express his views, although he expressed the hope that he had perhaps been "contributing his mite" toward something useful to his country. The increment of

"mite," indeed, after the grateful oe had placed it formally on interest ; message, expanded so rapidly that Monroe Doctrine to-day no longer any of the marks of contingency. s become, owing partially, as has seen, to a certain ambiguity in the lent's phraseology, partially to the accretions of time, a great national ican policy which, despite all its ness, Europe not only no longer in question but positively desires to ligiously maintained for its own conce.

TACIT ALLIANCE WITH ENGLAND

t what constitutes the far-reaching cance for the world of 1916 of the mity of Jefferson and Madison and oe is the fact already hinted at: the oe Doctrine laid down a common for Great Britain and the United ; in their action in the Western sphere, in opposition to other Powers. conscientious scrutiny of the docu-, in fact, confirms the view of my , Mr. Theodore Andrea Cook, who "The Monroe Doctrine was clearly t by its writer, with the concurrence adison and Jefferson, to lay down a ned policy which England and the d States were to follow on the Con- of America as against all other s, a policy which might just as well been given out by England but was nced from Washington, to avoid ppearance of dictation by the mother ry." In other words, England was ized by the United States as the ler with her of the ideal of liberty, he Monroe Doctrine was in reality gn of a common resolve on the part gland and the United States to t the Western Hemisphere against cratic aggression," and against the ion thither of a "system" which entail the future colonization of ca by certain European Powers vere regarded as undesirable. How it has availed to achieve this latter as revealed to the American world outbreak of the Great War, when titude adopted by millions of men rman extraction, who had successfully "colonized" the United States, tended to paralyze the free decisions of the head of the State, even rendering normal application of the Monroe Doctrine impracticable.

The nature of the compact between the United States and England was clearly emphasized when, later on, by the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, it was agreed that neither the United States nor Great Britain should have a preponderant control in Central America, and that any canal cut from sea to sea should be preserved for the use of all the world and its neutrality guaranteed by Great Britain and the United States. This Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and its consequence, the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty relative to the Panama Canal, with the corollary concerning the question of the Panama tolls, show clearly enough, moreover, that Washington has never itself committed the extravagant heresy of supposing that it ever really meant to formulate—what the Zeitgeist, working over the Monroe Doctrine, has nevertheless produced—an indefensible principle of national policy apparently excluding from the Western Hemisphere, at the *ipse dixit* of the Government of the United States, all and every intervention of whatever sort on the part of a foreign Power.

Thus, as Jefferson wrote to the President, was the "mighty weight" of England "brought into the scale of free government," and a "whole continent was emancipated at one stroke." The essence of the Monroe Doctrine, in a word, was to declare a solemn protest against "the atrocious violation of the rights of nations by the interference of any one in the internal affairs of another."

1916 LIKE 1815

The Doctrine of Monroe, taken in its real sense, therefore, is of an admirable and pacific suggestion for the present hour. The year 1916 is engaged in problems which in many respects resemble those of 1815 to 1823. To-day, as then, the struggle, as Madison wrote to Jefferson, is between liberty and despotism, between arbitrary power and national independence, between Americanism and

a revived form of "lawless Alliance calling itself Holy."

The remark with which I ended my "Problems of Power," in 1913, is to-day more opportune than ever:

> Franco-Latin coöperation in South America, Anglo-American coöperation in the islands and on the high seas of the Pacific; a solemn Franco-Anglo-American pact for the peace of the world: such are the potential realities which may already be descried from the heights above Culebra.

That some such dream was not merely realizable but bound to materialize within a brief period was my apparently audacious divination some eighteen months before the tragic August of 1914. The Great World War which we are now witnessing has, I believe, brought its realization nearer. I can only add that the Force of Things, during the march of the Great World War, has tended emphatically to corroborate the views to which I gave expression in this very place (see the WORLD'S WORK for February, 1915) and to which I beg to call attention.

A CENTURY OF ANGLO-AMERICAN PEACE

It is the real truth that England has been for one hundred years our sleeping partner in international business. We have had misunderstandings. Alien influences, Fenian or Prussian, have striven in vain to create a breach between us. "There were moments," as Viscount Bryce has put it, "when the stiff and frigid attitude of the British Foreign Secretary exasperated the American Negotiators, or when a demagogic Secretary of State at Washington tried by a bullying tone to win credit as the patriotic champion of national causes." Yet naught has availed positively to sunder the branches of the English-speaking race. The Monroe Doctrine, rightly understood, was, in reality, the broad rock base of an alliance between England and the United States for the defense of common ideals of freedom. Its logical corollary is a compact for the peace of the world. And such a compact would be so incomplete as to be of vain application if it did not include France, glorious France, which is not only, as Mistral called it, *Le chevalier de la civilisation Latine*, but is also the knight-errant of Humanity. The author of the "Day of the Saxon" was not exaggerating when he said, before the war: "In the preservation of the British Empire, rather than in the Doctrine of Monroe, is to be found the basis of the security of the American nations." Even at this hour the British and the French fleets, whose action has now and then so irritated the merchants of the Two Americas as to induce Washington to enter for form's sake a mild protest, are fighting critical world battles on which depends the peaceful development of American interests north and south of the Panama Canal and in the Pacific and Atlantic oceans for the next fifty years.

FOR A FRANCO-ANGLO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE

These are facts which, while they impose upon us the necessity of creating for ourselves a systematic and methodical world-policy, supported on the fleet of our policy, will happily enable us, in defensive coöperation with the two other great Liberal Powers of the planet, to secure patiently and righteously the inevitable readjustments of the immediate future. Only thus shall we be able without friction and for peaceful ends to deal completely with the vast problem that confronts us. We are masters not only of the Panama Canal, but of Guam, Kiska, Honolulu, and Samoa; we are the protectors of Central America and the Caribbean; we are the potential rival of the South American Great Powers, and we are the champions—now the forlorn champions—of the Open Door in Asia. At the same time we are, indeed, as President Wilson has said, "at peace with all the world." Let us not, by any "sin of omission," fail to take the precautions dictated by the Force of Things that will suffer us to remain "at peace with all the world" for the next half century.

THE MAGIC OF MOTION STUDY

MYSTERY OF MANUAL SKILL ELUCIDATED BY A SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF THE BODILY MOVEMENTS AS RECORDED BY SPECIALLY DESIGNED MOTION-PICTURE APPARATUS —WHY "ALL CHAMPIONS BELONG TO THE SAME BREED"—A NEW METHOD OF TEACHING TRADES SO THAT EVERY WORKER CAN EASILY LEARN TO BE A SKILLED MECHANIC

BY

REGINALD T. TOWNSEND

WHEN Frank B. Gilbreth, as a boy, determined to learn the art of bricklaying in the shortest possible time so that ould have time to learn several other es, he sought advice from the master n at work beside him. At once he ed an odd thing. Although the mason y showed him the proper way to handle and lay brick, he never followed this method himself. Again, the master mason had two additional methods for working, both different from the first: one when he desired to work fast and another when he was in no particular hurry.

This fact interested the young man greatly, and he watched the other men at work. The same held true in each case; each man had three, and often more,

STUDYING THE MOTIONS OF AN EXPERT TYPIST

The head and body of the typist are thrown up sharply against a black background divided into cross ons of known lengths, so that the motions made in operating a typewriter can be measured by the differ- of position in each picture

MOVING PICTURES OF HUMAN LABOR

Fixing a standard of *motions for application in future operations*

methods of doing the same work. This set the boy to planning as to the feasibility of adopting one, and only one, method of doing each kind of work, and thus to save unnecessary work and waste motion. Seven years later the boy—now grown to manhood and long out of the bricklaying class—had revolutionized the method of handling brick and was the recipient of a medal bestowed upon him by the Massachusetts Mechanical Association in recognition of his services in the advancement of scientific management in the field of bricklaying.

From that first step, thirty-one years ago, Mr. Gilbreth has devoted his life almost entirely to scientific management and the study of motions and the elimination of waste. Big, whole-souled, with a keen sense of humor and an unfailing faith in his fellow men, he has thrown his whole personality, an intense enthusiasm, and an unbounded vitality into his hobby—the study of motions and their application to industry.

And in the development of this study Mr. Gilbreth has cast aside old notions and apparatus, save where he could make use of them, and employed the most modern of devices to aid him.

In its early stages his work was modeled more or less along the general lines of an efficiency expert.

Now, an efficiency expert is the "magician" of decreased expenses and increased production. He is the one who investigates the workings of a factory thoroughly, makes improvements here, omits stages of manufacture there, substitutes unskilled labor in place of more expensive skilled labor wherever possible, and, in short, endeavors to improve manufacture all around. Take the example of a girl folding handkerchiefs. Daily in the afternoon her work would slacken for some unknown reason and she would fall below her record of the number of handkerchiefs folded an hour. Here was work for the efficiency expert. Why should her production of folded handkerchiefs fall off any more than that of the many other girls at the same work? Investigations were made and it was found that the girl became fatigued sooner than her fellow

STUDYING THE MOTIONS OF CRIPPLES

In order to teach the methods of successful ones to other cripples

NG-DISTANCE
ING PICTURES
evice for use where
mera would be in
y if close up

workers. From what cause? More investigations, and it was found that she was sitting in an old chair the legs of which had become gradually worn down until she sat in such a position that it required an extra effort for her to hold her hands up at the proper level for folding handkerchiefs. Consequently she became fatigued sooner than her co-workers. So a carpenter was called in and he remedied the situation by nailing four blocks of wood under the legs of the chair, with the result that the girl's production is now kept up to capacity, with consequent gain to her employer, and, if she chances to be paid by piece work, with consequent gain to herself and, moreover, no trace of unnecessary fatigue.

In his study as an efficiency expert Gilbreth came to the conclusion that the best way to learn a trade was to learn only the fundamental motions and to perform these rapidly, regardless of the fact that for the first fifty times or so the work done might be so far from perfect that the product might have to be cast aside as worthless. The elimination of unnecessary motions was far more important than spending time in learning a process thoroughly by a slow and elaborate method, for the time of a skilled laborer is far more valuable than the material wasted in getting his skill, and the increased production more than compensates for such a loss. Furthermore, the "slow and sure" method is actually a wholly different method from the method of the experienced, skilled workman, and in practical work is laboriously unlearned and the faster method learned by painful practice. Once an efficient standard of motions has been reached, so Gilbreth reasoned, fix that standard for all time by means of photographs and take notes on the time consumed in making these motions, recorded by means of a stop-watch.

For, when once a standard of motions has been made, it can be preserved for the use of future generations. Think of the number of processes—the so-called lost arts—of infinite value to humanity that have been lost, merely because records were never kept of such processes. *Gone is the secret* of the Egyptian pyramid

MOVING PICTURES OF
MACHINE LABOR
The change in position
is too slight to be noticed
even in ten pictures

builders; forgotten are the ingredients of Greek fire, and lost, possibly forever, because it fell into temporary disuse, is the art of hardening copper, which to-day would be of immense value.

But the use of a stop-watch in the making of records of the time used in essential motions was not altogether satisfactory. The human element, always prone to err, enters too largely into the use of the stop-watch. Valuable time is lost in starting and stopping the watch and, besides, many machines work at a much faster rate than any stop-watch can possibly record. Gilbreth, working to overcome this difficulty, hit upon the cinematograph. What better way of observing and preserving motions could be desired than the moving-picture machine? With it no speed was too great to be recorded. (Mr. Gilbreth's camera will take as many as forty-eight pictures a second.)

To record the time taken in performing an act a clock was invented that measured time down to the millionth of an hour, which, with a regular watch to check its accuracy, is included in every picture taken by the cinematograph, so that one is able to tell from the position of the hands in each picture the amount of time consumed in making a motion. Furthermore, the background and the floor in each picture is cross-sectioned into squares of a predetermined length, so that when a moving picture is being taken of any subject the body and head of the worker are thrown up sharply against these squares, and by examining the exact position of the worker in each succeeding picture in relation to these squares it is easy to determine just how much he or she has moved. The same holds true of the cross-sections on the floor to measure movements made by the feet. Temperature and humidity records and signs giving the place and date on which the picture was made are included, the whole giving an accurate record of the exact functions desired.

MULTIPLE FILMS

To reduce the cost of taking moving pictures of various operations in a factory, Mr. Gilbreth has patented a scheme whereby as many as sixteen pictures can be taken in the space of one ordinary picture on a film. By this method it is only necessary to develop one film and run it over sixteen times, observing one section at a time

These films, after they have been developed, are shown to the workmen in order, to paraphrase the words of Robert Burns, that they may see themselves as others see them, and to criticise their own methods and learn the best way to perform their work. Viewing themselves or their co-workers actually performing operations gives them a new viewpoint from which to examine their work, which heretofore they have always taken as a matter of course. These films can be run as fast or as slowly as may be desired and the film may be stopped altogether at any point to examine the details

of a picture more closely. It has been proved that many a workman, too timid to address remarks to an audience, is not only quite willing but eager to criticise in a darkened room the methods of the worker on the screen.

But the cost of using many thousand feet of film in recording the workings of a large industry was an element to be considered. Mr. Gilbreth solved the problem by devising a plan, on which he has obtained a patent, whereby the moving-picture camera takes as many as sixteen pictures in the same space on the film on which it formerly took one. So all that it is necessary to do is to develop one reel in place of sixteen and run the film over sixteen times, letting the audience study only one division at a time.

In connection with the cinematograph used with the cross-sectioned background Gilbreth devised what he calls the penetrating screen. It has been conceded that no two bodies can occupy the same space at the same time. Gilbreth proceeded to refute this theory! He set up a cross-sectioned screen and took moving pictures of it. Then he reversed his film and photographed *the action to be* measured, on exactly the same film; and as the body of the worker, which stood out against the cross-sectioned screen, occupied a different position in each picture, knowing the length and breadth of the squares it was easy to ascertain the length of the worker's movements.

But the value to the manufacturer of the cinematograph in standardizing the proper way to perform work does not lie merely in taking moving pictures of workmen. It can and has been used successfully on machines. For instance, Gilbreth took a series of pictures of a braiding machine (a machine that weaves braids or shoestrings). In viewing this film he noticed that the method was not all that could be desired, and that the separate threads, which go to make up a braid, had a tendency to break off now and then, due to the fact that they were alternately held loosely by the machine and then tightened up quickly. Every such breaking of the thread caused a shutting down of the machine and loss of time, until a new thread could be substituted. Whereupon Gilbreth devised a method which, by means of an iron ring, kept all the threads at a uniform tension with an

STUDYING THE MOTIONS OF THE "GIANTS"

In an endeavor to ascertain the likenesses in dissimilar functions and to discover the fundamental basis of their superiority, Mr. Gilbreth is studying the motions of various experts. For this purpose athletes, bricklayers, pianists, bookkeepers surgeons, and fencers in action have been photographed in moving pictures

increase of at least 75 per cent. in the production of each machine—a tremendous increase in the output of the factory where many such machines were employed.

However great the steps taken forward in the study of motions by the cinematograph or micromotion process, it was still not altogether perfect. It permitted the making of accurate and satisfactory records of the methods used, but it did not visualize clearly enough the path taken by the motions, for the average individual has but a very small capacity for retaining in his mind's eye a complete picture of the various motions employed in performing an act. Consequently Gilbreth devised a method for defining the motions made in performing an act more clearly by attaching a small electric light to the worker's hand, or other moving part of the body to be studied, and taking a time exposure of the actions made. Thus the path of the motions in performing an act was clearly distinguishable by the line of light on the plate. By taking such a photograph with a stereoscopic camera one was enabled to view the path of the motion in three dimensions, length, breadth, and depth. But this line of light failed to show the time occupied in making motions, nor did it show in which direction motions were made. The time was indicated by putting an interrupter in the light circuit so that, instead of a steady line of light, there were a series of spots of light that flashed out at an even rate. Now, as it is known exactly how many spots of light are flashed a second and as the time between spots is also fixed, it is easy to determine the rate at which work is being done and the amount of time consumed in doing it. The registering of

FOR TIMING MOTIONS

The device which can register a millionth of an hour. This clock and a regular watch to check its accuracy are included in each picture to record the time required to make each motion

CHARTING A BACKGROUND

The floor and the background of each picture are divided into cross-sections of a known length

MR. GILBRETH'S DESK

Divided into cross-sections for studying the location of articles used by the occupant

MR. FRANK B. GILBRETH (FACING THE CAMERA)
tific student of motions, who, in studying the motions of workers with the cinematograph and stereoscope, has achieved great success in increasing human efficiency

irection of motions made was accom-
d through the electric lighting cur-
By the quick lighting and slow
guishing of the lamp the spots of
became blunt at the front and
ed in the rear, indicating the di-
on much as an arrow would. By
se of different time and speed dots
s been possible to attach lights to var-
parts of the body of a person perform-
ing an action and so to have on one plate a complete record of the parts of a person's body used in that action. Thus, in fencing, the demonstrator might have a lamp in each hand and one at the end of his foil, with another on his head, recording absolutely the motions made by head, hands, and foil.

To view such a photograph properly and to have an audience, such as a work-

IN THE LABORATORY

Motion pictures of the entire workings of a factory were obtained, with the result that production was greatly increased

men's club, correctly observe the motions, the photographs should be examined through a stereoscope. The stereoscope, which enjoyed much greater popularity in preceding generations, when it was a novelty, than in the present one, is an optical arrangement of lenses, somewhat similar to an opera glass, which, if looked through, permits the observer to view the picture in three dimensions: that is, its length and breadth and, in addition, the salient parts of the photograph stand out from against the background exactly as they would if seen by the naked eye. This is called the depth of a picture. Now it would be somewhat difficult and expensive to supply each member of an audience with a stereoscope. So Gilbreth, by looking at the path of a motion through a stereoscope, and bending and twisting a piece of wire into the identical shape which the motion assumed, was able to reproduce exactly the path of light made on the photograph in a permanent form. In the case where speed as well as direction are to be shown, black and gray paint is used on such a model that has been painted white, the result being spots of white fading through gray to black, resembling closely the spots of light of the

EXHIBITING A FILM

To an audience of workingmen so that they may study and criticise the methods of the worker. The film *may be run as* slowly as is desired or stopped altogether to illustrate a point

original. The wire model when completed is placed in a black box cross-sectioned in white, these cross-sections being placed in the same relative places as are the original cross-sections. So by means of these wire models it is possible to concentrate the minds of a group upon individual subdivisions of a motion which they in all probability could not do by examining a chart through individual stereoscopes. What the phonograph has done for music lovers, in reproducing and standardizing the best that there is in music and placing it at their disposal, these wire models have done for the skilled mechanic in aiding his study of efficiency. By studying these models, a set of which are on exhibition at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington and in the Psychology Laboratory of Brown University at Providence, R. I., the worker is able to see clearly what he lacks of perfection in performing the motion and to take the necessary steps to remedy the deficiency.

Now in many industries there are secret processes known only to the manufacturers themselves which they would not care to disclose, or in some cases the superintendent of a factory might wish to determine by himself the exact number of motions

EXAMINING A FILM

A stop watch is inaccurate and too slow to time many actions, but the cinematograph will take as many as forty-eight pictures a second

TAKING MOVING PICTURES OF THE CHAMPION TYPIST

To learn what made her champion. By such studies skill in one trade can be transferred to another although it be of a totally different nature

TRACING A MOTION

By means of an electric light attached to the hand, or other working member of the body, the path of motions made in performing an act can be traced on a photograph

needed to perform certain work. In either case, by the use of an automatic attachment which is worked by merely pushing a button, one can take his own picture and make an accurate chart of his motions. Such a scheme is called, in the language of the science, an autostereochronocyclegraph, a term which sounds formidable but if divided into its fundamental parts is very simple: *auto*—automatic; *stereo*—stereoscopic, that is, giving the three dimensions; *chrono*—the Greek *xponos*, or the time element; *cycle*—the complete movement; and *graph*—the chart.

Then, in addition, should the manufacturer wish to make charts of the actual work of his employees without interfering with their accustomed routine, or for the recording of surgical operations when a moving-picture operator would be seriously in the way, Gilbreth's device could be employed with a telephoto lens, in connection with an automatically operated cinematograph, which not only photographs objects at a great distance but photographs the time clock at a distance of only twenty feet at the same time.

The value of such autotele time study (as the method is called) is greatly lessened at times, owing to the absence of human coöperation on the part of persons *who may be unconscious* that they are being photographed. The coöperation of the workers, so that they may perform their work methodically and distinctly, is essential to obtain a clear negative which will illustrate strikingly the points to be emphasized for an audience. Mr. Gilbreth is, however, strenuously opposed to any secret time study and to the making of any motion observations in which the worker is not willingly coöperating.

When once the results of these studies, the micro-motion, the stereoscopic charts, and the wire models, have been determined, they are diagrammed on cross-sectioned paper called a simultaneous motion cycle chart. Such a chart records the time vertically and the working members of the body horizontally. These latter are subdivided into their constituent parts such as, in the case of the leg, the thigh, knee, calf, ankle, heel, and toes. Now a complete cycle in making a motion consists of sixteen distinct elements as follows: (1) Search; (2) Find; (3) Select; (4) Grasp; (5) Position; (6) Assemble; (7) Use; (8) Dissemble or take apart; (9) Inspect; (10) Transport, loaded; (11) Position for next operation; (12) Release load; (13) Transport, empty; (14) Wait (unavoid-

SETTING TYPE

Through a similar photograph it was found that the typesetter's left hand failed to coöperate with his right hand in filling a type stick

able delay); (15) Wait (avoidable delay); and (16) Rest.

When the motions have all been listed, the chart, when read downward, presents, in chronological sequence, the various activities performed by any member of the body, the posture taken during the action, and the time consumed; while, if read across, the chart gives a record of all the working members of the body at any one time and enables one to see which parts of the body are working most and which are being delayed. Such a system of simultaneous motion charts has been of the utmost value in permitting workmen to visualize graphically their efforts, with a consequent lessening of waste and with increased efficiency.

A striking example of the success which Gilbreth has achieved with the cinematograph and stereoscope has been with a large New England manufacturer. Here, taking pictures of men at work on a drill press, he noticed that the workers stopped to turn in midair the piece that they were to drill. While this resulted in a loss of time which by itself was of no consequence, when multiplied by the thousands of pieces to be drilled daily it amounted to a considerable loss. As a result of this discovery the pieces now all come to the man at the drill press arranged in proper position.

OPERATING A TYPEWRITER

The path of light clearly shows the movement made by the left hand in shifting the carriage of the typewriter back when the end of a line has been reached

MOTIONS OF PLAYING A PIANO

A part of a series of studies to find out how far the motions made in such work as playing a piano, operating a typewriter, or an adding machine are similar

However, Gilbreth is not yet satisfied with the results of his discoveries. He is continually experimenting and devising new schemes and even in his own home he applies his theories of measured functional movement. In this he finds an able collaborator in his wife who, last year, found time enough from bringing up six vigorous youngsters and managing the household to obtain a degree of Ph.D. from Brown University.

At present Gilbreth is busily engaged in studying the likenesses between human activities, as he believes that too much time has been wasted already in studying their differences. That is, Mr. Gilbreth believes that skill in all trades, in all forms of athletics, and even in such professions as surgery, is based on one common set of fundamental principles—the principles of economy of effort and rhythm of motion. In other words, all champions belong, in a sense, to the same breed—they unconsciously use exactly the same methods to achieve their exceptional results. It is not always wise to say this, however. For example, the prominent surgeon is perfectly willing to be photo-

THE LABORER AT WORK

The picture on the left shows the laborer's motions when first using a drill press. The picture on the right shows the motions of the same man after several attempts. The path of motion is more defined but indicates hesitation and lacks the determination of a man who is accustomed to making decisions

THE MASTER AT WORK

The picture on the left is his first attempt to operate a machine in many years. The lines of motion are clear but he hesitates as the exact method has not come back to him yet. The picture on the right shows a clear line of motion after a few attempts

FAMILIAR MOTION

The short, sharp line of motion made in removing a pencil from the upper left-hand waistcoat pocket, its accustomed position

UNFAMILIAR MOTION

The hesitating, intricate line of motion made in removing a pencil from the upper right-hand waistcoat pocket, an unaccustomed position

BEFORE

The motions made in loading sixteen boxes on to a truck before the method had been studied

AFTER

The motions made in loading the same sixteen boxes on to a truck after the method had been studied

graphed performing a delicate operation, but when the fact is mentioned that this is being done to find the similarity between his actions and those of other skilled workers, he becomes scornfully incredulous. How can such a thing be? He, a skilfully trained, highly developed product of many long years of study, to be likened to a machinist or a bricklayer? The thing is preposterous! But that makes no difference to Gilbreth; all skilled work, whether it be that of a surgeon or a stenographer, looks alike to him, and he keeps on filming experts and adding proofs that the same principles of motion underlie manual skill of all kinds.

THE RESULT OF SKILL

The path of light made by the rapier of the champion fencer of the world. Note what little variation there is in the many complete cycles of motion, due to skill acquired by long practice in this sport

STANDARD WIRE MODELS

What the phonograph has been to the music lover in standardizing and aiding the study of music, these wire models have been to the mechanic in aiding the study of skilled motion

THE TIME AND SPEED OF A MOTION

By means of black and gray paint the time, speed, and direction of a motion, can be shown on white painted wire models. In a photograph this result can be obtained by the use of intermittent flashes of light

Mr. Gilbreth has set out to take moving pictures of as many champions or experts in various trades or sports as he can, in order to study their methods and find the points of similarity between their motions. So the champion typist of the world, an expert bricklayer, and Christy Mathewson, the famous baseball pitcher, have been photographed; and a few months ago, in Germany, Gilbreth took pictures of the champion fencer of the world. He even hopes to get pictures of the champion oyster opener of Rhode Island!

Although this study of the motions of

MAKING WIRE MODELS OF MOTION

By examining a path of light in a photograph through a stereoscope the motion of an action can be reproduced in such tangible form as a wire model

AT WORK ON A MODEL
Painting the black and gray spots on a wire model to indicate the time and speed of a motion

THE AUTOSTEREOCHRONOCYCLEGRAPH
A device which permits one to take moving pictures of his own motions in performing an action

experts has been under way only a short while, it has already yielded such important results in the finding of similar fundamental motions that Mr. Gilbreth is sure it will advance the cause of scientific management and measured functions as far again as it was before he entered the field of autostereochronocyclegraphology.

And the field for this advance is as wide as the applications of skilled labor itself. The waste of effort, the waste of time, and the reduced output due to unnecessary and unskilled motion are almost beyond belief when studied closely.

IN THE HOSPITAL
Mr. Gilbreth taking a moving picture of a delicate *operation to study the motions of the skilled surgeon at his work*

SEWING UP A WOUND
The path of the motions made by a surgeon in sewing up the wound after an operation for appendicitis. Note the clear, decisive lines of light

AGRICULTURAL REVIVAL IN MASSACHUSETTS

EMARKABLE WORK OF THE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE AT AMHERST WHICH IS UVENATING THE RURAL LIFE OF THE STATE—GARDEN, POULTRY, AND CANNING CLUBS AND SUMMER COURSES FOR MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN

BY

RAY STANNARD BAKER

ASSACHUSETTS is not generally regarded as an agricultural state, but its agricultural developments are in some respects without a rival rest in this country. In the first he value of its product per acre of ed land is the highest of any state Union. It has reached an unusual of development in the most intensive ecialized forms of agriculture, such ing under glass or under cloth or verhead irrigation, and in poultry certain kinds of fruit growing, arket gardening. In no state are town and agricultural interests losely knit together, and in none organization of community and gencies reached a more interesting gestive stage. Nowhere have the nd religious aspects of country life, inguished from the actual problems uction, been more carefully studied e agricultural leaders than in husetts, and in no state are more xperiments in rural community ents under way. Last year, for e, there were 69,306 boys and girls, the country and in the towns of the organized in farming, gardening, , and domestic science clubs. No- else has this particular branch of k reached such magnitude.

agricultural movement in Mass- ts, owing to the peculiar conditions, resents many new and interesting ments; and the radiating centre activities, and its leadership, are Agricultural College at Amherst. ter way, therefore, can be found to the work in all its aspects than to describe what is being done at this centre, who are doing it, and what the results are.

On the campus of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, near which I live, there were scenes, during most of last summer, of intense activity. Although it was the customary time of the long vacation in the older and more deliberate educational institutions, this college never before presented such an aspect of vigorous effort. Tents were pitched on the lawn, one big enough for a small circus. There was an exhibition in the drill hall, and under the trees there were meetings during several weeks that lasted all day long and into the evening. People came from all parts of the state, and even from outside of the state, to take part in the work. One afternoon I saw a crowd of at least 5,000 people on the campus.

About 200 men and women of all walks of life—teachers, ministers, business men, students—attended the regular summer School of Agriculture and Country Life which was in session during the entire month of July. The dormitories were alive with students, the boarding hall was open, and the college machinery was in full operation. There were courses in everything from practical agriculture to domestic science and arts and crafts.

On July 13th another school opened, the School of Rural Social Service, provided especially for the growing number of people who are interested in the forward movements in small towns and rural districts, and this work was headed up in a three-day conference on Rural Community Planning, a significant and interesting gathering.

And this was not all. In the large tent

erected on the campus, the Boys' Agricultural Camps were conducted. Boys from all parts of the state were there. The discipline was military, and there was every imaginable form of sport, of athletics, of excursions, of lectures, all with a sound educational significance—and a home-made circus to wind up with.

Still other conferences and conventions were held. The bee men of the state, like the poultry men, came to get what the college had to give. They came as the cattle raisers, the apple growers, and other farmers come during the winter. The officers and lecturers of the State Grange and a considerable body of the rural leaders of the state held their meetings on the campus and took part in the community conferences.

I have wondered what some of the hard-headed New England educators of fifty or a hundred years ago would say if they could see such activities as these connected with a college, as a regular part of the college work. While they might be surprised, bewildered, even shocked, one has a strong impression that the best of them would not be long in grasping the spirit, if not the method, of the enterprise. For it was their spirit, too. Above everything else, they were men with a purpose. The most vital of the early colleges in America owed their organization not merely to the desire to educate young men but to educate them for certain high and definite purposes. The early outburst of educational fervor in America, which resulted in the foundation of a remarkable group of endowed colleges, was for the most part the outgrowth of a powerful religious spirit—the desire to train young men specifically and technically to be religious leaders and missionaries. The charter of Yale says, in so many words, that the purpose was to educate young men "for employment, both in the church and civil state"—church being placed first. In sending out their students to preach in country churches or to conduct neighborhood Sunday Schools, as in bringing together at the college itself conferences of ministers and religious workers, they had, indeed, the true germ of the modern college extension idea.

Perhaps one cause of the relative decline of the religious and endowed college, compared with the state college and university, lies in the damping of that earlier impulse. The endowed colleges still educate, and educate well, and they have a definite and important part to play in our common, workaday life, but education seems to have become more an end with them, less a means.

The missionary and social spirit, in short, seems to have passed in some degree from the religious and endowed institutions to the state colleges and universities. The fact that agricultural education is pioneer work, reaching and affecting groups of men and women, as well as boys and girls, never before touched by colleges, calls forth all the spirit of adventure, the enthusiasm, the sense of high public service which are characteristic of the missionary and social spirit.

A COLLEGE THAT TOUCHES EVERY-DAY LIFE

The new college stands upon three legs. It not only seeks to impart knowledge and stimulus, but it has developed two other distinct functions. Each college has connected with it an experiment station and trained investigators whose constant effort is to get into close relationships with the problems that confront the every-day life and work of the people of the community or the state. The agricultural college, like the medical school, gives one the impression of getting close to life.

To the two functions of teaching and investigation has more recently been added a third function, the effort to extend the work of the college and apply its gathered knowledge beyond the classroom. In the last few years I have visited several of the greater state colleges and universities in the Middle West, and I have seen daily the work of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, and it seems to me that few impulses in our national life are more vital and more significant than this enthusiastic effort to reach and serve every man, woman, and child in the state. It is a great new conception of the purpos and utility of education.

Two kinds of special schools are conducted by the Massachusetts Agricultural

ge under the direction of Professor). Hurd of the Extension Service: inter schools and the summer schools. e winter there are ten-weeks' courses, y-two in number, which are attended y by farmers, practical men who have to the college for more knowledge more inspiration. Last winter the nent was 181—a fine lot of earnest getting more out of the courses in ulture, fertilizers, dairying, breeding, ilture, poultry raising, and the like any boy could have got, because they what they wanted and went directly . There was also an apple-packing l, a short course for bee-keepers, and y a great farmers' week which brought irly 1,600 farmers from every part of ate to learn all they could in a week. nded several of these meetings and wnright serious interest I have rarely i college class that equaled them.

en there are the summer schools, to i I referred in the early part of this e, in which the college occupies itself g the summer months. Last year umber of people participating in all courses, summer and winter, was than 2,000.

RYING EDUCATION TO THE PEOPLE

t the enthusiasm for the distribution ucation does not stop with teaching more advanced men and women who pend the necessary time and money me to the college, but it carries the beyond the college. If the state ot come to the college, then the col- will go to the state. The idea of ing outside the colleges was one of the levelopments of the extension idea: i still an important element in spread- he work of the college. Last year lectures were delivered, some at some in lecture courses, some in the sion schools. It is estimated that than forty thousand people in the were thus touched or influenced he college. Such a campaign of ers can only be compared with a live nary enterprise of a religious organi- i or to an active political campaign.

e effort to reach people outside the e is by no means confined to lecturing. Actual extension schools, lasting from a few days to a week, are organized in various parts of the state. Regular courses of lectures and discussions are held and there is a regular enrolment of students. One such school that I attended in the country town of Tyringham was held in the town hall. The local minister, Mr. Wells, who has done suggestive work in church federation, was one of the leaders. There were practical courses in dairying, domestic science, the problems of local taxation, schools, and community organization. A fine spirit was manifested in the work. Last year eight such schools were held, with an enrolment of approximately 800 students, and if the college had the equipment it could have held many more, for requests were numerous.

More intimate still than either the lecturing or the extension schools has been the personal visiting of farming communities and individual farmers who have problems to solve by the scientific experts of the college. Careful surveys of several localities in the state have been made and every effort has been put forth to encourage progressive movements.

Still another valuable activity is the demonstration farm work—farms actually conducted by college workers, where modern methods are employed. These farms become centres for the dissemination of knowledge. Last year, also, the college had exhibitions at country fairs, with lecturers present to make explanations, thus reaching thousands of more or less casual visitors.

The college has correspondence courses in all branches of agricultural work, in which, last year, more than 900 people in the state were enrolled. A bulletin regularly issued, "Facts for Farmers," had a circulation of 45,000 during the year, and besides this there was a large distribution of circulars, bulletins, and posters on agricultural and community subjects. An experiment has also been made in automobile extension work. An automobile van, carrying publications, samples of spraying outfits, and other material for demonstration, in charge of an energetic man, made expeditions about the state, stopping in the little towns wherever

groups of farmers could be collected or advice could be given.

It is the serious effort of the college to let no ignorant man escape—not even the new foreigners. I attended, last winter, sessions of the Polish Farmers' Day at the college, at which a large number of Poles and their families were in attendance. Lectures in English were turned into Polish by an interpreter and the practical problems of the onion and tobacco farms were discussed. They were, by the way, a fine, sturdy looking body of men and women. Evening schools have also been held for foreign-born farmers.

CLUBS FOR FARM BOYS AND GIRLS

In some ways, however, the work with the boys and girls of Massachusetts is the most interesting of all. This work, under the direction of Professor Morton, has grown wonderfully. It is being conducted in coöperation with the public schools—and not only reaches farm boys and girls, but hundreds in the cities. Here is a list of the number enrolled in 1915:

Number of members of home and school garden clubs growing potatoes, flint corn, sweet corn, garden beans, and tomatoes	67,218
Number of members of agricultural clubs cultivating from one eighth of an acre up	711
Number in poultry club	539
Number of girls in home economics clubs, studying canning, cookery, and domestic science	838
Total number of boys and girls in clubs	69,306
Number of towns in which clubs have been formed	315

Besides all this, the college has been instrumental in organizing four dairy improvement associations in various parts of the state, in assisting farmers with nineteen demonstration orchards, has organized an M. A. C. improvement association to stimulate the growing of better seed corn and seed potatoes. The college has also assisted in the organization of improvement associations in two Massachusetts counties.

It will be seen, from all this, what a variety of methods are pursued. It is safe to say that very few people in the state, outside of the crowded parts of the large cities, have not come, at some point, in contact with the helpful work of the college.

THE ABSENCE OF PATERNALISM

Now the underlying inspiration of all this work is not merely the desire to help people: it is not paternalistic: it does not seek to do for people what they can do for themselves. It is, on the other hand, educational and inspirational. It seeks to stimulate the people to work for themselves—and to give them the knowledge which will assist them to this end. And it seeks to do this, not merely for the economic benefit of the farmer's life—his cattle-growing, his crop-raising activities—but to touch and inspire the *whole* of his life. Other states have gone as far as, or farther than, Massachusetts in the economic side of extension work: but none has had such a vision of community, coöperative, and religious revival. The rural community movement, so far as it is related to college extension, began with President Kenyon L. Butterfield of the Agricultural College.

"To touch and influence every branch of agricultural life—this is the task of the college," says President Butterfield.

This is the basis of the effort to organize country communities which, under Mr. Morgan, has made such a hopeful beginning. As Professor Carver so strikingly pointed out in a lecture at one of the conferences: "The farmer is the only business man who buys always at retail and sells always at wholesale." To reach this business situation coöperation is the only remedy. So the college has experts in coöperation, who are doing their best to spread the knowledge and inspiration of that idea throughout the state.

Other difficulties of the farm community are stagnation, extreme individualism, a want of amusement, communication, and beauty, and all these the college is endeavoring to meet through community organization and the stimulation of a new community spirit. In Massachusetts this work has come to be known as the "Amherst Movement."

A NEW CONSCIENCE IN THE REAL ESTATE BUSINESS

) HOW MR. BEN F. FAAST, OF EAU CLAIRE, WIS., HAS HELPED TO MAKE CUT-OVER LANDS GROW OTHER CROPS THAN STUMPS, BESIDES HELPING TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF READY MONEY FOR WORTHY FARMERS

BY

HERBERT QUICK

THERE is no English word which carries a meaning more generally understood than the Latin phrase, *Caveat emptor!*, which means "Let the buyer be-e!" It is a legal maxim, too, which had the mossy approval of the courts centuries. It signifies that when you ' a thing you must look out for yourself. : seller can tell you anything he pleases ut the value of the thing sold, and if . are "taken in" by these statements, more fool you.

Ve derive this unhallowed maxim from ient days when most goods were sold "market overt"—that is, in open lic markets, where the buyer looked the goods when he bought them. :refore, if you look at the thing, you supposed to know as much about its ıe as the seller does. You have your d with you, haven't you? The seller is wed to do a certain amount of puffery . bamboozling. That is business.

'ractically all lines of respectable trade e now risen above this law. The ı who takes the law only for his le is not a good citizen. Take the ertising business, for instance. A er who deals with a concern advertis-in any good paper or magazine is safe. uth in advertising" has become the :to of the advertising trade. It was 'ectly obvious, when once the matter looked into, that the whole adver-ıg business was in danger unless the ler of an advertisement could depend n its truth.

have said "all lines of respectable le." Those who have been called n to cope with a certain class of land agents or town-lot salesmen will be likely to ask themselves whether or not the real estate business is respectable. But does not the business ethics of the real estate industry tend to fall below the average behavior of the men engaged in it?

They are full of the *caveat emptor* philosophy. They sell land and expect to think no more about the fellow who has bought. The real estate man's business is to close deals. He is emphatically not his brother's keeper. He is nobody's guardian. Any deal is fair which can be closed. His motto is no such drivel as truth in anything, but only "Get the money!" It is purely and simply a *caveat emptor* business in which the operator is prone to think that he must put his conscience in cold storage, carry his religion in his wife's name, and forget the Golden Rule. For it is hard to be in a tough business unless one is tough.

To call attention to these things is not so disagreeable a task as it would be if the real estate business were not already showing signs of those stirrings and protests which indicate a determination on the part of the best men engaged in it to purge it of its evils. In any case these strictures would not be here uttered were not the real estate business so vitally important to our national life. It controls the growth of our cities. It determines the kind of homes in which we live. It dominates the settlement of our unoccupied lands. It presides over the destinies of half the territory of the United States. It moves the settler to his new home, and in so doing determines in thousands of cases the dramatic issue as to whether or not he shall prosper and

become a missionary to bring more settlement, or meet with disaster, lose hope, drift to other regions or back to the city, and spread the doctrine of pessimism as to our unimproved lands. The real estate business has in its grip the destinies of the so-called abandoned farms of the East. It rules the waste places of a continent less than a third developed. It exercises a powerful influence on morals. And especially it has the "say" as to the reclamation of our immense areas of lands that once were forests but now are No Man's Lands of stumps, brush, swamp, saplings, and briers.

MR. BEN F. FAAST, REAL ESTATE MAN

The solution of the problem of these lands, and the hope as well for better things for the real estate business, impel me to relate the story of Mr. Ben F. Faast, of Eau Claire, Wis. He makes no claim to being better than other real-estaters; and he is no better than some others I know. What he is doing, however, seems worthy of publicity.

In the first place, Mr. Faast formed a company and acquired approximately 50,000 acres of that stumpy, brushy, second-growth land. I suspect that at first he had only one idea, to sell it just as other land men have done from time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. Maybe he believed in looking out for the purchaser's interests from the beginning; but I suspect that all he looked out for was purchasers. Anyhow, he found them in large numbers. When I saw him he had only about 5,000 acres left unsold, and I suppose there is not much left by now.

He found most of his buyers in the persons of men who had worked many years in factories. Some of them had for twenty years been laborers in steel mills, recorded under numbers like cattle or convicts, and unknown by their names even to their bosses. They had in sweat and backache accumulated a few hundred dollars each, from which anemic rolls they could peel off enough ragged bills to make the first payment on an average of *fifty acres of* stumps.

Such people need help. If they fall they may fall like Lucifer, never to rise again. You may once spend twenty years in a factory and save $500; but you cannot repeat the trick. Life is too short, and the human soul is not sufficiently resilient.

This Wisconsin man was queer. He wondered just how well these men were going to do. Remember, he is a very competent land salesman. He went after business. He sent out circulars to land salesmen, and he detailed specialists in salesmanship to instruct the local agents in the gentle art of wooing the buyer across the threshold of a passenger car bound for the seat of war. But he wondered just how well these men would do. Strange, but he did.

He believed in the land's fertility; but he knew that fertility is not all. He discovered that the average farmer, without any outside help in organizing his affairs, and left to sink or swim by the state, does not clear up one of these cut-over farms very rapidly. In point of fact, he learned —a fact of great sociological import— that the average increase in cleared area is about an acre a year per farm. It is easy to understand why this is. The settler pays out about all his money for the land and the expenses of getting to it. He has a family—for most of these people emigrate from points outside the race-suicide belt. There is not enough reclaimed land to support the family; and the man who has long worked for wages naturally looks for wage-work when his farm supplies fall short. And it is better to work for wages in a factory than in the vicinity of a frontier farm. On this basis, the farm cannot be considered a rosy prospect.

READY-MADE FARMS

"This will never do," said Mr. Faast. "We must sell these people ready-made farms." He did not invent the idea. A great Canadian railroad company has been doing the same thing in its irrigation blocks for years—but Mr. Faast worked out the plan for the lower values, smaller tracts, and the greater expense of reclamation of cut-over lands—worked it out for himself, and possibly for the Nation. He reasoned that his company could clear

with less expense than could the idual farmer. So he had designed built a steam stump-puller weighing o pounds that was capable of hoist-ut the largest stump in that country. new that these newcomers could not heir roads built, and he began build-them. Believing that his company l build farm houses at less expense could the settler, he had plans : for cottages according to the re-ive purses of his buyers. Then he these little farms, each with from to ten acres cleared, with nice little s and barns, and provided with . He also sold them twelve chickens, a cow, six rolls of wire fencing, and igs to a forty-acre farm; or the fowls two cows, twelve rolls of fencing, and pigs for an eighty; all on the same time and low interest rate accorded e land purchases. Here was a living ght. This was his plan for selling ly-made farms."

HIS SUCCESS

was a success. Maybe it was nec-y for him to do this in order to get rs at all—and let us not give him t for more than just plain horse sense is. He then began doing things lp these people after he had them landed on their little farms. He lished a farm of his own in the centre e district from which he furnished class seeds for the settlers and as high-cattle as the conditions warranted. o years ago the 8th of last September, stance, the settlers had a Harvest val in one of their new villages. land company had on show there Holstein-grade bull calves sired by a's King of the May," and from ed dams. Not purebreds yet, you ve, but good calves. The farmers notified that these calves could be on the following rather easy terms: y will be sold for cash, or we will for your scrub bull calf." This is cking violation of caveatemptorism. s resulted in the establishment of a n by which a real estate organi-l with money, and with advice and el worth in some instances more than the money, actively assists the people, who have bought its lands, to build up a community in which "Purebred!" is the slogan, both in animals and seeds.

It seemed a shame to waste the young trees and stumps on these lands. So Mr. Faast set about doing the community —and himself—another service: nothing less than finding a market for the forest products taken off in the process of clearing. Many people have tried to do this, but I know of no other instance of success. Certainly the settlers themselves could never have built up a market for the cord-wood, kiln-wood, billets, bolts, dead timber, down timber, rotten timber, and all; but Mr. Faast did. The system is in full blast. It helps to enable the farmers to add more than that acre or so per year to the clearing—but its real significance, to my mind, lies in the fact that about all the land left for settlers in this country is very much the same sort of land—in Wisconsin, Michigan, the Pacific Northwest, and all over the South and much of New England. This Wisconsin experience should be studied by the state and Nation. Ready-made farms, sale of the stuff cleared off, some aid and guidance to the new settlers, and capital at fair rates for development—these four things will make any cut-over region blossom as the rose if it has a good soil. Such organized help must be had if tilled fields take the place of stumps.

HELPING THE SETTLER IN EVERY WAY

If there is any way in which this real-estater could properly interest himself in the prosperity, happiness, and Americanization of his buyers, and failed to do so, I have not heard of it. Chiefly he gave them opportunities for self-help. Nothing was given them except on one of two theories: (1) either land or property to be paid for, or (2) friendly advice and information as one neighbor to another. The settlers are self-respecting people who had worked for what they possessed, and Mr. Faast was just the same sort of person himself; so there was no chance of misunderstanding, no uplift work, no welfare work, save as people work together for mutual uplift and the general welfare.

Together he and the settlers worked out a plan for making the most out of the land in the hard first years. This plan has now been approved by the experts of the state college of agriculture—and there are none better. "Don't plow and clear a lot of land at once," he advised his buyers. "Take the brush off eight or ten acres and sow it in clover. It will catch; for it is a natural clover country. Sow clover and timothy among the uncut trees. Turn in your cows to pasture, and keep down the brush. Soon this land will be ready for hay production; for the stock tramping about the stumps will pack the ground and cause the frost to heave out the stumps, making them easy to pull. You can grow nearly as much grass among the stumps anyhow as if they were all out. It does not look so nice, and it certainly is not as pleasant a condition for the farmer; but let us make haste slowly. These stumps have been here a long time. Let's allow Nature to help us a little in getting them out. Hogs, also, if fenced in a smallish lot will do a lot of grubbing and stumping. They will pay you for the privilege of doing this. So will the cows. So will sheep. One of these years you will find the clearing easy, and you will have made a living all the time."

THE PROBLEM OF CREDIT—

He is a banker as well as a land man. He was one before he went into this land scheme. I suspect that if seven years ago any one had suggested that the farmers needed any better credit system than they had, he would have said, as so many stupid bankers are now saying: "Rural credit? As if our present banks weren't good enough for the farmers. Another populist scheme, I suppose. Well, I think that what's good enough for the town is good enough for the farmer. Rural credit! Humph! Just as if there could be more than one kind of credit. These wild-eyed reformers make me tired!"

But he found, when he had got his farmers on the ground, that his bank, which is a good strong one, could not possibly serve the needs of these men. *Their characters* were good. Their lands were good. But who outside of region knew it? If his bank m loan to one of these men it meant a mortgage in most cases, or the pa of the first mortgage and the givin new one for more. The bank had to carry these mortgages or sell the it sold them it had to guarantee If it guaranteed them it had to lool interest payments, insurance, taxe generally to protect the interests mortgagee. It had to do that an for lenders will not take mortgag lands at a distance and assume a bother. They can lend their fun more desirable ways. Moreover, th would not allow the bank to take all mortgages even if it wanted to Being a well-managed bank it did not to. If any farmer in the country ha made president of the bank, he have refused those loans if he had b good banker—and if he had not b good banker he would soon have p out or been closed up. Commercial ing and farm loans do not mix to any extent. Even as to short loans on mortgages they don't mix well; an farmer needs a long-time loan so th farm may develop before the loan ma

—AND HOW IT WAS SOLVED

Down at Madison there were theorists and economists and colleg fessors who succeeded in getting th the legislature a bill for rural land-mo credits. It provided for two kinds o banks—the coöperative and the stock. As soon as Mr. Faast rea law, he said to his associates: "W now proceed to organize a Land gage Association, under this law, o joint-stock plan, make loans unt have lent up our capital, issue bonds based on the mortgages, sell and relend the money."

"Can we do that?" queried they. we pay dividends?" "Not at he replied; "but eventually I belie stock will be good. In the meantir can lend these farmers all the mone need; if we can sell the bonds we c able them to clear more land, buy stock, build silos and barns, and be

perous. This, too, will make prosperous those little towns in which we have country banks; and if the towns are prosperous our banks will flourish."

It was a long game; and I commend it to the notice of those misguided bankers who are opposed to any new system of credit for the farmers. Here is one banker who wanted rural credit for the benefit, in part, of the ordinary commercial banks in which he was interested.

The land bank was organized. To sell its bonds was slow work at first, but finally they began to move—and when I was on the ground it had lent about $135,000 in about 120 loans. It had not paid any dividends, but expects to do so in time. Its organizer will not regard it as a success unless it does. He believes in the joint-stock, dividend-bearing bank as against the coöperative bank. In fact, he holds the belief that, in new communities at least, the members of which are mostly strangers to one another, the cooperative bank will not be organized very freely. I hope he is wrong in this; because I should like to see land-mortgage credit on a lower basis than their rate of 6 or 7 per cent. Unless it is established on a lower basis, it will do very little good to the older communities where values are higher and more stable. In fact, good farmers in Dane County, in which Madison is situated and where the land is very valuable, have told me that they do not see how the land-mortgage plan can give them money on any better basis than that on which they have been borrowing for years.

But with these settlers—as it is with thousands and thousands of farmers in New England, and Appalachian regions, the South, the Southwest, and elsewhere—it is not a question of getting money on long time at 4, 5, 6, or even 7 per cent. It is a question of getting it at all. There are certain beaten paths along which money travels for farm loans. Regions served by them are already pretty well supplied with credit, though the need for long-time loans with the amortization plan has not yet been met even there; but off all these beaten paths there is a famine in land-mortgage money. Northern Wisconsin is off the beaten path. The new land bank opened a way for money to travel to it at 7 per cent. and in some cases at 6—and it has locally been a godsend to the settlers.

THE CASE OF JOE BATA

Joe Bata, for instance, a Bohemian shoemaker, never worked on a farm until he moved to these woods "because of the healthy climate" in 1912. He had $500, out of which he paid $200 for forty acres of cut-over land and gave a mortgage for $360 for the balance to become due. He has five children. On May 24, 1914, he gave a mortgage on the original forty acres, and forty more which he had bought for $1,000, to the new rural credit organization. He paid with this $763 of prior mortgage; which shows that in the main he had made the loan to get more land. With what he had left he bought more live-stock and cleared more fields. The farm was then valued at $3,299 and he had $600 in personal property. Within the next five years he expects to have the eighty acres practically cleared and a new house and barn; and he estimates that his property will be worth $6,000 at the end of that time. He is an exceptionally thrifty man; for he had saved $500 between coming to America in 1908 and his coming to Wisconsin; but in his first two years on this farm his worldly wealth had grown from $500 to an estimated net worth of $2,437, when he made the loan. His is a fairly typical case among these thrifty, hard working people.

On such mortgages as this most of the farmers pay 7 per cent. interest, and about 2 per cent. annually on the principal—just enough to amortize the debt in twenty years. Paying at a flat rate the whole twenty years, the sum paid on the principal increases all the time, and the interest decreases: thus every mortgage is an automatic savings bank. Such a loan as Mr. Bata's, extinguished at the end of twenty years, will cost him, in principal and interest, $1,739.40, whereas if he had borrowed the thousand dollars for twenty years at the same rate of interest—which he could not have done unaided by some organization—and then paid the debt as

a whole when due, it would have cost him $2,200—a difference of $460.60: and to most people the burden of paying off gradually is far less than that of lifting the whole load at once.

These are simple and humble facts; but they mean big things for northern Wisconsin. The infection of lending money for productive purposes to the struggling settlers of those fine lands is spreading. Local banks are interesting themselves in personal loans for good stock, silos, clearing, and more clearing. They see that it is to the interest of everybody to make a new Ohio or Indiana of that region without taking a century to do it—as Ohio and Indiana had to do.

OUR GREATEST NATIONAL PROBLEM

The development of the cut-over lands is our greatest farm-land problem for northern Wisconsin and Michigan, parts of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Louisiana, Texas, central and southern Missouri, most of Arkansas, northern Minnesota, the cut-over regions of California, Oregon, Washington, British Columbia, some of Manitoba, all that great new "clay belt" in northern Ontario, a good deal of Maine, West Virginia, Virginia, and the Carolinas, and goodly spots elsewhere are suffering either from arrested development or delayed development because we finally discovered the prairies and found them good. The axe lifted against the forests was dropped in mid-air by the pioneer home-builder when the prairies were reached, and was never lifted again until the lumberman picked it up. Pioneers refused longer to log, grub, clear, and reclaim forests for farms while millions of acres better than any of the forest land lay smiling its invitation to the plow, and the railroads offered the chair-car in lieu of the covered wagon. And the states stricken by the palsy of the prairies have never recovered; and never will, unless something is done of the sort here outlined, but broader, bigger, and better.

It is often said that the Great American Mystery is the settlement of the Western plains in regions of such scanty rainfall that the average success in farming is less than three good crops in ten, while good lands remain unsettled in humid climates, near to markets, and in well-organized, progressive states. It is really no mystery at all. These good lands are covered with stumps and second-growth forests or stones. Our people have forgotten how to reclaim forests, and, even if they had not, would not play the long, slow game which reclaimed the forest states of the East. The spirit of Daniel Boone is extinct. That spirit made a paradise of the bluegrass regions of Kentucky. If the bluegrass counties were now under their original forest roof they would wait longer for the plow, at our present rate of progress in settling forest lands, than they did after 1775, when old Daniel founded Boonesborough.

That is what ails the cut-over regions of the United States to-day; and that is the warrant for the statement that these lands constitute our greatest national problem. Organized effort, not individual effort, is essential.

The subject is greater than the United States. It extends, as we have seen, over into Canada; and it is the coming problem for the nations controlling the tropics, where the huge populations of the future must live. Modern populations must conquer the remains of past forests in the form of stumps, and contend with the redundant growth of the present and future with machinery more effective than individual effort. That machinery is foreshadowed in the work of this real estate man in Wisconsin, which contains the three germs of conquest—regulated settlement, collective dealings with the by-products of clearing, and a special system of finance. And so, the things needed are ready-made farms, a market for the timber cleared off, rural credits for the farmers, both personal and on land mortgages, and expert guidance. The settler will furnish the human elements of industry and thrift. The other elements are too much for his unaided efforts; as they would be for yours or mine.

SPIES AND SNIPERS

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES WITH THEIR METHODS IN THIS WAR, AS OBSERVED BY AN AMERICAN WHO HAS SERVED WITH THE BRITISH ARMY IN FLANDERS

BY

WILLIAM J. ROBINSON

DURING the year of 1915 so many spies were caught in the area occupied by our Corps that many of the fellows developed the "spy mania," and to them every one dressed in civilian clothes or who was peculiar in any way became the object of suspicion. In a way they could not be blamed, for we caught spies in all guises. Men dressed as women, women dressed as men, Germans in British, French, or Belgian uniform; we even caught them dressed as priests!

After the unit I was with went into action the first time, we went back a few miles to be "re-made." We were sadly cut to pieces, there being only about 18,000 left out of the 33,000 who had come out from England. Our march from the coast to the scene of action had been a hard one, and we had lost no time on the way as we were badly needed at the front and the Germans were right after us. On this account we had not spent much time in the village and had had no chance to come in contact with the people.

In the place in which we camped after our first battle we saw the first signs of spies. We took the place over in the afternoon, and before dark we were fairly well settled. It was the usual small Flemish town with its windmills, one story buildings, and a superabundance of *estaminets* (tap rooms) where dark brown beer is sold for two sous a glass to the soldiers and one sou to the civilians. Our staff took over the school for its offices, and, as soon as we arrived, the Assistant Provost Marshal had the military police posted. In villages like this one the movements of civilians are not restricted within the limits of the village between six in the morning and eight at night. If there is the slightest doubt as to the identity of persons the police ask for their *laisser-passer*, or if they are carrying baskets or bundles they are obliged to show the contents on demand. As a rule, though, they pass unchallenged unless they are entering or leaving the village. After eight at night, however, every one, civilian or soldier, is stopped and questioned closely. A civilian has no business to be out of doors after eight, and he is liable to spend the night in the guard room if he is found out after this hour. A soldier will do likewise unless he is on duty or has some very good reason to give.

Spies or agents lose no time about getting their information off. Before dark on the day we entered this town for a few days' rest, our police captured three men, all of them civilians. One old fellow came sauntering down the road with a bag under his arm. One of our police stopped him and asked what the bag contained. The man replied that it was only a few vegetables he was taking home. The policeman decided to look the vegetables over, and on opening the bag found that instead of the "vegetables" it contained two carrier pigeons with dispatches attached to each of them. These dispatches gave complete details as to our exact strength, our equipment, the condition of our men, the names and number of our commanding officers, etc., and the information had apparently been compiled by an expert. The man and his "vegetables" were immediately taken to headquarters. He was questioned and cross-examined by interpreters, but through it all remained sullenly silent, refusing to answer any questions asked him.

Later in the afternoon one of our police patrols noticed a windmill behind the village behaving in a most peculiar manner. It would turn for a few seconds, stop,

turn again, and stop. It was noticed that there was scarcely a breath of air stirring, so the police decided to investigate. They made their way quietly to the windmill and found two civilians working out a message in code. So many turns meant one letter and so many turns another. It was slow work, but it must have been worth while. The documents found on these two men convicted them, and with the man who was caught with the carrier pigeons they were sentenced to be shot. The sentence was duly carried out. These men were traitors, very different from the brave fellow I saw "die with his boots on" during the winter of 1915.

A GERMAN SPY

In a little village close to the firing line one of our ammunition columns made its headquarters. The column would go to the rail head in the morning, get loads of ammunition, and return to wait until night came before taking it up to the front. One morning, I saw a man with a notebook in his hand walking from wagon to wagon. At each one he would lift the canvas, look over the contents, and make a note in his book. One of our police noticed the man and asked him what he was doing. I did not hear the conversation that followed, but the policeman finally sauntered over to where I was and told me to go to the guard room and get a corporal and two men at once. I asked no questions but did as he said. I was soon on the way back with the guard. As we turned the corner and came in sight of the man, he pulled two guns and started to run. We all fired and set out after him. Men joined in the chase all along the way, and it is surprising that despite the hail of bullets we sent after him he remained untouched. I think he would have made good his escape but that two men appeared in the road in front of him and ordered him to halt. He fired at them for an answer and they raised their rifles and brought him down. He had the German uniform on under his outer clothes and he also had both English and French passes in his pockets. The little book he carried proved to be a perfect gold mine of information and would have done us a great deal of damage had it ever reached the German authorities.

One of the saddest cases I ever saw was that of an old man who gave his age as eighty-two years. We were on our way back from the firing line one evening when we noticed this old man down on his knees digging in the earth with a trowel. This was after our wires in the zone of fire had been laid under ground. It was the extreme age of the man that attracted our attention, and we stopped and asked him what he was doing. He paid no attention to us whatever, but simply continued to ply his trowel. Thinking that he might be mentally unbalanced or perhaps ill, we went to the place where he was digging. Investigation showed that he was hunting for our wires. He had already found several of them and these he had cut with a pair of nippers. To our questions he paid no attention and appeared to be dazed. We took him into the car and turned him over to the authorities at headquarters. Many of the people in Flanders have German blood in them; their language is very similar to German, and in some cases one cannot be surprised that they are partial to Germany.

There is, of course, no excuse for such treachery on the part of civilians. They are well treated by the military authorities, and the people who are in business in the towns and villages occupied by the British army were never so prosperous in their lives. The pay of the British "Tommy" is so much higher than that of the Continental soldiers that the French and Belgian shopkeepers feel justified in raising the prices on everything when a man in khaki comes in to buy. A civilian or a Belgian soldier can buy a can of sardines for eight or nine sous. For this same article the British pay eighteen sous or perhaps a franc, and in some cases the difference is even greater. The soldiers are paid at regular intervals, usually every two weeks, and they can generally draw as much money as they want providing they do not ask for more than is due them. They are paid in French money, and they are good spenders, so the Belgian and French shopkeepers reap a rich harvest. A great many of the

civilians refuse to accept the Belgian paper money unless the notes are old ones dated sometime before the outbreak of the war. The reason for this is that the report was circulated that the Germans in Belgium were making notes wholesale and without any gold or silver to back them up. It was also said that the Belgian Government refused to recognize notes printed after a certain date. (Whether this is true or not I do not know. It is the reason some Belgians have repeatedly given for refusing Belgian paper money. I mention these facts to show that there is no reason for civilians turning traitor to their country for monetary reasons. The farmers can sell all their produce to the army and they are paid for it promptly and well. Even the blacksmiths do a great deal of work for the army, for, while large units have their own smiths, there are many small units that do not have enough work to keep an army blacksmith busy, and these units are taken care of by the civilian smiths in whatever locality they happen to be.

Taken all in all the country occupied by the Allied armies never saw more prosperous times than these of to-day.

CATCHING SIGNALLERS

One evening in the spring of 1915, I was on my way to my billet. It was just after dark and I had just come down from the firing line. I had my rifle and revolver and was going to clean them up a little before I turned in. As I made my way along the only street of the village a policeman stopped me.

"On duty?" he asked.

"Just off," I replied.

"Fall in with the men across the street," he said. I looked and saw six or seven men with rifles lined up on the other sidewalk. At first I thought I had been picked to act on a firing party and my mind worked frantically for some plausible excuse to get me out of it. I have served many branches of the service, but I am thankful that I have never been called upon to act as executioner to some poor fellow who is blindfolded and standing on the brink of his grave.

I knew almost as soon as the thought entered my head that I could not have been picked for this duty, for it is invariably done in the early morning and this was evening. As I fell into line the police sergeant brought up another man, and we marched away at the double. We headed toward a near-by hill known as Mont Noir. The sergeant told us as we ran that some one was signalling from the hill and we were to find the party and bring them in. We ran on in silence. I tried to find some evidence of lights on the hill that lay just ahead of us, but was unable to see any sign of them. At the foot of the hill we spread out and were told to search quietly but thoroughly and to meet at the road which ran over the summit of the hill.

Having seen no signs of any lights I thought we had been sent on a wild goose chase by some alarmist who imagined he saw moving lights. However, I thought, the work must be done so I might as well do my part of it right. Carefully I made my way along, watching closely for signs of people about. Occasionally I stopped to listen, but I failed to see or hear anything. I was nearly to the top when I heard a voice shout, "Halt!" The command was immediately followed by a shot, and, a few seconds later, by several more shots. Running low, I headed in the direction from which the sounds had come, and I could hear the other fellows crashing through the underbrush, too. In a few minutes I reached the scene of the action. Fred Morris had a man and a woman with their hands in the air, and another man lay on the ground with a bullet through his thigh. In a little pit dug in the ground were about a dozen lanterns with candles all burning, and attached to a limb of one of the trees was a set of halyards with hooks on which to hang the lanterns attached to them.

A MAN IN WOMAN'S CLOTHING

We bound the hands of the man and woman, and carried the wounded man up to the road. The sergeant placed a man to guard him and promised to send an ambulance for them as soon as we reached headquarters. On the way down I noticed the way the woman walked. I called the

sergeant's attention to it, and on investigation we found that it was a man dressed in woman's clothing. I asked him his reason for the disguise, but he merely glared at me and refused to answer. On our arrival at camp, we turned the prisoners over, gave in the paraphernalia they had used for signalling, and went to our various billets. Later I heard that they were reporting the movements of troops far behind our lines. How much information had reached the enemy we could not tell, but alterations in the movements of the troops were made so that even if the enemy had received the whole message it would do them no good. These spies were tried, convicted, and shot.

During the late summer of 1915, signs in English and French appeared in all the towns from the coast to the firing line. They were for the most part placed in the cafés and *estaminets* were soldiers are most likely to gather. These signs warned all soldiers against talking about military matters of any kind, and added that one never knew who was around and that spies were very numerous. The signs pleased those people who had the spy mania, and gave them the opportunity of saying, "I told you so," an opportunity which they never missed.

AN AVIATOR WHO NEVER RETURNED

The second time I went on leave to England I planned to go with a young fellow of the Flying Corps. He had but one more flight to make before his leave was granted, and we planned to go together. We were to leave on a Saturday and catch the afternoon boat which would get us across before dark. We had our warrants and everything, and he was detailed to make his last flight early Saturday morning. He was going to start out at four o'clock, and he said he would probably be back around five. I decided to go over to the flying ground to see him off. It was not until he came out dressed for the flight that he knew what he was going to do. He found a crate of pigeons lashed to the body of his machine, and a man muffled up to the eyes waiting beside them. The squadron commander told him that he was to take this man and the pigeons, fly over the German lines with them, pick a good spot, and come to earth. As the machine touched ground he was to cut the lashings which held the crate, the man would roll out of the machine, and he, my friend, was to rise at once and return as swiftly as possible. This stunt had been done before, but my friend had never been called upon to do it, and it was mighty dangerous business. The possibilities for accidents were unlimited. If his engine stopped when he hit the ground, he was done for. If the enemy were near the place he landed he stood a small chance of getting away alive. Taken all in all, it was not the most agreeable job for his last flight.

I watched his machine until it was but a mere speck against the rising sun, and then I went over to my billet to pack my bag and to prepare my car for the journey down to the coast. At six o'clock I went over to the flying ground again, but he had not returned, and that was all. As the hours passed by I gave up all hope, and at eleven o'clock I started for the coast. What happened to him no one knows, and I was never able to find out whether the spy he carried ever sent any information through or not. His name appeared as "missing," and that was all there was to it. I began to realize that a spy behind the enemy's lines must be very valuable when they will risk a machine worth thousands of dollars and the life of a trained aviator for the sake of placing one spy.

SPIES BY THE WHOLESALE

Soon after I returned from England we had a very hot time in which the Germans broke through our line in one place. We rushed supports up, though, and the Germans were soon driven back and the breach closed again. After this we began to catch spies wholesale. Conditions became so serious and these spies so numerous that measures were taken to round these people up. It was decided to close our lines entirely for a period of twenty-four hours. During this time sentries were to be placed at short intervals along all roads. They were to stop everybody regardless of what uniform he wore or what rank he held.

Special passes were issued which were good only during the twenty-four hours the lines were closed, but regular passes were worthless unless presented with the special pass. Besides all the sentries along the roads there were patrols out also. Everybody was to be stopped and those who were not provided with the special pass were to be placed under arrest, brought in, and examined. All these arrangements were made with the greatest secrecy, and, when everything was in readiness, orders were issued that, from 9 P. M. of one day until 9 P. M. of the next, all men not on duty were to remain in the billet area and men on duty were to make sure that they had in their possession pass number "so and so."

The first I knew of what was happening was when I was warned for special duty on the afternoon of the day the roads were to be closed. I was told to report to the office of the Assistant Provost Marshal at 8 P. M., and to have the dispatch car I was driving prepared for a long journey. I knew nothing of what was happening nor did any but those in charge of the affair. At eight o'clock, I reported myself and found that there were several other dispatch cars there besides my own. The Assistant Provost Marshal told us what we were to do, gave us each a certain area to cover, and warned us to let no one pass us without giving a satisfactory account of himself. We were to fly the Army Corps flag on our cars, but if any sentry challenged us we were to stop and show the special pass.

TWO "TOMMIES" THAT WERE GERMANS

I had an area of about three square miles to cover, and I started out expecting plenty of excitement. Mile after mile I covered without seeing any one but sentries and occasionally a cavalry patrol. I arrived back at my starting point without having even challenged anybody. I prepared myself for an uneventful, monotonous night, and began to realize that patroling country for spies is not as exciting as it sounds.

On my second trip I had better luck. I was more than half way back to camp when, as I swung my car around a curve, my headlights showed the figures of two men leaving the road. I yelled at them, and, turning on the searchlight on the side of the car, kept them right in the glare of it. They were running now, and I shouted again, but as they showed no intention of heeding my challenge, I sent two shots from my revolver after them. They stopped then all right, so, keeping the light still on them, I ordered them to come back to the road. This they did, but rather reluctantly I thought. Getting out of my car I had them come right up into the full glare of the headlights. They were British "Tommies." I asked them what regiment they belonged to and they told me they belonged to the Royal Sussex Regiment. They said that they had been in an *estaminet* after hours and were trying to get back to their billets without being seen. I might have let them go, and I was just going to ask them to show me their pay books when I happened to notice that one of them was wearing a pair of German infantry boots! That settled it, and I knew that they were lying. I ordered one to stand on one side of the car and the other on the opposite side. I searched first one and then the other for weapons, but they were both unarmed. Then it struck me that I was in a pretty tight place myself. I had to drive the car, and one of them would have to sit beside me, but the other would be behind me in the tonneau! Finally, I unstrapped the spare wheels from the car. I made them dump the wheels into the tonneau and with the straps I had one bind the other's feet and hands. When I had satisfied myself that the man was properly trussed up, I made his comrade lift him into the back of the car. I got into the driver's seat and had the second fellow sit beside me. I kept my revolver drawn, and told them: "If either of you try any funny business, I'm going to plug this man beside me. I have a perfect right to do it, and I will, so for your own sakes be good." If they had known how nervous I was I think they would have made a break to get away. As we started off they began to plead. It was a good thing I had noticed those boots, for if I hadn't I'm sure I'd

have let them go. As it was I advised them to "tell it to Sweeney" and kept right on going. As they got scared I gained confidence. Both of them talked perfect English, and I was all at sea as to who they were. When I got them into camp I turned them over to the Assistant Provost Marshal himself and set out on my third trip. During the rest of the night nothing happened so far as I was concerned. Sometime later I found out that the men I had brought in were both Germans, and they had both attended King's College in London before the war. The total number of spies captured in our area during the twenty-four hours was thirty-one, and they were all Germans!

MILITARY AND CIVILIAN SNIPERS

A great deal has been written about snipers in the present war. The first requisite of a sniper is marksmanship. He must be a regular "dead-eye-Aleck" and never miss his mark. On the firing line snipers work mostly at night. They dig little individual trenches out in the "dead ground" between the two firing lines, and, protected by a small breastwork of earth, they lie there and watch. As the star shells go up they have a fine view of the enemy's trenches. If they see anything to shoot at, there is no doubt about its being hit, for, as I said before, they never miss. When the first sign of dawn appears they worm their way back to their trenches, and perhaps take up a position in some obscure place which will give them a view of the enemy's parapet without them having to show themselves when they fire. It used to be a popular pastime to stick cigarette cards on the end of a stick and raise the card over the parapet several times in quick succession. The snipers were very obliging, and it would not be many seconds before the card had a neat hole in it. Those cards were often brought down to rest camp, and they were very much sought after by the French and Belgian kiddies.

Another class of sniper is the soldier who in some way gets through the enemy's lines, and, taking up a position in some secluded spot, picks off individuals as they pass along the roads. They generally choose trees or haystacks for their perches, but as a rule they change their location pretty frequently, as too many "accidents" in one spot are likely to cause an investigation, and it goes hard with the man who is caught at this work. This type of sniper is not common now, but during the first few months of the war when almost any one could find a way to get through the lines these snipers did a lot of damage.

Then comes the civilian sniper, who is nothing less than a common murderer. I can best illustrate the work of these fiends by citing an incident that made a great impression on me. It was a small boy, a child, almost. He was brought in by one of a group of miners who had been up laying mines under the enemy's trenches. They had been coming down a road leading from the trenches just as it was growing dark. Suddenly a rifle cracked and one of their number went down. Some of the men saw the flash of the rifle and rushed to where they had seen it. They found this boy just coming down out of a tree. His rifle lay on the ground where he had thrown it, and he was wasting no time in trying to get away. When they made him prisoner he began to cry and beg for mercy. They brought him in, and when the interpreters questioned him he was quite willing to answer their questions. He confessed that he was paid six francs for every officer he shot, but that he had orders not to shoot any officers with red on their uniforms (staff officers). He was provided with an up-to-date German rifle, and had plenty of ammunition. He told where he got this and where he received his pay for services rendered. Investigators were immediately sent to the place he told of, but they reached there too late, for the birds had flown. There was plenty of evidence to show that the boy had been telling the truth, though. He confessed to having shot sixteen officers in the two weeks he had been doing sniping.

MAN AND HIS MACHINES

ORNAMENTAL ELECTRIC FANS

THE electric fan has never been considered an object of beauty, but there are now being manufactured electric fans of ornamental designs, as in the accompanying photographs, which blend harmoniously with the decorative scheme of a room.

FOR INFLATING AUTOMOBILE TIRES

A MACHINE for inflating automobile tires which can be attached to any lamp socket, and is so light in weight that it can be easily transported by hand, eliminates

USEFUL FOR AUTOMOBILISTS

A portable pump which will quickly inflate any size automobile tire to required pressure

A PORTABLE TENT

It has a steel framework, is large enough to contain two persons comfortably, and yet can be folded into a parcel the size of a suitcase

the necessity for storage tanks, stationary compressors, and heavy hand-trucks.

The "lectroflator," as the machine is called, is an ingenious combination of an electric motor that will run on either alternating or direct current, a high pressure air compressor, a gear box, and a condensing chamber, all enclosed in a single housing and automatically cooled by a patented cooling system that requires no liquid. All bearings, gears, and pistons are automatically lubricated from a central source by the capillary system, and, there being no liquid lubricant or oil level to maintain, there can be no flooding and no oily vapors can get into the tires to rot them.

A PORTABLE TELEPHONE

Made of aluminum, it weighs but two and a half *pounds and is carried by the forest rangers in our national parks*

A FOLDING STEEL TENT

A TENT with a frame-work of steel that needs no pole to be set up, and which can be folded and carried by hand, is of special interest to sportsmen and to railroad contractors who can employ such tents for housing their workmen instead of the unsightly and unsanitary bunk car.

FOLDED UP

When folded the tent can be strapped to the running board of an automobile, placed in a canoe, or carried by hand

The tent, which weighs 140 pounds, is covered with canvas, and has two canvas bunks with metal frames suspended by springs from the steel framework, can be set up in ten minutes. When folded the tent can easily be transported by hand.

THE "HOWLER"

Instead of a bell to call forest rangers to the telephone this emits a screeching noise, more penetrating than the sound of a bell

MANUFACTURING UNIFORMS FOR THE ENTENTE ALLIES

The goods from which uniforms are made has to be accurately matched. The pattern is ther on the cloth in chalk and the operator of the bandsaw has to pilot the vast bulk of material along the curves of these lines

CUTTING UNIFORMS

On electric bandsaw machines of this type 150,000 yards of woolen goods *are cut in one day, in* folds *of sixty at a time*

STITCHING UNIFORMS

About 50,000 uniforms and overcoats out in an eight-hour working day. The E have spent more than $75,000,000 in bu

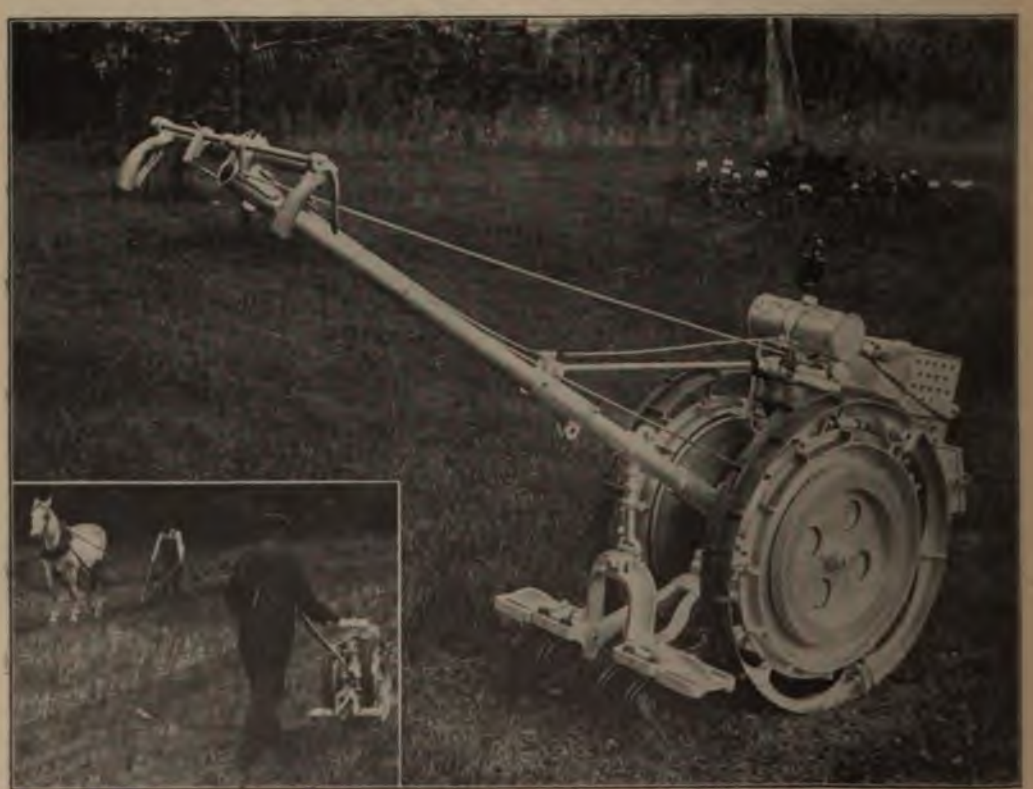
A LIGHTWEIGHT TELEPHONE FOR FOREST RANGERS

A PORTABLE aluminum telephone weighing but two and a half pounds is used by the forest rangers in the national parks to give warnings of forest fires. Each ranger carries with him a receiver and a few yards of light emergency wire and a heavier wire for making the ground connection. To get in touch with headquarters one end of the emergency wire is thrown over the telephone wires of the Forest Service telephone lines, the ends are connected with the receiver and the latter is connected with the ground wire, the end of which must be thrust into damp earth to establish the connection. At the receiving station, instead of a bell ringing to attract attention to the fact that someone is calling, there is an instrument called the "howler" which emits a screeching noise, effective at a greater distance than the ordinary ringing of a telephone bell.

A GARDEN TRACTOR AND CULTIVATOR

A GARDEN tractor and cultivator of new design and which embodies many advantages has recently been placed on the market.

The tractor-cultivator carries its own motor, and the frame bearing the attachments of hoes, knives, and disks is under the complete control of the operator at all times. The machine will cultivate to any depth desired by merely regulating the height of two free-swung wheels; and it cultivates vegetables grown in narrow rows by going astride the rows and, where the vegetables are in thick rows, by going between them. The tractor is so simple that any boy or girl may operate it, walking and steering it as if it were a lawn mower, but without pushing, and there are only two levers to operate—the one on the right handle controls the speed and the one on the left controls the clutch.



A NEW GARDEN TRACTOR-CULTIVATOR

So simple in construction that a boy or girl may operate it, walking and steering it as if it were a lawn mower

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

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THE PRESIDENT AT PHILADELPHIA

"America is at a point, gentlemen, where it is more than ever necessary that she should understand her own ideals not only, but be ready to put them into action at any cost. It is one thing to entertain fine principles and another thing to make them work. It is one thing to entertain them in the formulas of words . . . but it is another thing to make those words live in the action of our lives"

THE
WORLD'S WORK

AUGUST, 1916

VOLUME XXXII NUMBER 4

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

ON THE questions of Americanism, national defense, and our foreign relations, on which the coming election is likely to be settled, the country is divided somewhat on a new geographical alignment. The people of the seaboard states, as a rule, believe in a more vigorous foreign policy and in better national defense than do the people of the Middle West. Mr. Hughes is crystallizing into the champion of the more vigorous diplomacy and greater attention to national defense. The President, despite the fact that he was ultimately ready to break with Germany, and did call upon the National Guard in the Mexican imbroglio, has come to be the exponent of the more peaceful and less prepared policies. Of course, the habit of voting on strict party lines is still so strong that many states would vote as usual no matter what the question was. Yet unquestionably many independent voters in the Northeastern states who voted for the President four years ago will vote against him this year, and many in the Middle West who voted against him before will support him now on the basis that he has kept us out of the world war and that the country is prosperous.

The figures of the *last election* indicate that four years ago the President was stronger in the Mississippi Valley than on the Eastern seaboard. His former popularity, his peaceful policies, and the fact that he is a progressive-minded man should make the President very strong in the great interior on November 7th.

It takes 266 votes in the electoral college to elect a President. The solid South, including the border states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Maryland, West Virginia, Missouri, and Oklahoma have 183 votes.

The President is sure to carry the solid South and in the last election he received about as many votes in the border states mentioned as both the Progressives and Republicans put together. With these 183 electoral votes he would need 83 more to insure his election.

On the other hand Mr. Hughes can look back to 1912, when the states in which the President obtained a plurality over both his opponents were all, except Arizona, in the solid South or on the border and were not enough to carry an election. If Mr. Hughes can consolidate the Roosevelt and Taft vote he can win, but he must carry a much larger proportion of the populous debatable states than his opponent.

More than any other election in recent times, this election is in the hands of the independent voter.

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MR. VANCE C. McCORMICK

OF HARRISBURG, PENN., WHO HAS BEEN SELECTED BY PRESIDENT WILSON TO MANAGE HIS CAMPAIGN FOR REËLECTION

MR. WILLIAM R. WILLCOX

A NEW YORK LAWYER, ACTIVE FOR MANY YEARS IN POLITICS IN NEW YORK CITY, WHO HAS BEEN CHOSEN TO CONDUCT MR. HUGHES'S CAMPAIGN FOR THE PRESIDENCY

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GENERAL SIR DOUGLAS HAIG

COMMANDER OF THE BRITISH FORCES IN THE COMBINED FRANCO-BRITISH OFFENSIVE *EARLY IN JULY, WHICH* WAS STARTED IN COÖPERATION WITH THE RUSSIAN AND ITALIAN *OFFENSIVES*

GENERAL FERDINAND FOCH

IN COMMAND OF THE FRENCH ATTACK AT THE BATTLE OF THE SOMME EARLY IN JULY, WHEN FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE GREAT WAR THE ALLIES, ALMOST SIMULTANEOUSLY, *TOOK THE* OFFENSIVE IN PRACTICALLY EVERY THEATRE OF THE WAR

GENERAL LUIGI CADORNA

ER WHOSE COMMAND THE ITALIANS RECENTLY CHECKED THE AUSTRIAN OFFENSIVE
THEM, AND, SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE FRENCH AND BRITISH FORCES, ASSUMED
T IN THE GREAT ALLIED OFFENSIVE

GENERAL ALEXEI A. BRUSILOFF

COMMANDER OF THE RECENT RUSSIAN DRIVE AGAINST THE AUSTRIANS IN SOUTHERN RUSSIA AND BUKOWINA AND GALICIA WHICH HERALDED THE CONCERTED OFFENSIVE OF THE ALLIES *ON THE EASTERN, WESTERN,* AND SOUTHERN FRONTS

Photographed by Aimé Dupont

MR. FREDERICK W. SCOTT

OF RICHMOND, VA., A BANKER WHO NOT ONLY SAVED THE STOCKHOLDERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL MERCANTILE MARINE COMPANY A LARGE AMOUNT OF MONEY IN A NOMINAL BANKRUPTCY, BUT ALSO, WITH THE HELP OF MR. P. A. S. FRANKLIN, THE RECEIVER, PUT THE CORPORATION FINANCIALLY UPON ITS FEET

[See page 422]

'RESIDENT—WHY HE SHOULD SHOULD NOT BE REËLECTED

RESIDENT WILSON has fulfilled the programme he announced when he was elected, in larger measure ith more fidelity than history teaches xpect of our Presidents.

ıandling questions which were not ed of in the campaign of 1912 but or the time being become the most ssues in our political life the Presi- as not been so fortunate.

Wilson has himself admitted the f his earlier opinion that no measures paredness were necessary. But he ɔt displayed his old leadership on uctive preparations even since he has ɔd his mind. While he has been in a position than any one else in the y to get the facts, he has been con- ɔ await the pressure of the public had no such facilities. After the d sea battle opened the public's e gave his approval to a ten-big-ship appropriation. Before that he was t with Mr. Daniels's programme. g as the President is willing to accept ımes Hay as arbiter of our military nization and to retain Mr. Daniels as ary of the Navy, he can hardly take al advantage of the present oppor- to put our defenses in first class and to establish a permanently im- l system.

reception of ex-Governor Glynn's speech in St. Louis tends to show ıe Democratic Party (and there are Republicans and Progressives who : likewise) are satisfied with the :t of the controversy with Germany. 'esident got out of the crisis without ; into the war. That was the main hat was cheered.

a fair analysis of the situation would hat the President has a clearer per- ı of the necessity and value of main- ; American rights than those who Mr. Glynn's speech at St. Louis.

President put Mr. Bryan in his ·t to get a working majority, without he could not accomplish anything. foreign complications arose he ored to *overcome Mr.* Bryan's incompetence by attending to the foreign affairs himself. Despite his effort, however, Mr. Bryan managed to give the Teutonic Governments the impression that no matter what they did we would not take any action against them. With this assurance they naturally committed themselves to their murderous policy at sea. Under these circumstances, if the President had accepted the sufficient provocation and sent the German Ambassador home, he would have precipitated a war which might not have been necessary except for the action of his Secretary of State. On the other hand the choice he took of convincing Germany that she must reverse the policy which she had been given reason to suppose she could pursue was necessarily slower than it would have been had Germany never been misled. That the President accomplished his purpose under this handicap is a great tribute to his ability. It is doubtful if ever again he would handicap himself with such a Secretary of State. He did, however, keep Mr. Bryan long after it was plain that he was a menace to the country, and he still keeps Mr. Daniels when he is obviously a detriment to the Navy.

The "hyphen issue" in the campaign is not likely to assume any large proportions, for those of divided allegiance have already put the stamp of approval on the President by their opposition to him, and Mr. Hughes is putting himself in a proper position by his opposition to them. Despite Mr. Hughes's attitude, however, the reëlection of the President would give a more complete quietus to these foreign influences because they have publicly announced that they will beat him.

The Mexican question, in one form or another, is almost perpetual. The struggles of a backward people toward the establishment of a stable democracy always means friction with the neighboring states. If the disordered state is weak and its neighbor strong, the friction usually leads to absorption. Something of this process has gone on between the United States and Mexico in the past. The Mexicans fear further encroachment now. The President is rightly determined to do everything he can to prevent it. In

this he is right, and the American people agree with him. Moreover, the President feels that a war with the United States will not help the Mexicans to grow in the ability to govern themselves nor lessen the difficulties of the relations between the two countries in the long run. Most of the President's critics agree to all this, but they contend that his actions have made the Mexicans feel that we wanted to meddle and at the same time lacked the courage to take the situation in hand despite Mexican opposition—and that the impression of our vacillation has led to disorders which might otherwise have been avoided.

In trying to avoid intervention the President has not been very successful in protecting American lives and American property or in gaining the good-will or respect of the Mexicans. Perhaps he made more than a reasonable number of mistakes. But even that is not the main question. The most important question is whether he, with his experience, or Mr. Hughes, unembarrassed by the past, will best get us out of the mess we are in.

An intelligent man does not cast his vote for a Presidential candidate as a reward or punishment for previous actions but on the basis of his future action which his past leads one to expect.

On this basis, in our foreign relations it is fair to expect of the President in case of reëlection that:

1. He will not lead the country into any unwarrantable action. His stand on the Panama tolls controversy showed that he had the courage to fight an unpopular fight for the sacredness of treaties and fair international dealings.

2. He is probably more likely than any other public man in this country to formulate a doctrine of international fair dealing, as Jefferson formulated the preamble to the Declaration of Independence. He has the same kind of intellect.

3. He will continue to develop the most successful relationships with Pan-America which any President has achieved.

4. The humanities are so strong in him that he will not use force even to repel aggression except oft-repeated and *continuous injury*, and his well known *patience may even invite* aggression.

5. He will in the end resort to force if necessary.

6. If force is necessary, he is not likely to have the country prepared to use it.

The President's domestic policies are all efforts to keep opportunity open to all men and to keep all kinds and conditions of men animated by hope and progress. The Federal Reserve Law was passed because its provisions would help the multifarious transactions by which we all make a living. It was not a banker's act for bankers. It was a banking act for the public. It is a fundamental part of the President's philosophy that if such acts for the public are wisely framed they will in the long run benefit the bankers, for example, more than special acts made for them. The same underlying theory was the reason for the Clayton Anti-Trust Law. The Underwood Tariff was a remedy for the universally condemned tariff made by Big Business for Big Business through the instrumentality of Messrs. Payne and Aldrich. There is nothing in any of these acts or in the President's philosophy designed to hurt business, or property, or wealth. His effort is to increase all three—but not at the expense of one group of citizens for the benefit of another.

The more radical wing of his party, however, does bear animosity toward Big Business merely for its size, as a part of the Republican Party panders to Big Business for the same reason. One lot of politicians are professional friends of the poor, the others, little brothers to the rich.

If Mr. Wilson is reëlected, there is no danger that the changed conditions after the war will be made an excuse to go back to conditions of special privileges from which we have happily emerged somewhat. The majority of the men who vote in this country have never voted for a man for President who had more sympathy with their aspirations or more desire to serve them. On the other hand, there is every indication that the President would be willing to make any readjustment necessary, even to the Republican remedy of raising the tariff, as is demonstrated by his willingness to put higher duties on dyestuffs.

But there are several projects to which the President is committed which do not

n well calculated to help the causes the sident wishes to serve:

. The La Follette Seamen's Law has ned many more Americans on shore ı it has helped at sea.

. Mr. McAdoo's plan for a Govern- ıt - owned steamship line, even as nded, seems likely to pay highly for benefit to American shipping.

There seems good reason to believe : our early withdrawal from the Phil- nes would be followed by the necessity second intervention.

II

ractically every other constitutionally erned country in the world—dem- ıcies and constitutional monarchies e—have a responsible form of govern- ıt and a budget system of expenditures. s would mean practically that the sident, representing the whole Nation, ld initiate important legislation, pre- ing to Congress a well-rounded pro- nme which Congress would debate and pt or reject. This is based upon the known principle that the individual etter at initiation and action, while e bodies are better for deliberation. other popular governments operate in way. In ours, on the contrary, the berative body initiates legislation and President deliberates on it and accepts r vetoes it. The result is that most are initiated, not for the benefit of the ion, but for the benefit of some Con- sman's locality. The pork barrel, its attendant inefficiency and waste, lts. The President has pointed out the s of this system and the remedy as rly as any one. During the beginning is administration the manner in which nade the Presidency the place of re- ısible leadership pointed to an attempt his part toward correcting the most ing evil in the machinery of our govern- ıt. Since the beginning of the Great , he has made no effort in this direc- . It is perhaps reasonable to hope, ever, that if reëlected Mr. Wilson would avor to go further in this direction ı the Democratic platform, which ely recommends that all appropri- ns be consolidated in the hands of one committee in the House of Representatives as a first practical step toward a budget system.

MR. HUGHES — WHY HE SHOULD AND SHOULD NOT BE ELECTED

THE Republican Party presents in Mr. Hughes a candidate of high character and proven ability in the field of state politics. Most of the people in the country, Democrats and Republicans alike, believe that he has the qualities which make a good President. But in all this he does not essentially differ from President Wilson.

He does differ from the President in two important particulars. He places a different emphasis upon foreign affairs and national defense than Mr. Wilson does.

We believe that he can control his party and lead it. We know that the President can and does lead his.

Mr. Hughes's criticism of the President's dealings with Germany implies that should a similar situation arise with him in the White House he would force a more immediate and satisfactory settlement, in the belief that such a course would be a better guarantee of peace, but that he would carry it out whether it proved peaceful or not.

His position on the Mexican question is much the same. He believes also that the country should do more for its national defenses than the President seems to be willing to do.

Although Mr. Hughes would unquestionably try to carry out the policies he believes in, it is not certain that he could succeed to any great degree if the temper of the Republican Party in Congress remains as it showed itself, for example, on the McLemore resolution, when the majority of the Republicans in the House of Representatives voted to give up American rights at sea rather than run a risk of war with Germany which the President was willing to run. But probably Mr. Hughes will be able to lead his own party, if he is elected, at least along the lines of his platform pledges. However, even if elected, with a Republican House, it is

improbable that he will have a Republican Senate with him also. There are now 56 Democratic Senators and 40 Republicans. The terms of seventeen Democratic Senators expire in 1917. The Democrats will still control the Senate if they retain ten of these seventeen seats, even if they get none of the fifteen Republicans' seats which are voted for this year. Six of the seventeen Democratic seats are in habitual Democratic states.

Mr. Hughes, then, if elected, will probably be hampered by a hostile Senate.

On the other hand, he would have an advantage in that he could organize his administration to meet present problems instead of, as befell the President, having to meet foreign affairs with a Cabinet in which all the strength was on the domestic side.

With these advantages and disadvantages Mr. Hughes would begin his effort to increase our national defenses and improve our relations with Mexico.

Somewhere in his administration he would probably be faced with the problem of meeting the new conditions developing from the coming of peace in Europe as the President has been faced with the problems arising out of war. He has behind him a party which would use this occasion to endeavor to restore all the special privileges of a high tariff. This would be a golden opportunity for the Old Guard to recover its lost ground under cover of the scare of ruinous European competition. Mr. Hughes belongs to the other wing of the party, and if he established his leadership this tendency of his party probably would not go very far.

The platform of the Republican Party recommends the budget system. Mr. Hughes presumably would do whatever he could to put it into practice—and if he wishes to have a really national system of defense, it will be almost necessary to establish a budget before such a system can be made effective.

Mr. Hughes will of course get the votes of the regular voting Republicans, he is the logical candidate for the votes of those who feel that the President's preparations for national defense are vitally inadequate, and of those who feel that the President's handling of foreign affairs is dangerous and ineffective, as well as of those who believe in the special privileges of a high protective tariff.

In both the parties the character and abilities of the candidates and the kind of men they have selected to run their campaigns set a new standard in American politics—a new standard for which the past activities of President Wilson and Mr. Hughes are partially responsible.

A WORD OF THANKS TO MR. ROOSEVELT

IN 1912, Colonel Roosevelt, as all men know, left the Republican Party when the managers of that machine refused to give him the nomination which unquestionably the bulk of the Republican voters preferred he should have. His course provoked much bitterness in the Republican ranks, and the Colonel was severely criticized for letting his personal ambition disrupt his party. Many people lost confidence in his disinterestedness, even among those who entirely agreed with him about the political morals of the organization which put Mr. Taft in the Presidential race in 1912.

This year Colonel Roosevelt took exactly the opposite course. When the Republican Party—managed by the same old organization that nominated Mr. Taft—refused to nominate him, he nevertheless is ready to support the candidate whom they did nominate. And again the Colonel is roundly criticized for abandoning the sacred principles which he espoused four years ago.

Yet the Colonel's course is entirely logical, sincere, and for the benefit of the country. Colonel Roosevelt's mind deals with men and events, more than with theories and principles. In 1912, he recognized that Mr. Taft was not man enough either to be elected or to dominate the Republican machine if he were. In 1916, Colonel Roosevelt recognizes that Mr. Hughes is man enough to have a chance of election and to have a chance also of dominating the Old Guard if he does reach the White House. These are

facts which the Colonel's bitterest enemies can hardly deny, and they are a sufficient explanation of his course. It is reasonable to suppose that personal ambition spurred on his efforts, but so long as his personal ambition did not make him do things which he would not have urged another to do in his place, his ambition may be classed more as a virtue than a vice and be separated from the adjective "vaulting" which so often transforms this common and necessary human quality into something akin to disgrace.

When Colonel Roosevelt disrupted the Republican Party in 1912, it seemed as if his defection and the party's consequent defeat might so chasten it as to put a newer and better element in charge. The Colonel's move failed in the consummation of that public service. But it did force the party managers, in 1916, to nominate a man whose entire political reputation was made in combating the machine interests of his party. It is true that Colonel Roosevelt has not liked Mr. Hughes in the past any more, for instance, than Mr. Bryan liked Mr. Wilson in 1912. Yet in both cases it was the strength of Colonel Roosevelt and Mr. Bryan that forced a better candidate upon the party managers than they would otherwise likely have taken, though in both instances public opinion demanded the candidate named.

Paradoxical as it may seem, Mr. Hughes's nomination was largely due to his most serious opponent, for the Republican Party had either to take Colonel Roosevelt himself, or nominate an independent and able candidate, or accept Colonel Roosevelt's opposition and with it certain defeat. The Republican nomination in Chicago is much the better for the Colonel's participation in the general proceedings.

The issues of the campaign are also much the better for the Colonel's activities. The Democratic Party has responded to the necessities for national defense only so far as public opinion and the Mexican chieftains have forced it to do so. The largest single awakening force has been Theodore Roosevelt. For this awakening activity the American public should be grateful to him.

THE WAY BY COMMERCE TO WAR

THE article by Professor Millioud, printed elsewhere in this magazine, is a convincing and significant picture of Germany's trade struggles for world supremacy or, as he points out, war. Germany was paying a higher price for her commercial conquests than she could afford. Her commercial giants had hoped to drive competition out of many markets and, once in control, to recoup themselves for the losses incurred in acquiring the markets. But it was becoming plainer to them every day that despite their great scientific and organizing ability they could not drive out competition; on the contrary it was constantly growing keener. Their recourse was to the Government. In effect they asked that the Government acquire for them somewhere further sources of raw materials and a protected market besides Germany to sell in, where they would not have to meet free competition. The German Government tried for raw materials in Morocco and met the French there on the same errand. The meeting almost ended in war. The German Government worked assiduously to turn Turkey into a favored market for German goods. This was linked up with the hope of a Teutonic dominance of the Balkans. The Serbian and Greek victory over Bulgaria blocked this. Commercially, Germany felt herself hemmed in on all sides. Her peaceful efforts at commercial conquest were not succeeding fast enough to save her. Her one recourse was to burst the encircling bands by war.

There is no doubt that Germany's commercial situation rendered her more willing to make war. It was one of the main causes that made the war possible, but, of course, it was only one of many causes which finally precipitated the conflict.

But without assigning it more importance than it deserves, it is abundantly plain that governmental activities to gain special trade privileges, backed by the ill-concealed threat of armies and navies, is a continuing and potent cause of war. But the German nation is not alone guilty. As Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson points out in his book, "The European Anarchy":

While power may be sought for its own sake, it is commonly sought by modern states as a means to wealth. It is the pursuit of markets and concession and outlets for capital that lies behind the colonial policy that leads to wars. States compete for the right to exploit the weak, and in this competition governments are prompted or controlled by financial interests. The British went to Egypt for the sake of the bondholders, the French to Morocco for the sake of its minerals and wealth. In the Near East and the Far it is commerce, concessions, loans that have led to the rivalry of the Powers, to war after war, to "punitive expeditions" and—irony of ironies—to "indemnities" exacted as a new and special form of robbery from peoples who rose in the endeavor to defend themselves against robbery. The Powers combine for a moment to suppress the common victim, the next they are at one another's throats over the spoil. So long as the exploitation of undeveloped countries is directed by companies having no object in view except dividends, so long as financiers prompt the policy of governments, so long as military expeditions, leading up to annexations, are undertaken behind the back of the public for reasons that cannot be avowed, so long will the nations end with war, where they have begun by theft, and so long will thousands and millions of innocent and generous lives, the best of Europe, be thrown away to no purpose, because, in the dark, sinister interests have been risking the peace of the world for the sake of money in their pockets.

It is these tremendous underlying facts and tendencies that suggest the true moral of this war. It is these that have to be altered if we are to avoid future wars on a scale as great.

The chief difference between the English, the French, ourselves, and the Germans is that the Germans were more thorough in the application of the practice and frankly accepted its logical results. They based their economic organization on the expectation of getting special markets peacefully if possible, and otherwise if necessary. The other countries got the special markets whenever and wherever possible, but their industrial organization was not based upon getting them and they were accordingly not so willing or in fact under so much necessity to fight for raw materials and outlets.

After this war shall the same processes *begin again?* The loudest voices in Eng*land and France* are naturally enough clamoring that Germany shall pay the price of starting the war by being excluded from all markets which the Entente Powers can control, and that they shall enjoy the privileges therein, the desire for which Professor Millioud shows was partially responsible for Germany's breaking the peace. Such a course would give Germany a continuing cause for war again. It would sow the seeds of ill-feeling with the United States and other trading nations that are now neutral. Limitation of armament, if it could be accomplished, may make war less immediately gigantic and terrible, but it cannot prevent wars if causes for conflict are ever present. Moreover, it is doubtful if limitation of armament is possible so long as unfair trade competition is countenanced by the Great Powers, for no nation of spirit will give up its right to a fair opportunity of economic growth without a final appeal to arms. Professor Millioud's indictment against Germany is that she took up arms to gain, not a fair opportunity, but unfair advantages and to prevent the fair opportunities of others.

A careful scrutiny of our own economic policies does not show us to be blameless.

SOURCES OF USEFUL INFORMATION

IN THESE days when a new set of questions has been forced on the people of this country, it is a wholesome indication that serious books which give the present facts and the background of these questions are increasingly in demand.

Professor Maurice Millioud's book, "The Ruling Caste and Frenzied Trade in Germany," of which a part is printed in this magazine, should be read in conjunction with Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson's, "The European Anarchy," referred to in the preceding editorial. They are short and significant pictures of the relations of commerce, and particula government-aided commerce, to war peace. They contain a warning fr European experience which no serio-minded American can read without pr

There is also another

lished recently which gives many vital facts concerning the German movement of the German-Americans in this country. There is so much consideration of this subject based upon so few facts that those who are seriously endeavoring to clarify their minds upon it will find much help in their endeavor in "Their True Faith and Allegiance," by Gustavus Ohlinger. The book explains what the National German-American Alliance is and what its aims and objects are and what success it has attained in them.

THE DOCTRINE OF SERVICE AND PUBLICITY

IN ALL countries there are people who look upon themselves as personified capital. They are men who have made fortunes themselves, or men and women who have inherited them. They see and feel the sensitiveness and vulnerability of capital as well as its power. Some of them also see clearly the fundamental basis on which civilization in a democracy agrees to protect capital, for the right of capital to protection is not an inherent right: it is a right contingent upon certain conditions.

These conditions were most ably and succinctly stated some little time ago by Mr. Otto H. Kahn when he said:

Every man who by eminent success in commerce or finance raises himself beyond his peers is in the nature of things more or less of an "irritant" (I use the word in its technical meaning) to the community.

It behooves him, therefore, to make his position as little jarring as possible upon that immense majority whose existence is spent in the lowlands of life so far as material circumstances are concerned.

It behooves him to exercise self-restraint and to make ample allowance for the point of view and the feelings of others, to be patient, helpful, conciliatory.

It behooves him to remember that many other men are working, and have worked all their lives, with probably as much effort, as much self-abnegation as he, but have not succeeded in raising themselves above mediocre stations in life because to them has not been granted the possession of those peculiar gifts which beget conspicuous success.

He should beware of that insidious tendency of wealth to chill and isolate; he should be careful not to let his feelings, aspirations, and sympathies become hardened or narrowed, lest he become estranged from his fellow men; and with this in view he should not only be approachable but should seek and welcome contact with the work-a-day world so as to remain part and parcel of it, to maintain and prove his homogeneity with his fellow men.

And he should never forget that the advantages and powers which he enjoys are his on sufferance, so to speak, during good behavior, the basis of their conferment being the consideration that the community wants his talents and his work, and grants him generous compensation—including the privilege of passing it on to his children—in order to stimulate him to the effort of using his capacities, since it is in the public interest that they should be used to their fullest extent.

He should never forget that the social edifice in which he occupies so desirable quarters has been erected by human hands, the result of infinite effort, of sacrifice and compromise, the aim being the greatest good of society; and that if that aim is clearly shown to be no longer served by the present structure, if the successful man arrogates to himself too large or too choice a part, if, selfishly, he crowds out others, then what human hands have built up by the patient work of centuries human hands can pull down in one hour of passion.

The undisturbed possession of the material rewards now given to success, because success presupposes service, can be perpetuated only if its beneficiaries exercise moderation, self-restraint, and consideration for others in the use of their opportunities, and if their ability is exerted, not merely for their own advantage, but also for the public good and the weal of their fellow men.

There is no other country in the world where the men of wealth are more keenly alive to the responsibility of service which their wealth entails, or where they try as hard to meet those responsibilities. At the same time there is no other public in the world that expects as high a standard of service from its capital as does the public in this country. It often happens, therefore, that a rich man is abused here for actions which would bring him commendation elsewhere. This may seem unfair, but it is the way of progress. If we are to improve our civilization the standard of service must be constantly higher and the rich men of the country

must approach closer and closer to it, as they are doing.

And they must also admit that the public has an interest in the capital which it is asked to protect, and recognize this public interest by letting the public know what their capital is doing. It is axiomatic that the public suspicion of many corporate enterprises has been based upon the belief that as these enterprises were more or less secret they were correspondingly more or less bad.

The doctrine of service and publicity for capital is not new, but the present is a good time to call attention to it because we are in the happy circumstance for the time being that the mention of it does not instantly bring to mind some recent offender against its tenets.

THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION AGAIN

FOR a decade or more there has been a widespread and insistent demand that the United States impose more stringent limitations upon immigration than it does. Three times a literacy test has passed Congress. Three times it has been vetoed. The advocates of the literacy test urged its passage as the best practical measure to limit immigration. Many of its opponents agreed that a limitation was desirable, but objected that the literacy test would admit many undesirables and exclude many desirable immigrants.

The criterion for a desirable immigrant is one who will earn a decent living and live decently, obey the laws and amalgamate with the present population and become thoroughly American. Paupers, criminals, and people of divided allegiance are an expense and a danger to the Nation.

We have had ample proof in the last ten or twelve years that the processes of assimilation have not been thoroughly effective. We have large undigested lumps of foreign-born residents who have not acquired either American ways of living or American ideals of government.

Mr. Sidney L. Gulick, whose travels in many foreign countries have given him an understanding and sympathy with all manner of men, has worked out an immigration policy based upon the fundamentally sound principle that the immigrant's ability to become an American citizen is by far the most important test of his desirability.

The following paragraphs present the plan in barest outlines:

1. THE CONTROL OF IMMIGRATION.

Immigration from every land should be controlled, and, if excessive, it should be restricted. The principle of restriction should be applied equally to every land, and thus avoid differential race treatment.

2. AMERICANIZATION THE PRINCIPLE OF CONTROL.

The proven capacity for genuine Americanization on the part of those already here from any land should be the measure for the further immigration of that people. New-comers make their first contact with America through those who speak their own language. The Americanization, therefore, of new-comers from any land depends largely on the influence of those already here from that land. The number of new-comers annually admissible from any land, therefore, should be closely dependent on the number of those from that land who, having been here five years or more, have actually become American citizens. These know the language, customs, and ideals of both peoples, ours and theirs.

America should admit as immigrants only so many aliens from any land as she can Americanize.

3. THE PROPOSED RESTRICTION LAW.

Let, therefore, an immigration law be passed which provides that the maximum permissible annual immigration from any people shall be a definite per cent. (say five) of those from that people who have already become naturalized citizens, together with their American-born children.

The grandchildren as a rule do not know their ancestral language, and do not aid particularly in the Americanization of new-comers.

The permissible annual immigration from the respective peoples, as calculated from the census of 1910, is given in the accompanying tables. They show that in general there would be no restriction on immigration from North Europe. The reverse, however, would be the case for the countries of South Europe. The permissible immigration from China and Japan would be less than that which has been coming in recent years.

Economically and industrially the restrictions of Mr. Gulick's plan would

ıil immigration of the peoples which ıardest for us to assimilate and which most desirous of coming in larger bers than we can care for:

ı showing how the Five Per Cent. Restriction Proposal would have affected Immigration for the Period 1911-1915

OR PEOPLE	TABLE I					TABLE II	
						The Proposed Five Per Cent. Standard	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Non-immigrants	Immigrants	Female Immigrants 14 years and over	Male Immigrants 14 years and over	Annual Average of Column 4	Maximum Permissible Annual Immigration of Males	Annual Average of Male who would have been excluded
(Slavic)	16,173	34,221	11,042	19,114	3,822	209	3,613
ıs	706	26,330	1,346	21,180	4,236	444	3,792
ıs and Moravians	3,669	40,312	14,399	18,388	3,677	16,994	
ıs, Serbian and ıarians	6,301	48,556	3,873	42,306	8,501	†5,601	†19,316
ı and Slovenian	7,938	121,871	29,048	83,083	17,616		
	12,090	9,760	1,212	7,778	1,555	1,106	449
	15,365	17,109	4,297	10,126	2,065	590	1,475
ıh, Bosnian and ıanian	920	18,046	2,169	15,185	3,037	*	
and Finnish	16,428	58,345	15,892	30,816	6,163	12,956	—
ıish	262	1,124	27	1,070	214		
	166,990	251,327	91,865	119,730	23,946	127,745	—
	6,387	41,433	16,423	24,956	4,991	8,038	—
	27,395	87,068	20,525	41,436	8,287	47,719	—
	79,920	313,279	109,081	148,634	29,726	313,581	—
	20,650	168,299	11,832	145,819	29,171	986	28,285
	17,719	437,096	150,083	186,402	37,280	17,342	—
	49,317	108,597	75,451	81,229	16,244	201,491	—
(Greek)	36,083	154,711	33,119	104,502	20,900	†145,768	†172,568
(Semitic)	50,051	825,250	173,281	537,101	107,426		
	15,362	36,599	22,137	12,262	2,458	1,220	1,238
	58	403	207	179	32	*	
	2,697	79,974	28,442	44,766	8,953	4,360	3,593
	11,045	132,347	48,975	61,616	12,323	5,436	6,887
	22,462	75,821	20,179	36,712	7,330	8,648	—
Islander	76	33	11	29	4	*	
	26,631	462,696	151,604	260,004	52,001	49,212	2,789
	4,702	44,661	12,274	24,809	4,961	3,588	1,373
	9,028	52,361	6,836	46,320	8,064	676	7,388
	15,780	342,167	16,255	115,513	23,062	2,203	21,059
(Roumanian)	21,104	109,312	37,106	45,242	13,052	461	12,589
	36,621	176,513	58,523	102,701	20,520	102,093	—
	49,393	106,518	27,002	45,275	9,235	38,776	—
	7,152	101,815	31,585	53,849	10,769	6,831	3,938
	25,878	42,949	6,901	31,254	6,250	906	5,344
	9,268	7,069	1,744	4,217	847	128	719
	2,553	30,869	8,114	16,693	3,738	844	2,894
	436	7,225	370	6,672	1,334	58	1,276
	4,278	11,235	3,243	6,230	1,246	12,188	—
Indian (except							
	6,329	5,663	2,113	2,814	562	17	445
	2,969	15,728	1,174	13,954	2,790		
	552,176	4,459,831	1,276,763	2,591,779	518,354		

ı Canada Data.
Hungarians, Croatians, etc., are combined in this column.
ıorth and South Indians are combined in this column.

s plan would not affect German im- ation. The events of the last two ; have raised the question of the ability of a large German influx after war, not from the economic or social :t, but from political considerations. is day Benjamin Franklin complained e tendency of the Germans, especially ınnsylvania, to resist Americanization. ivil War times, John Hay denounced clannishness — though in both the rican Revolution and in the Civil War nen of German extraction fought well their adopted country. The clan- ıess of which Hay complained is a l tendency and an admirable one, it constitutes a danger to a country ;e progress depends upon the main- nce of homogeneity. It would be :ially menacing after this war, for sense of solidarity is much greater ıg Germans now than ever before. German Government at home and ıan organizations here are doing and do everything in their power to make Germans a political unit *here*.

The efforts which the German Government will assuredly make to keep its people at home may relieve us of this problem. But the governments of Southern Europe are not likely to keep their citizens from emigrating. And if the steamship lines find that the profitable immigrant traffic is curtailed in the north they will inevitably turn their attention more and more to the Mediterranean ports of Southern Italy, Dalmatia, Greece, and perhaps Turkey and North Africa. Mr. Gulick's plan or some other should be prepared to limit immigration to what we want rather than to allow the conditions of a troubled Europe and the business ability of the steamship companies to bring us what other countries do not want.

A LITTLE TRADE OPPORTUNITY NEAR-BY

THE Pan-American Conference and the delegations visiting between the two American continents have kept our attention upon our trade relations with the republics to the south of us. The foreign colonies in the West Indies and in northern South America, because they are not republics and not members of the Pan-American Union but dependencies of Europe, have received scant attention. Yet they present very attractive fields for present trade.

The British, French, and Dutch colonies have stable governments, a part of them at least, languages more familiar to us than Spanish, and a stable currency and good banking and credit facilities, such institutions as the Royal Bank of Canada and the Colonial Bank of London having branches in all the colonies. Moreover, almost all the markets are reached by rail or water, and mule train and ox cart transportation does not have to be reckoned with.

Although the mother countries are at war these French and English West Indies, the Lesser Antilles, and the Guiana colonies have greatly benefited, and have become better markets, while the dependencies of neutral Holland and Denmark have been injured.

Previous to the war the Danish islands, especially St. Thomas, were largely dependent for their prosperity upon the German coaling station and the Hamburg-American Line, while the bulk of trade of the Dutch colonies was with Germany. The British and French islands and British Guiana, on the other hand, relied largely upon the British Royal Mail and French ships, and much of their trade was with Europe. Many of the products of the West Indies could not compete with the same articles from the East Indies and other tropical countries. The low price of German beet sugar left little profit in growing cane, and the demand for lime juice and other commodities was small.

With the interning of the Hamburg-American ships, the closing of the coaling station, the withdrawal of the Royal Mail service and many of the French trans-Atlantic boats, practically all the commerce of the islands and of Guiana was thrown in the way of ships plying to and from the United States. The German markets were cut off and the seizure of Dutch cargoes and mails caused great losses to the Dutch colonies. But the difficulty of bringing cargoes through the Suez Canal and the Mediterranean raised Oriental freights to prohibitive figures and cut off the United States from Far Eastern products which formerly competed with the same products from the West Indies.

So, too, the practical elimination of beet sugar caused an enormous rise in cane sugar and the demand for lime juice, rubber, balata, hardwoods, and other commodities increased by leaps and bounds. As a result the West Indian planters became prosperous beyond their wildest dreams. Estates and mills, which were bankrupt and abandoned a few years ago, are now prosperous; lime juice, which was considered very profitable at approximately $75 per hogshead, now brings from $150 to $200; nutmegs, formerly scarcely worth the cost of gathering and freight, are now extremely profitable; cocoa and cocoanuts have reached high-water mark; timbers, never before in demand, are being cut and shipped for rifle-stocks and gun-carriages, and many minor products and countless resources, such as dyewoods, medicinal plants, tan-bark, and minerals are being exploited and shipped.

With increased prosperity came increased demands for manufactures and supplies from the north, and those exporters who are alive to the situation and the few steamship lines which run to the West Indies and Guiana are taking American goods to the people, who are growing rich selling their products to us. Every ship is loaded to capacity, freights are high, and yet the people are clamoring for more merchandise, more ships, and better service.

A FEW WORDS ABOUT MAGAZINES

UNDER the title, "One of the Evils of War," our national humorous weekly, *Life*, recently printed the following in serious vein:

In face of the scarcity of paper and the high cost of manufacturing supplies, caused by war conditions and the enormous increase in the cost of labor in all industries, *Life* finds itself compelled to take a revolutionary step in a business way.

This is, to withdraw from newsdealers the privilege of returning unsold copies.

Please bear with us a moment while we explain to you what this return privilege means to you, to us, to the newsdealer, and to the entire American public.

It is an evil which has grown up through intense competition among publishers, fostered by the unwillingness of Americans to endure the slightest inconvenience in buying their periodicals.

In practice it means that publishers annually print millions of absolutely wasted copies of their periodicals. These copies are supplied to the newsdealer so that no possible purchaser shall ask for the publication and find that the newsdealer has sold out his supply.

The newsdealer is a retail merchant, often doing business on small capital. He cannot afford to take chances. Therefore he will order no more copies of a non-returnable publication than he is sure to sell.

Let us take the case of the newsdealer who is sure of a weekly sale of three copies of *Life*. Under the return privilege, he will order weekly five copies, so that he will have extra copies to supply chance customers. If he sells one or both of them, he has made the profit on those sales. If he does not sell them, he returns them to the publisher, who loses not only the manufacturing cost of the unsold copies, but also the cost of delivering them to the news-

r and bringing them back. The unsold s become simply spoiled paper and an nous and constant waste of valuable rial becoming more scarce each day.

e aggregate of copies returned to pub- s runs annually into the millions. It s a tremendous loss of labor and material. ted in terms of trees consumed in making -pulp for paper, it means the wanton uction of whole forests. In other ma- s and human labor it means a useless : of great sums of money. It is the t of a trade condition as unintelligent as wasteful. It is peculiarly an American vagance.

the other hand, the newsdealer, if he is permitted to return unsold copies, will order, except in rare cases, any more s than he is sure of selling. He is not to amed. He is not a gambler. One unsold means wiping out the small profit on he does sell. He is not going to chance s to help the publisher or to please the ional and erratic customer.

u can help us and other publications with little effort on your part and in any one of al ways. If your help is not promptly coming, it means that very shortly readers have to pay a considerably higher price ieir periodical literature.

ankly, we need your help in this emergency, we confidently believe that we can rely the loyalty of the readers of *Life*, who the paper and approve of the Ameri- m it stands for.

GIVE YOUR NEWSDEALER A STANDING ORDER FOR LIFE

you ask for *Life* at a news-stand and it t in stock, *ask to have the copy ordered for* This means, as a rule, a delay of only a ours, and in most cases the dealer will ad to deliver it at your address.

you are changing your abode for the sum- *notify the local dealer promptly that you Life every week.*

ould the dealer, for any reason, not be or willing to supply you promptly and arly, send us an annual subscription. will come to you *regularly, on time,* and may change the address *as often as you*

l magazines in this country have to upon a rise in the cost of paper, in : cases as high as 100 per cent., a in the cost of ink, and a rise in all ing and binding costs.

ere are only two fundamental ways for the magazines to meet this situation: get more money or spend less. The publishers of the WORLD'S WORK do not wish to raise its subscription price, if it is possible to avoid it. They are equally opposed to spending less on the editorial or manufacturing costs of the magazine, which would mean making a periodical of less interesting material or less well printed. The only solution that remains is to reduce the expense of selling the magazine. *Life* has adopted the plan of refusing to allow the newsdealers to return unsold copies. That will accomplish a great saving in that part of a magazine's circulation which is distributed on the news-stands. It does not affect that part of the circulation which goes by mail to yearly subscribers. There is an equally great waste there. It is well illustrated in the case of the WORLD'S WORK. A very large percentage of the WORLD'S WORK'S yearly subscribers renew their subscriptions each year. But not a very large part of these renew on the first notice of the expiration of their subscription. Some wait for a second letter, others for a third, and so on until the fifth, sixth, or even seventh circulars have reached them. And as in response to each circular a certain number cheerfully respond, it sometimes seems that if this process were kept up almost all the old subscribers might be got back, except those who die or move away. But the sending of circulars, renewal notices, and the like is one of the greatest costs of publishing a magazine. If every subscriber who does now renew his subscription renewed it on first notice of its expiration, the magazines would save many millions of dollars yearly in paper, ink, and stamps. The public would be saved from at least a part of the present flood of circulars that fill the mails, and besides this they would have enabled the magazines to meet the high cost of living without passing it on to the ultimate consumer —the public. There is sufficient rarity in the spectacle of a producer trying to meet rising costs without passing them on to the consumer that the plan should appeal to you, gentle reader, for its novelty if for no other reason. Incider-

tally, also, an early subscription to other magazines will help them just as an early subscription will help the WORLD'S WORK whether or not they suggest it.

THE BOONEVILLE AND SUNDANCE SYSTEM

THREE years ago Congress, passing the most extravagant public building bill in American history, salved its conscience by adopting a revolutionary rule which should govern such enterprises in the future. This provided that no town which had annual postal receipts of less than $10,000 should have any Government-built post office building at all. It was true that our lawmakers included in the very bill which contained this prohibition appropriations for buildings in many places which did not meet this requirement. This new rule, however, was to apply strictly to the future.

In view of this promised reform, the building bills introduced in the present Congress have a particular interest. Although President Wilson has taken a stand against any omnibus building bill this session—indeed, there have been unofficial intimations that he will veto any such measure, if it is passed—bills appropriating about $100,000,000 for architectural monuments throughout the United States have already been introduced. And scores of them violate the prohibition already referred to! The fact that a previous Congress placed a veto upon places with postal receipts of less than $10,000 has not discouraged the present group of lawmakers. Doubtless, the Sixty-fourth Congress will be perfectly willing to bind all future Congresses against extravagances of this kind, just as the Sixty-third attempted to hamstring its efforts; first, however, their favorite little communities must be "recognized."

This new sheaf of building bills certainly presents an interesting study. It is to be commended to all students of democratic progress. The historian of American institutions, writing a thousand years from now and having only these building bills before him, could frame a pretty clear picture of the American Congress and the motives which regulate its action. Had Gibbon only had a few vestigia of the Roman Empire such as these in his possession, what light they would have shed upon his problem! Seen in their bare outlines, these bills are a mass of dull, uninviting facts; sympathetically interpreted in their human intimations, they portray a cupidity, a localism, an absence of patriotism, and all other qualities that tend to the disintegration of the State. Here, for example, is a fact that sheds more light upon our lawmaking body than a dozen volumes of dissertation could furnish. The town of Booneville, in Kentucky, has annual post office receipts of $829. A long way this from the $10,000 limitation of the law! In 1900, Booneville had a population of 251 souls. In 1910, it had a population of 236. Booneville's population, small as it is, is decreasing. Yet Representative Langley has introduced a bill appropriating $75,000 to put up a Federal building in this town. The metropolis known as McKee, also in Kentucky, has post office receipts of $526 a year. It had a population of 106 in 1900; in 1910 it had 146; evidently McKee is, as Congressmen usually put it, a "growing town." Congressman Langley wants to spend $75,000 on a public building here. Sundance, in Wyoming, had a population of 515 in 1890. In 1900 this had dropped to 294. In 1910, poor Sundance had suffered another declension to 281. At this rate, this gaily named little village will disappear from the face of the earth in another decade or two. But Congressman Mondell is determined that before Sundance vanishes it shall have a post office all its own. He put in a bill to adorn this diminishing community with a Government building costing $75,000.

The Sundance-Booneville system of extracting money from the Federal Treasury, applied to the public building bill, means a waste of money and a corruption of public morals; applied to the Army, Navy, the Post Office—throughout the Government service—it means a corroding inefficiency and selfishness that endangers the success of our great experiment in democratic government.

ıR. HUMPHREY AND THE EATTLE POST OFFICE SITE

ı AN article in the WORLD'S WORK for 'ebruary, on "The Pork in Public Buildngs," it was stated that the Governbought a site for a building at Seattle he recommendation of Congressman E. Humphrey which has since had to ffered for sale. Congressman Humy says that he never recommended the ıs a suitable one and did not have anyg to do with its selection. An exıation shows that the official records out this statement of Mr. Humphrey. lid recommend that the purchase of site be expedited after it had been ted by the Post Office Department. he feels was a justifiable and proper n on his part.

ıe article quoted says also that Assis- Secretary of the Treasury Newton the word "swindled" concerning this Mr. Newton telegraphed Mr. Humphrey: "We charge no one with swindle, the facts speak for themselves."

The Secretary of the Treasury in his report says the site is unavailable, but whether it is or not the selection of it does not reflect on Congressman Humphrey as the record shows that he had nothing to do with its selection. In justice and fairness to Mr. Humphrey, the WORLD'S WORK is pleased to make these statements.

Where the WORLD'S WORK differs from Mr. Humphrey is in the usefulness and propriety of members of Congress urging the Government to spend money in their districts. The present practice in Congress "justifies" this, but there are few thoughtful people who do not recognize it as a serious weakness of our political system.

The effort of the series of Pork Barrel articles has been to show that it was belittling to the abilities of Congress and against the public interest for Congressmen to spend their time getting money from the Federal Treasury for their districts.

THE MARKETABILITY OF LONG-TERM BONDS

y month the WORLD'S WORK *publishes in this part of the magazine an article on experiences with investments and lessons to be drawn therefrom.*

AT A TIME like the present it is plain that whoever invented the theory which emphasizes the disadvantages of principal repayment in connection with ımployment of money for income be- : responsible for a heap of dissatisfaction e investment world.

ıt the theory is fundamentally sound. ɔuld, indeed, be a genuine misfortune did not continue as it has for genera- in Europe, and for a good many years is country, to govern the bulk of the ıg of the true investment class. The ıle is not only that the theory has subject to a great deal of abuse, but its honest advocates have too frtly been derelict in pointing out its ral limitations.

an illustration of the kind of dissatisfaction that commonly arises from the abuse of the theory, the editor of this department recalls an incident that was related to him about a year ago by the head of one of the large investment banking houses in New York.

A woman had called at the banker's office one day bearing a letter of introduction from a fellow member of his club. Her mission was to enlist his services in disposing of a small block of bonds which, she said, comprised practically the entire estate with which she had been left upon the death of her husband a short time previously. She explained that she disliked to disturb the investment but that there was no other way to meet an extremely pressing need for ready cash.

The bonds she had proved to be part of a small first mortgage industrial issue of

which the banker admitted he had never heard. A few questions brought out the fact that before seeking the banker's services the woman had applied for her money to the issuing company itself, which had sold the bonds direct without any intermediary banking machinery. Her application, however, had elicited only the curt reply that the company could not recognize any obligation to take up the bonds before maturity, and that although it would like to be accommodating, it had unfortunately no funds available for such a purpose.

The experienced banker scented trouble, despite the assurance he was given that interest on the bonds had always been promptly met. He surprised his caller not so much by informing her that it might take him several days to effect the sale of the bonds as by asking her to name the lowest price she felt she could accept. Her reply was that the investment had been made with the understanding that it was of the quiet, non-fluctuating class, immune from the influences which caused the ups and downs of prices in the Wall Street market; that par had been paid for the bonds; and that, therefore, par was the price she naturally expected to receive.

A few days after this interview the woman called again upon the banker, only to be informed that the most painstaking inquiry had resulted in the discovery of only one broker who was willing to bid for the bonds at all. And his best price was 70! This time she went away with the bonds in her possession at the end of an uncomfortable half-hour for the banker, during which he endeavored, unsuccessfully, to explain the situation to her and to allay the indignation to which she had given expression. A similar interview followed that evening at the club between the banker and the "mutual friend," who had heard the story of the attempted sacrifice, but who was the more easily convinced that the real cause of the misunderstanding over the effort to sell the "quiet, non-fluctuating" bonds in question was that they were highly typical representatives of a class of securities known as "unmarketable" and, therefore, worth no more, no less, than their *possessor could* get for them.

As it turned out, when the banker was again appealed to to turn the bonds into cash, he found that the broker's bid of 70 had been withdrawn, and to meet the urgent necessities of the case he had eventually to put the bonds up at auction, when they were "knocked down" at 65.

Nor was the cost of the experience with this investment unduly large in comparison with that of similar experiences, constantly being recorded by people who fail to comprehend that in buying bonds they are lending their money; and that no matter what the circumstances of the transaction happen to be, common sense and business prudence should dictate that the ability to assign, sell, or in some way convey the security for a reasonable compensation ought to increase almost in direct proportion to the term or duration of the loan.

A LONG-TIME INVESTMENT

A somewhat picturesque illustration of the kind of dissatisfaction arising from neglect to take fully into account the natural limitations of the theory in point is afforded by the following letter written to the WORLD'S WORK by a professional man living in a large city in Michigan:

> I own $10,000 par value West Shore 4's maturing in the year 2,300-and-something. They are now quoted at 87⅛ to 88⅛. I have become so thoroughly dissatisfied with the low return on this investment (having bought the bonds years ago) while all my acquaintances have grown wealthy investing in motor and war stocks, that I have . . . become a strong believer in "nothing ventured nothing gained."
>
> If you can give me any assurance of the likelihood of these bonds getting back to par in a couple of years I would be glad to hold on to them, so that I could get out without too much loss. I paid much more than par for them and they are now within two points of their low mark, which was in the autumn of 1914. . . .
>
> Would it not be wise to sell now and in a year, possibly, reinvest my shrunken capital in something that has possibilities of an advance, or at least affords a reasonable interest return?
>
> I suppose the bonds are perfectly safe as far as their payment is concerned, but there is no immediate safety of principal. And in the year 2,300-and-something, when the bonds mature, I shall not be bothering my head about what happens to them.

In many respects this is an extreme case.

Yet on the whole it is fairly typical. It is, after all, of less significance that this investor's dissatisfaction was apparently born of a desire to engage in the perilous pursuit of profits in the speculative market than that his income return of less than 4 per cent. is so inadequate to present-day requirements. Nor does it alter conclusions materially that the bonds he holds happen to be for every practical purpose of the irredeemable kind. There are a great many others of similar investment quality (especially in the railroad category) having but 40, or 50, or 60 years to run whose market history has been such as to cause their holders likewise to chaff under the yoke of allegiance to safety and a rate of income whose "reasonableness" is of legendary times.

But there are indications that cases like these will be less frequently found in the coming generation of investors. People are taking more interest nowadays in the problem of making investment personal; and incidentally they are learning to accept with proper reservation the old caution against concerning themselves with the question of the return of their money, lest they be confronted with the necessity of reinvesting at a time when equally satisfactory terms were impossible to obtain on adequate security. They are compelling every year among their representative bankers more practical recognition of their growing understanding of the things that cause the important changes in investment conditions. Of this the most recent evidence is found in the bankers' advocacy of a return to the sinking fund idea of paying railroad debts. Here is recognition of the responsibility to maintain in the predominating class of income investments a market that shall conform to the more exacting standards of the modern, though none the less conservative, income investor.

THE NATIONAL BUSINESS OF DEFENSE

HOW THE COMMERCIAL AND TRADE ORGANIZATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES HAVE PROVED THEIR PATRIOTISM—AN EMPHATIC DENIAL OF THE LOW ESTIMATE PLACED BY CONGRESS UPON THE UNSELFISHNESS AND THE CITIZENSHIP OF THE PEOPLE—BUSINESS MEN WILLING TO PAY FOR DEFENSE

BY

BASIL MILES

(SECRETARY OF THE COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL DEFENSE OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES)

WHAT can a democracy do to keep pace with the demands of modern times? The European war has precipitated this issue. Eighteen months ago some of the lessons of the war had begun to emerge in tangible shape. Above them all loomed the lightning-bolt example of German efficiency. This was prepared efficiency, the result of years of untellable patience in applying Carlyle's definition of genius, as "an infinite capacity for taking pains." But since then we have seen the effectiveness of patriotism in France and the underestimated *accomplishment* of compromise and tenacity of purpose in England and her colonies. Finally there is now appearing, it would seem, the capacity of mere momentum in Russia. Two of these examples are furnished by democracies; but they are not examples of preparedness. They are heroic responses to the trumpet call of national life.

Now the great outstanding question which confronts us is whether the United States can, in this crisis of its history, contribute an example of awakening response to the prime necessity of national capacity. For more than a year the movement for national defense has been gathering weight and speed. The Gov-

ernment would seem to have lagged behind. The army of the United States and its reserves remains small and the appropriations now before Congress seem inadequate for the considerable increases which have been authorized by law. A big building programme is laid out for the Navy, but its development lies in the lap of succeeding Congresses.

However, to see the picture in perspective, it must be remembered that the American people have created vast industries and invented devices to make them more effective than any others. They have founded and built cities, settled wide plains and valleys, and connected them with lines of well managed railroads. In a few short years, as the life of a nation goes, they have gone well on the road toward developing the resources of a continent. In varied lines of industry and enterprise, whether as individuals or as combinations and groups, they have shown a signal capacity for organization and administration. The question is, how can these patent talents and capacities be turned to preserve the integrity of the Nation? The potential capacity of the United States for self-defense equals if it does not exceed that of any other nation. It is admitted, almost without remark, that we have something like 60 per cent. of the tools of industry of the world. We have a population of one hundred millions. We have vast reservoirs of wealth which we have only begun to tap. In other words, we have the greatest power of insurance for peace possessed by any nation; but much of it is lying fallow and the rest unseen. How can it be developed?

The question has been answered from many sides, but from none more conclusively and sanely than from the business men. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States is a federation which is typically American. Its members—located in every state of the Union—are self-supporting bodies of business men with a stake in the country and a sound appreciation of practical problems. They have to pay a large share of the bills of government and administration. Their every-day life leads them to a natural and careful analysis of the cost of ways and means. They began to study the question of national defense last February. They prepared to vote on preparedness and to come to a decision which would be based on adequate consideration of the issues at stake and of the means to make them effective. The machinery they used was that of the referendum, a vote by the entire membership of this organization of associations of business men, of which the total personnel is very much in excess of 300,000. The balloting lasted forty-five days and closed on May 23d. Here is an analysis of the result. Each organization had from one to ten votes, according to its size:

THE VOTE ON NATIONAL DEFENSE

	FOR	AGAINST
For general preparedness	970	8
For a Council of National Defense	912	46
For a Staff of Industrial Mobilization	925	47
For an adequate Navy	952	10
For a General Staff of the Navy	946	19
For a Regular Army with trained reserves such as recommended by the General Staff or Council of National Defense when established	946	21
For universal military training	889	56
For prearrangement with private companies for war supplies	940	26
For reserve supplies of war material	935	29
For additional commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the Regular Army and a properly trained Officers' Reserve Corps	960	9

Public opinion is frequently difficult to analyze. But when 359 commercial and trade organizations in forty-three states have come out solidly and by an overwhelming vote ranging from 120 to 1 to a minimum of 15 to 1 for a series of recommendations which embody a comprehensive scheme of defense, there is at last solid ground to stand upon. Not only the Pacific Coast with its oriental problems

and the New England and Atlantic states with the shock of the European war within sense of touch, but also states so widely separated as Louisiana, North Dakota, Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, Ohio, Texas, and West Virginia have registered the considered opinion of an active element of their responsible citizens in favor of a system of defense which shall be nation-wide and call equally upon every man alike for service to the country.

Business men have come out squarely for universal training. They are equally decided about a bigger and adequate army which, with its trained reserves, will be sufficient for the peace-time military duty of the United States, furnish garrisons for our oversea possessions and harbor defenses, take the first shock of war, and be the training school for officers of the higher ranks. They want a navy which will not only restore the United States at least to its former position of second naval Power in the Atlantic, but afford a surplus naval force in the Pacific sufficient to insure the command of its coasts, its possessions, and its trade routes, and to protect the Canal Zone and adjacent territory. This is about as much as saying that business men think the United States ought not only to have a fleet second in the Atlantic but at the same time to have another and separate fleet first in the Pacific.

FOR A COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

Many of us believe that a certain amount of lost motion takes place in our departmental system of government through lack of coördination. Business men have therefore urged the creation of a body in the nature of a Council of National Defense which shall coördinate and plan continuing policies for the Army and Navy and advise the President and Congress and, at the same time, head in and systematize the military and naval resources of the country with its tremendous economic resources and place them all in perspective, viewed as a working whole. War has been a recurring phase of international relations, and as yet there is no clear indication that it will cease to be so. It is also a fact that the military policies of nations in the past have necessarily become an element in their international policies. It has been too little appreciated that any sound solution of our military problems must presuppose a knowledge and definition of our foreign as well as our domestic problems. To-day the organization of the land and sea forces of the United States implies also the organization and mobilization of its industrial, financial, and all other national resources. Such an undertaking needs a unit of advice and plan; this a Council of National Defense would supply.

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING

The defense plan of the business men of the country does not stop here. They have realized that no system of national defense can be sound unless it insures the colossal potential resources of the United States being made available for the supply and support of its military forces. They have realized that for every man on the firing line or at sea there must be others effectively organized for support and supply at home. They have consequently reached the conviction that although democracy certainly has its problems, a smooth working solution of them is found in equal obligations on the part of all citizens. We do not have voluntary taxes; why should we have voluntary defense? If it were left to the spirit of America to pay taxes without the compelling machinery of government, there are few who believe that there would be very much revenue collected. We have proved time and again that the volunteer system is not an adequate method of raising large armies quickly and cheaply. The plan endorsed by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States advances quite squarely the belief that every free man in a free democracy must not only be willing to defend his country but also must be able to do so. The answer is universal military training.

This conclusion did not have to be worked out. It already had taken perfectly definite shape in the minds of the special committee which prepared the report and recommendations on which the referendum was based. It seems to

have been equally clear in the minds of the business men all over the country to whom the referendum was finally submitted. To them it seems to be clear that there can be no military organization, together with its industrial and economic complement, in a great democracy such as ours which will be either desirable or safe, much less adequate, unless it lays down for all time the principle that equal rights mean equal obligations.

The question as it actually stood on the ballot contains these passages:

"Recognizing the military obligation equally with the civic obligation as a fundamental duty of democratic citizenship in a republic, and to establish a system which will affect every man alike," it is recommended "that universal military training be adopted as a fundamental democratic principle of our military policy and be enforced by law to furnish adequate land, sea, and industrial forces in peace and war." Business men have appreciated what others apparently have not, namely, that war is the most serious business in the world. To-day war not only requires trained intelligence and discipline on the part of individual men to act effectively in concert, but it has yoked to its service almost all branches of human knowledge. Industry, commerce, transportation, finance, all are necessary, in highly organized form, for its maintenance. It entails unprecedented organization and the utmost detail of capable administration. It is a colossal enterprise; it is the most serious and complicated business conceivable. There is nothing in history to show that any nation may not be called upon to engage in it, however much against its will and inclination. It would seem logical that all citizens of a democracy should be trained in knowledge of a business which they may be forced by circumstances over which they have no control to undertake and which may mean life or death to them.

It was natural that business men in endorsing a plan of national defense based on universal military training should emphasize the need of industrial as well as land and sea forces. They have not only gone on record as to the economic value of military training by inculcating in young men habits of discipline and responsibility, added to the stimulated interest in various lines of knowledge which are a part of it, but they have emphasized the necessity of service in industrial and commercial fields. Their plan will provide that while some men will carry a rifle others will stand hard and fast at their machines, or at despatching trains, or in general supply and equipment service. They have recommended a system of industrial mobilization which can be organized by a staff created for that purpose. Acting separately, the Committee on Industrial Preparedness of the Naval Consulting Board and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States appear to have arrived at identical conclusions of basic principle. In broad outline, the system demands, first of all, an industrial survey which will put at the disposition of the Government every plant in the country which can be of service in one or other line of supply. The survey would include not only manufactures but also railroads, electric and automobile transportation, communications, and all economic resources. The second requirement is a survey of munitions and equipment, which means a compilation by the Army and Navy of all designs and specifications needed in placing orders. The third phase of the system is industrial mobilization and training of employees and manufacturers by small annual orders which shall have an educational as well as an immediate value.

With such a system of universal training and industrial mobilization, coördinated by a directing council, the highest efficiency of the Army and Navy would be assured and would be accompanied by a closer sympathy and understanding between the Government and business and labor which would in themselves have a national advantage of incalculable value. A democracy survives by successful cooperation and a sense of mutual responsibility. In this crisis the plan of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, representing business opinion, affords a long vista of possibilities pregnant with much that is essential to the Nation's growth to full stature.

WHAT CAN A THIN MAN DO?

A VARIETY OF AUTHORITIES HERE CONTRIBUTE IDEAS FOR THE GUIDANCE OF THE THIN MAN WHO DESIRES A NORMAL BODY—COMMENT ON THE MILK DIET, "SILK-HAT" METHODS AND THE "SHIRT-SLEEVE" COURSE

BY

CHARLES PHELPS CUSHING

TEN pounds more weight on a thin man's bones may make all the difference in the world in his ability to succeed in business. The ten pounds can be had. The prescription described herein is recommended by several of the most eminent authorities.

Health is cheap. All it costs is knowledge, and an occasional visit to a good doctor by way of precaution. The WORLD'S WORK, *in this series of articles, gives some of the universally applicable portions of this knowledge, from the best medical sources. Later numbers will give practical advice about nerves, sleeplessness, anemia, dyspepsia, biliousness, etc., and will tell how to prevent infectious diseases such as typhoid and pneumonia.*

TO MAKE sure that this series of articles shall be authoritative, the WORLD'S WORK has arranged to have them reviewed and approved by the Life Extension Institute before they are published.

The Life Extension Institute was organized by well known scientists, publicists, and business men, as a semi-philanthropic enterprise to disseminate the knowledge of healthful living among the people. Ex-President Taft is president of the Board of Directors, and its professional advisers include some of America's most distinguished physicians and surgeons, as well as the most prominent educators. The Institute's approval of these articles assures their scientific character.

EVERY evening after dinner a certain thin man who wished to gain weight sat down with a book and a bottle of milk, and as he read the book he sipped the milk. He slowly increased his allowance of this ration week by week, and in three months his weight climbed from less than 150 pounds to 187. Then he quit it for a while, and he lost nearly half what he had gained. But never again, even when he was working under high pressure, did he drop more than a few pounds below 170.

The moral of the thin man's experience is this: what the Mahdah menus are to the fat man, the milk diet is to the lean one. Just as the fat man may eat and grow thin, the lean man may drink (milk) and grow fat. On this bit of practical knowledge a dozen or more sanitariums, where milk is the sole article of diet, have sprung up in the East in recent years; and some of them, by slightly befrilling the idea and throwing a certain necessary air of mystery about it, have truly flourished. But what one buys from them, the experts say, is only this—milk and rest.

It is as well to observe here as later that this is the silk-hat method, as opposed to the shirt-sleeve course, and that the shirt-sleeve course is rather more in favor with a majority of the experts on health. In preparing this article—which is simply a piece of reporting, not an attempt to prove a theory—the writer interviewed a variety of authorities. Nearly all these gentlemen were agreed that milk is a good food and that accompanied with repose it produces weight. All that they protested against was the expense of the sanitarium method in dollars. There is no need, they said, to cut a month out of your working year or your vacation unless you choose. Their general admonition is to build up a little more slowly by a combination of fattening diet and moderate exercise.

Suppose, now, you have no taste for the milk sanitarium, drinking milk until you are nauseated and then drinking more—even as much as a glass an hour every waking hour of the day? This was the problem I brought before the experts. They all said it could be solved.

"My theory is this," answered Dr

Louis R. Welzmiller, of New York's West Side Y. M. C. A. "Just as the fat man is usually fat because he does the things that fat men do, the lean man is lean because he does the things that lean men do.

"Now, what does your thin man do? He wastes his energy in nervous, frittering movements. He never relaxes. He doesn't do what the normal man does, and the consequence is that he hasn't a normal body. If he takes up athletics he spends all his force on tennis and never handles a medicine ball. The tennis is all well enough, but he takes too much of it. The best exercises for him are the slower movements for the big groups of muscles, not the nervous, swift movements. I don't say he shouldn't enjoy a certain amount of tennis, but I caution him not to be a 'bug' about it. Tennis will do a fat man far more good than a thin man."

Dr. Welzmiller discovered no particular enthusiasm about the popular prescription to live on milk. That is not, he said, so sound a way to build up as that of taking a better balanced diet accompanied by a proper balance of relaxation and exercise.

"A good enough rule of diet for the thin man is to give preference in his eating to the sort of foods that the fat man likes too well—milk, the starchy vegetables, potatoes, fats, and sweets. You see I am consistent in the theory. If the thin man is set on milk, he should be warned to take it slowly. Maybe with a spoon."

Dr. Welzmiller has under his direction at present more than 7,500 Association members, and he speaks from an experience covering twenty years. He is frank to confess that he has failed with a few of his thin men, but pleads in defense that they did not strictly obey orders. The statistics show that the thin man who cannot build up is almost as rare as the fat man who cannot reduce.

THE METHOD AT WEST POINT

The next expert I visited handles fewer men each year than Dr. Welzmiller does, but has them under constant observation. He is known as one of the most successful body-builders in America. I refer to Captain Herman J. Koehler and the cadets of the West Point Military Academy.

The public has a notion that these young soldiers are already in the prime of condition when the Academy's physical director receives them. Captain Koehler emphatically denies this. Some of them are fat when they matriculate and some undeniably thin, but all, when they are graduated, are normal for their heights. One of the over-lean class (which is the sort we are here primarily concerned with) weighed only 108 pounds when he reported. At graduation he weighed 130.

"What method did you use on him?"

"The same method," the captain replied, "that all the others took. You probably have a notion that it was pretty rigorous. That is the prevailing opinion among those who are not familiar with our course of instruction. But while we constantly insist upon snap, vim, and precision, there is no institution I know of where the development of students is of graver concern, is gone about more cautiously, and is more closely watched than it is at the Academy. The success of our methods at once becomes clear when you understand that in the great bulk of the physical training of cadets the amount of exertion they put into the work is, by the nature of the movements they indulge in, determined by and always well within the muscular strength they possess. The theory we go on at the Academy relative to this portion of a cadet's training is that underdoing is rectifiable, overdoing is often not, so if there is a doubt as to the effect of an exercise we err on the side of safety by eliminating it from the course. For this reason, not a single physical breakdown has been charged against the course at the Academy in the thirty-one years it has been in force. That this record has not been established at the expense of the product of our methods is proved conclusively by the fact that the product is recognized as being at least the equal of any anywhere."

"Do you give your fat men and lean men special diets?"

"No. They exercise enough to make their bodies use the food, and the exercises they take are designed to meet a variety of requirements. The fat man reduces to normal, the thin man builds up."

Captain Koehler is emphatically a

teacher, one who, despite his fifty-odd years, takes an active part in all the drills, and he has a soldierly contempt for coddling. At the same time (but that is a story in itself) he protests against the kind of physical director who trains a few athletes at the expense of the mass of the enrolment of the school. His aim is to make West Point famous for the high physical average of the students, not for record-breaking athlete-specialists. Also, he maintains that it is a mistake to treat physical training almost entirely from the standpoint of pathology rather than from the standpoint of physiology, as is done by so many physical directors and experts in our schools and athletic clubs. Physical measurements, strength tests, etc., have a very important place in the physical education of our students and others, but when they are made the sole determinant of the character of the work and are used for the purpose of parceling out a lot of unpalatable movements to a well man, as they so frequently are, for no other reason than to cast a veil of mystery over what should be made so plain that even a person of ordinary intelligence will appreciate and understand the aims and means and the importance of this training, they become a detriment and not an aid to the adoption of universal physical training.

Another mistake made by many directors is that they fail to grasp the importance of the psychological side of physical education, the influence of the mind on the body. The muscles of the body are so closely correlated that it is impossible to employ the one without also employing the other. For this reason everything connected with this work should be made as attractive as possible so that it may act as a physical and mental exhilarant and tonic, burnishing and quickening the mind while adding strength and vigor to the body.

What is needed, in other words, is a little more common-sense practice and a little less gray theory. Those are the lines along which the training of cadets is carried on at the Academy. That it is successful is attested by the splendid reputation the corps of cadets has established for itself the world over.

The way to *build up the thin man*, the captain holds, is not to coddle him but to put him to work at vigorous but not exhausting exercise. Diet, of course, is necessary in the process of building up, but a regular life and systematic regular activity is a matter of greater importance.

But suppose our business man couldn't spare the time to train?

"It isn't necessary to give a lot of time to the job of keeping fit," the captain answered. "Ten or fifteen minutes of setting up exercise in the morning, and a walk every day—not necessarily a long one, but one in which you march briskly like a soldier with your head and chest up and your shoulders back—will work wonders. Do you know why so many men are narrow-chested and weak? It is because they never have given themselves a chance to breathe and never have given their muscles enough exercise.

"Many people, men, women, and children, are semi-invalids most of their lives because of the lack of a few minutes of daily exercise and also because they have never been taught a proper posture and carriage, such, for instance, as we insist upon at all times in cadets; a position in which every organ of the body is held in its proper place with ample space to carry on its own particular function without restriction, and in which every muscle of the body is furnishing its own transportation, so to speak, and not depending upon other muscles to do for it what it was intended it should do for itself.

"Proper posture and carriage, with shoulders square, chest arched, head erect and body well stretched from the waist up, will of its own account contribute much toward relieving our people of the many petty and not a few of the serious ills from which they are now suffering. It is the foundation of robust health and should be insisted upon in children from the very beginning until it becomes a habit and as such will displace the disease-breeding 'slouchy' habit now so prevalent among people of all ages and stations.

"The human organism is most tolerant and patient and will stand for a very considerable amount of neglect and abuse, and even then it will not rebel without first sending out signals of warning which it is well to heed. But why wait for these

warnings when this organism, so responsive and so very considerate, demands so little time and effort to keep it in proper healthful condition?

"If children are taught correct posture and the carriage that goes with it, and if, besides this, we can succeed in awakening in them a craving for daily indulgence in wholesome bodily activity, we shall be taking a long step toward the regeneration of our race."

Captain Koehler is the author of a book which is the physical manual of West Point and of the United States Army. It is as good a "course" as any on sale, and is remarkably cheap, for neither the author nor the printer makes any money on it. If you are looking for a system of physical culture write to Washington, D. C., Office of the Superintendent of Documents, for the "Manual of Physical Training For Use in the United States Army," cloth bound 50 cents, postpaid. (Profusely illustrated, 335 pages!)

Half a dozen of the exercises for the beginner—Captain Koehler's own selections—are illustrated herewith in photographs. The captain concludes: "Don't believe me—but *try* them, ten or fifteen minutes every morning for a month, breathing deeply as you take them, and, of course, working with some snap. After breakfast walk part of the way to work and walk like a soldier. The difference in the way you feel will amaze you.

"In New York I had under me for a time some business men of a militia regiment. I gave them setting-up exercises, told them how to breathe, and other things about how to live. I'm sure no one who followed the advice regretted it. They didn't lose a minute from their business; they simply set the alarm clock ten minutes earlier, spent a little more time hiking on the sidewalks instead of in their motor cars or in that filthy subway, and went to bed regularly at a decent hour. They didn't even lose an hour and a half in traveling to a gymnasium, dressing, and undressing, etc.—all the gymnastics I asked was ten minutes of setting-up exercise every morning. But *every* morning, for ten minutes a day, is worth more, when it is regular, *than a whole day once* a week."

In an institution mentioned in the article last month on the fat man—the Life Extension Institute—is another group of earnest and convincing experts who are doing what they can to spread knowledge of health topics. That part of their financial support comes from life insurance companies who are interested in reducing the death rate among their policy holders does not discount the work the institute is doing, but rather gives weight on the side of practicability.

I asked Dr. Eugene L. Fisk, the institute's director of hygiene, for something on the lean man's problems. He told me, as Captain Koehler did, that setting-up exercises were as good as any "system of physical culture" that money could buy, and that ten minutes of them a day was about as good an investment of time as the lean man could find—but warned against taking any exercise to the point of fatigue.

Life insurance statistics show, he said, that pronounced underweight before the age of twenty-five is an unfavorable condition, "as it is often associated with lack of resistance to pulmonary affections and to other diseases of youth. . . . At middle life and after, underweight, unless extreme, or accompanied by evidence of impaired health, should not give any concern. Other things being equal, the old motto, 'a lean horse for a long race,' holds good." He placed the same emphasis as Captain Koehler on deep breathing, and even advised sleeping out of doors, if possible—"certainly, the thin man can't get too much fresh air." As for the milk diet, yes, milk is a fattening food, but why go to a sanitarium to drink it when a dairy depot is cheaper? The admirably concise statement which follows about foods for the thin man is from one of the institute's "Keep-Well" leaflets:

"Thin people lose heat more readily than stout people, as they expose more skin surface in proportion to the body weight. They require, therefore, an abundant supply of energy food, or fuel foods, fats, and carbohydrates (starch and sugar). Butter and olive oil are better than other fats and less likely to disturb the digestion. Sugar is a valuable fuel food, but should not be

THE ROAD TO HEALTH

Business men at a military training camp at Fort Oglethorpe, Ga. The main point in building up a thin man lies in vigorous but not exhausting daily exercise. Diet plays but a secondary rôle

taken in concentrated form into an empty stomach. Sweets are best taken at the end of a meal, but in such cases the teeth should be well cleansed. Fruit at the end of a meal will prevent any injury to the teeth from carbohydrate foods. . . . Potatoes and all starchy vegetables are fattening. They should be well chewed and tasted before swallowing.

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UNSOLDIERLY ATTITUDES

Many men are narrow-chested and weak because they seldom breathe deeply nor exercise their muscles sufficiently

Thin, anemic people derive much benefit from egg lemonade made from the yolks, which contain fat, iron, and other valuable elements."

The Bureau of Public Health Education of New York City, through Dr. Charles F. Bolduan, told me much the same story about food and exercise and the nutritional value of milk, and

A MORNING HIKE AT PLATTSBURG

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A walk every day, not necessarily a long one, with the head in the air, chin drawn in, shoulders thrown back, chest held high, and inhaling deeply is one of the best tonics for a thin man

HANDS ON HIPS

Head fixed in air, shoulders square, knees straight, feet firm; bend trunk obliquely forward right and left. Repeat eight times

HOW TO STAND

The two adjoining pictures illustrate a serious fault: the old military placing of the feet. The feet should be parallel, a few inches apart

HANDS ON SHOULDERS

Bend trunk sideward; extend left arm obliquely upward and right arm obliquely downward. Swing trunk sideward left and right.

SETTING-UP EXERCISES

For building up the thin man. Clench fists; thrust arms forward; swing right arm up, left arm down, left arm up, right arm down. Swing to front horizontal. Repeat eight to ten times

HANDS ON HIPS

Bend the knees full, extend the arms sideward forcibly; execute moderately slowly and breathe naturally. Six to eight times

POSITION OF "ATTENTION"

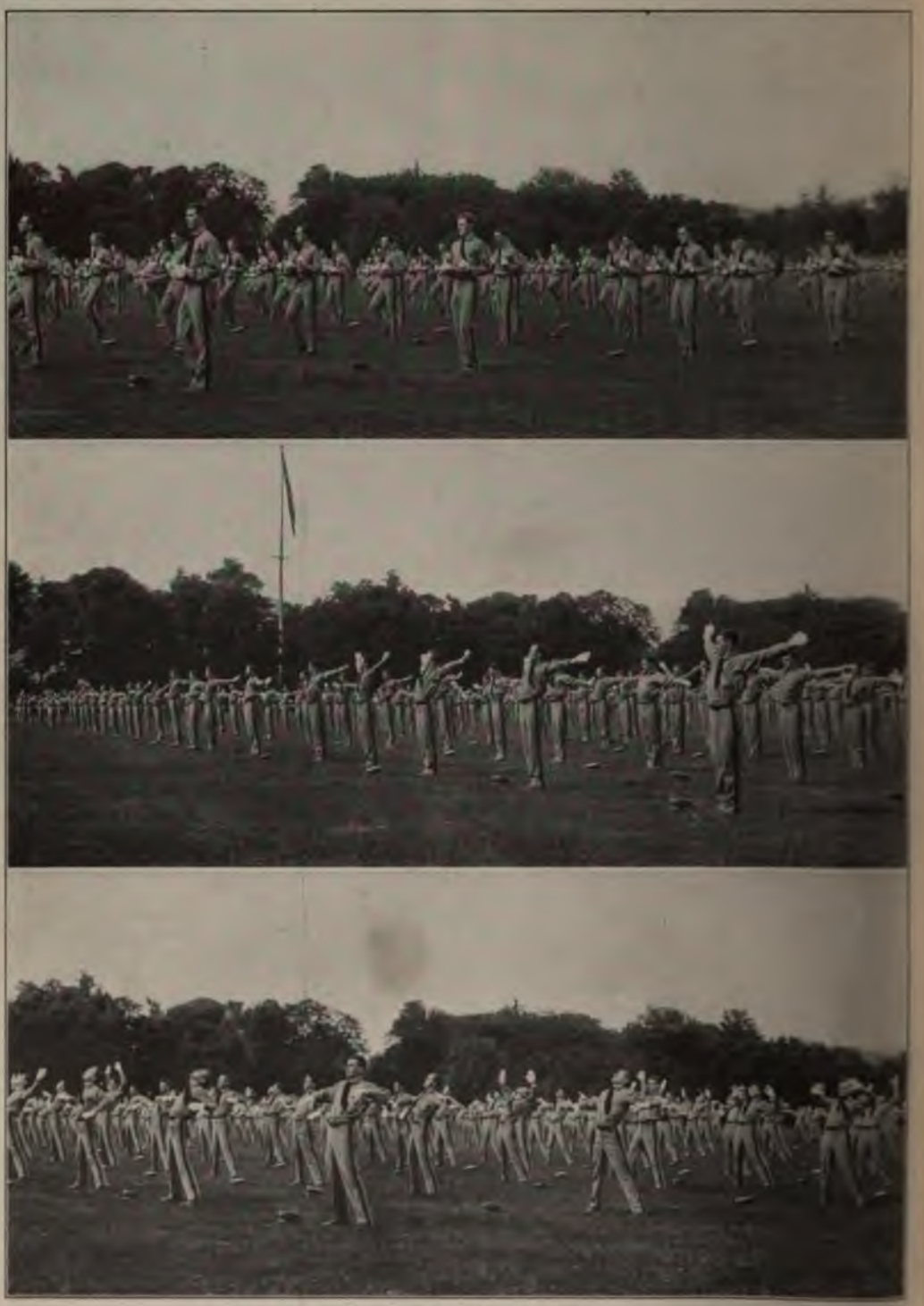
Bend to a squatting position; place hands on ground and extend body to leaning rest. Resume squatting position, then "Attention." Repeat four times

supplemented this with some material from the medical point of view by Dr. Maude Glasgow. Underweight, writes Dr. Glasgow, may depend upon one or several conditions:

1. There may be a hereditary predisposi-

DAILY EXERCISES

With fingers laced back of head, bend the trunk forward. Repeat six to eight times. These are some of the best exercises for the beginner, selected by Captain Koehler, physical director at West Point



CALISTHENICS FOR CADETS

The longest period that cadets at West Point work with the physical director is only forty-five minutes a day —*enough to make* their bodies use up the food they consume—but they do their work with vigor and snap

tion to spareness of body.

2. It may be due in part to excessive mental or physical exertion.

3. It may be caused by some obscure disease such as tuberculosis or to perversion of the metabolic functions of the body. The condition is brought about by mental states such as worry and anxiety as well as by lack of rest and sleep.

"It is true," observes this admirably concise little statement, "that persons of slender build are often stronger, more enduring, and more resistant to disease than those inclined to stoutness, yet though slenderness may mean physical strength and resistance, leanness may mean physical weakness and susceptibility to attacks by disease.

"The cause which produces the leanness must be the guide in treatment. If the condition is due to worry, anxiety, lack of sleep, etc., these causes should be re-

CAPT. HERMAN J. KOEHLER

The physical director at West Point. One of the most successful builders of men in America, who says that exercise every day is the best means by which to acquire the right amount of flesh

THE RESULT OF PHYSICAL TRAINING

The graduates of West Point are famous for their splendid physique and soldierly bearing, the result of four years' careful training and exercising

EXHAUSTING EXERCISE

The thin man is apt to exhaust himself in such strenuous exercises as tennis and handball. Work with the medicine ball is better for him

moved. If to overwork, the work should be lessened in quantity or changed to some other kind. If the appetite is defective a tonic may be in order."

The reader will observe that the tonic mentioned by Dr. Glasgow is the first appearance, thus far, of medicine. The health experts advise the thin man to eat of the right foods (but not too much!), to learn to relax and rest, to take moderate exercise, to give the lungs plenty of fresh air and the vital organs a relief from cramped postures, but they make no mention of medicines unless diseased conditions are discovered. And everybody I interviewed condemned buying the patent medicines that are advertised as "tissue builders."

I asked Dr. Graham Lusk of Cornell Medical College about these widely advertised products.

"I have analyzed a number of them," he answered. "They usually are harmless; many of them are worth about as much to the patient as a glass of milk, and some are worth their weight in cottage cheese and cost a hundred times as much. Why pay exorbitant prices for such products?

FOR REDUCING WEIGHT

The swift movements necessary in playing tennis are of less benefit to the thin man than to the fat one. Less *strenuous exercises which* employ slower movements for the big groups of muscles are better for thin people

What sells these patent medicines is the air of mystery thrown about them in the form of language that sounds convincingly scientific."

Perhaps the best directions on these patent medicines are, as a Kansas editor has shrewdly remarked, "the ones telling you to keep the bottle tightly corked."

Several of the men I interviewed pointed to one of our most distinguished citizens as the best example of what a thin man can do if he sets himself determinedly to his task. The example entered Harvard in 1876, "thin of chest, bespectacled, nervous, weighing only 90 pounds." By regular, systematic exercise he built himself up in four years to 135 pounds; then went West and lived in the open until he was normal for his height and had muscles which even a prize fighter could respect. To-day he is, if anything, tending toward stoutness, and may be observed at dinners using saccharine in his coffee instead of sugar. His name is Theodore Roosevelt.

In the Army there are many men who can give testimony to the tonic value of simple food, outdoor exercise, and fresh

COLONEL ROOSEVELT AS A COWBOY

After leaving college Colonel Roosevelt spent several years in the West building up his delicate constitution by exercise and outdoor life

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A PROMINENT DISCIPLE OF EXERCISE

In 1876, Colonel Roosevelt weighed but ninety pounds. In four years he built himself up to 135 pounds. To-day, *after a vigorous* and healthy life, he even has a tendency toward obesity

"JUST AS THE TWIG IS BENT—
From the time they first learn to walk children should be taught to carry themselves erect, breathe deeply, and exercise daily

air. Lieut. Col. Leon S. Roudiez, adjutant at Governors Island, is one. A few years ago he was ordered to join his regiment, and just before he left Governors Island on the ferry he weighed himself—103 pounds. Four months in the saddle, with plain food, fresh air, and plenty of activity, followed, and he gained thirty-two pounds.

—THE TREE'S INCLINED"
In the thinning ranks of the Grand Army of the Republic comparatively few fat men are to be found. "A *lean horse* for a long race" applies particularly to the race of life

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THE RECALL OF JUSTICE HUGHES

THE ACTUAL CHOICE OF THE PARTY'S RANK AND FILE—SIX YEARS ON THE SUPREME BENCH—MR. HUGHES'S GREAT SERVICES AS LIFE INSURANCE INVESTIGATOR AND AS GOVERNOR—SIMPLICITY AND DIRECTNESS OF HIS METHODS—A MAN CHOSEN FOR HIS RECORD ON ISSUES OF SIX YEARS AGO WHO IS NOW FACING NEW PROBLEMS SUCH AS INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, AMERICANISM, AND PREPAREDNESS—THE PROMISE OF AN INTELLECTUAL CAMPAIGN, WAGED, NOT ON PERSONALITIES, BUT PRINCIPLES

BY

BURTON J. HENDRICK

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IT IS doubtful if the whole course of American history presents any episode quite like the nomination of Charles E. Hughes by the recent Republican convention at Chicago. Here was a man who, for the last six years, had cut practically no figure in current political events. Though described by President Taft, in 1910, as the "greatest asset of the Republican Party"; though, as governor of New York State, he had achieved a record that inevitably placed

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MR. CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

After six years on the Supreme Court bench, which have apparently had the effect of humanizing him rather than of making him more awesome

AT THREE YEARS OF AGE

Almost incredible stories are told of Hughes's mental precocity and interest in serious things

him in line for the Presidency, Mr. Hughes had made the great abdication—had entered the political cloister of the Supreme Court, and, in doing so, had publicly renounced all ambition of the ordinary political kind. Numerous attempts to withdraw him from this monastic seclusion had failed. In 1912, the Republican Party had turned toward Mr. Hughes as the one probable escape from the impending cataclysm—but he had repelled the solicitation. In the last twelve months he had discouraged all suggestions that he stand as a candidate this year. When Nebraska Republicans placed his name on the primary ballots Mr. Hughes threatened to bring court proceedings to remove it. He wrote many letters declining to become a candidate and he openly repudiated all party workers who became active in his interest. Even as the Chicago convention assembled Mr. Hughes issued a statement declaring that he was not a candidate and denying that any man had the right to speak in his behalf. In face of all this the convention, not even knowing that he would accept, nominated Mr. Hughes with practically no contest. All "booms" that had been carefully nurtured for many months quietly disappeared under the magic of his name.

AT EIGHT YEARS OF AGE

Mr. Hughes's father was a Baptist clergyman and gave his son a severe religious training

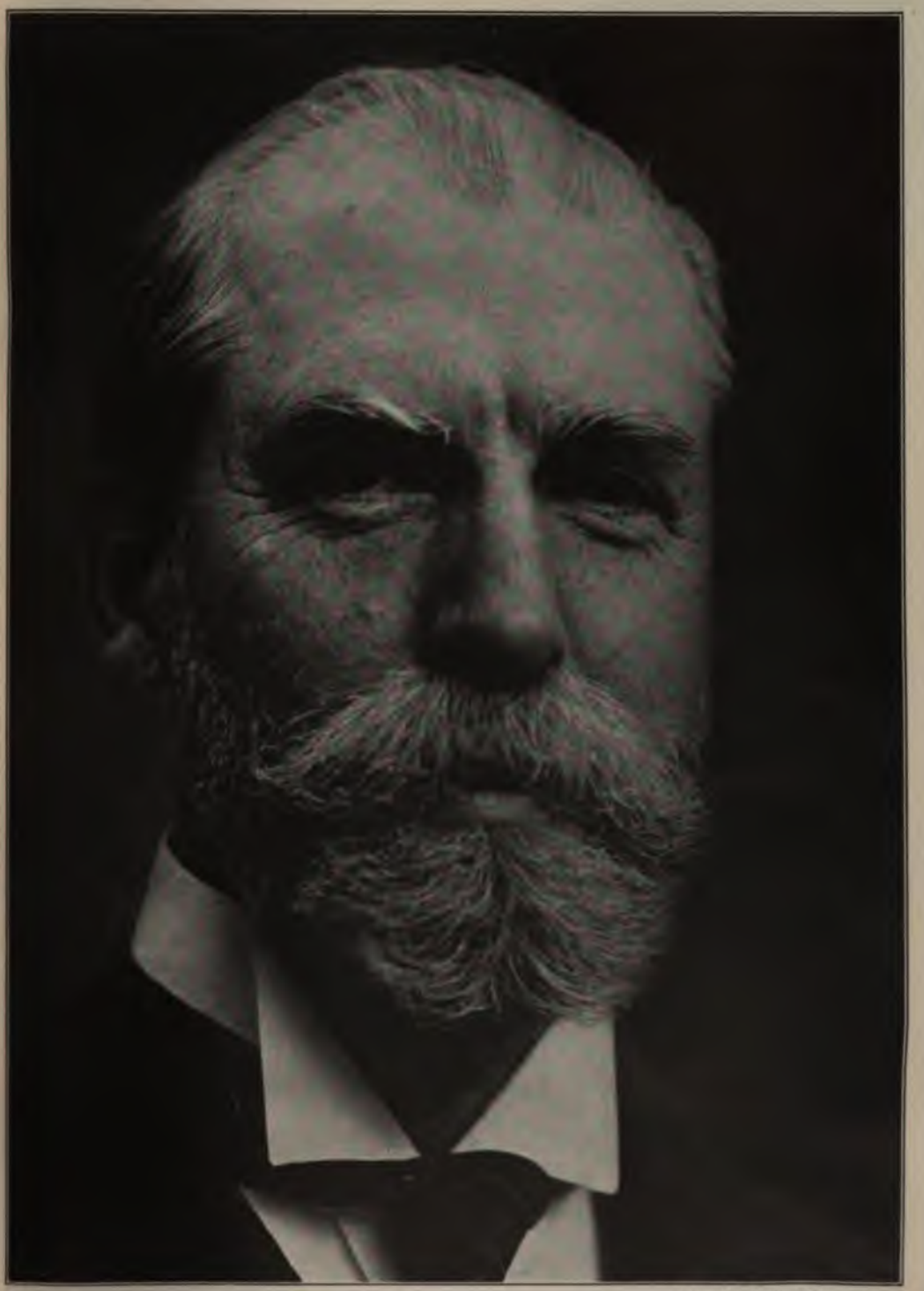
Many manifestations in the last three years have not reflected creditably upon democracy; let us place the Hughes

MR. HUGHES AT SIXTEEN

At this time he was a student at Colgate University, which he left for Brown, where he was graduated in 1881

MR. HUGHES AT TWENTY

He was an exceedingly studious young man. He was graduated from the Columbia Law School in 1884 with the highest standing on record up to that time



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AS HE LOOKS TO-DAY

The famous beard is now closely cropped, and the hair, which was a reddish-brown in the life insurance days, is now quite gray

MR. HUGHES'S MOTHER

Mary Catherine Connelly, an American of old Revolutionary stock

HIS BIRTHPLACE AT GLENS FALLS, N. Y.

Here his father had a pastorate and another which he filled simultaneously at the neighboring village of Sandy Hill

MR. HUGHES'S FATHER

The Reverend David C. Hughes was born and lived his early life in Wales

nomination, however, on the other side. For in this proceeding our democratic instinct shows at its best. Stripping the Hughes selection of all its puzzling and contradictory intimations, one fact stands out conspicuously, and that is that it is a pure triumph of character. The newspapers tell us that the Republican convention nominated the ex-justice perfunctorily, with no show of unrestrained enthusiasm; that it gave the impression of performing a not particularly agreeable task. That fact is easily explained. The road-roller politicians dominated the assembly of 1912; its leaders—Penrose, Smoot, Murray Crane—dominated this one, somewhat chastened, it is true, by a four-years' shortage of provender. If there is one man in the United States that these men would not voluntarily have selected as their Presidential beau ideal it is Charles Evans Hughes. There is no figure in our political life who represents so little the things for which these gentlemen stand.

HIS WASHINGTON RESIDENCE

President Taft appointed Mr. Hughes to the Supreme Court bench in 1910, after he had been governor of New York State for nearly four years

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THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE AND HIS FAMILY

Mrs. Hughes was Miss Antoinette Carter, daughter of the well-known New York lawyer, Walter S. C
who was one of the first to appreciate Mr. Hughes's remarkable legal abilities

QUESTIONING "TOM" PLATT

At the Armstrong insurance inquiry. At this session Platt confessed that he annually got large money supplies from the insurance companies for campaign purposes

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IN THE WOODS

Mr. Hughes's relaxations are tramping, mountain-climbing, the novels of Alexandre Dumas, and detective stories

There is no Republican who, once solidly seated in the Presidential chair, will respond so icily to their conception of partisan politics. Mr. Hughes's whole career stands for the negation of everything to which his latest sponsors have dedicated their ablest efforts. One might conclude, after studying Mr. Hughes's public life, that he had devoted all his energies and talents to the supreme end of making himself unavailable as a Presidential candidate. His greatest public service, that as

IN ACADEMIC ROBES

Mr. Hughes built up his great reputation on the issue of popular rights against special privilege

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ADDRESSING AN AUDIENCE

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GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK

As governor Mr. Hughes antagonized practically all the influences that, in demand to public recently made him the Republican candidate

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SUPREME COURT JUSTICE

Mr. Hughes's position on the bench prevented his pre-convention appearance as a candid quickly divested himself of this dignity, however, and made plans for an active, self-conducted

a life insurance investigator, simply resolved itself into a mighty excoriation of the leaders who had for years controlled the Republican Party in state and nation. He was the man who first portrayed, in definite outline, the alliance which for a generation had existed between high finance and the Republican Party. For years we had suspected and charged that great corporations had made heavy contributions to Republican Presidential campaign funds. Mr. Hughes produced the very checks which represented these contributions. We had many times asserted that corporation money had been used to corrupt legislatures. Mr. Hughes placed on the stand Thomas C. Platt, who had for two decades dominated Republican politics in New York, and made him confess how, for fifteen years, he had annually obtained large bundles of greenbacks from the life insurance companies and had given favorable legislation at Albany in payment. The light which Mr. Hughes had shed upon the administration of Benjamin B. Odell, the ex-Republican governor of New York, had made permanent that gentleman's retirement from public life. The very convention which nominated Mr. Hughes for the Presidency contained Republicans—Chauncey M. Depew, and William Barnes, for example—whom his life insurance investigation had brought unfavorably to public notice. In that same gathering sat also James W. Wadsworth, Jr., now Senator from New York, who, during Mr. Hughes's career as governor, had fought reforms in harmony with the discredited machine.

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AS A CAMPAIGNER
When he ran for governor of New York State

An amazing phenomenon this, the Republican bosses picking out for the Presidency a man who had so mercilessly flayed the Republican organization several years before; nominating him, too, not in spite of this performance, but because of it! The "interests," also, which have influenced so many conventions, had found in Mr. Hughes their severest scourge. Just glance at the list of the forces which he had combated as investigator and governor—such banking houses as J. P. Morgan & Co., Kuhn, Loeb & Co., the National City Bank, the Hanover National Bank, the "Standard Oil" crowd; such individuals as George W. Perkins, Jacob H. Schiff, Edward H. Harriman, and Thomas F. Ryan. Indeed, hardly any name could have been

presented to the Republican convention which would have aroused so many unpleasant Republican memories as that of Mr. Hughes. Yet these very memories constituted his only political strength. The outcome of the Chicago convention does not represent the net result of conflicting personal ambitions and political antagonisms. It represents the inevitable working out of irresistible forces. Conventions in which the delegates are mere automatons, mechanically registering the wills of stronger men than themselves, are nothing new in American history. We had such conventions in 1896 and 1900, when Mark Hanna applied the lash that compelled the selection of McKinley. We had a similar assemblage in 1908, when Roosevelt dictated the nomination of Taft. We had another in 1912, when the Penrose-Barnes-Smoot voting machine again registered for Mr. Taft. The delegates who recently assembled at Chicago were just as little free agents as those who made up the conventions named. Their orders came, however, not from the party "leaders" but from the great masses who had sent them. In the preceding six months Republican voters had had plenty of opportunities to express their choice for the Presidential candidate. On practically every test they had declared for Mr. Hughes. Every political scout who had entered these outlying regions had brought back the same report—that the people were for Hughes. These, then, were the bosses, connected by invisible wires with the delegates at Chicago, who dictated this astounding nomination.

A PICTURE OF MR. HUGHES

What manner of man is this who, six years after what seemed a definite retirement, still exercises so potent an influence upon millions of Americans? Already attempts are being made to mystify the popular mind. Most newspapers and magazines, in dealing with a public character like Mr. Hughes, have an uncontrollable longing for legend. The title, "Man of Mystery," still exercises irresistible fascination. Only this habit can explain the fact that we are beginning to refer to Mr. Hughes as "the Great Unknown." Some picture an adroit plotter, seated behind the "ermine" of the Supreme Court, scheming for the Presidency with almost Mephistophelian skill. This conception is silly and grotesque. For his most striking trait, both of mind and character, is simplicity. He has no genius, except the genius for thinking and doing the direct and the obvious thing.

When pressed for an explanation of his skill in detecting life insurance rascality, Mr. Hughes said: "There is no wizardry about it." In fact, the whole business was as simple and straightforward as Mr. Hughes himself. One cannot talk with him five minutes without obtaining this impression. Most people who write about Mr. Hughes apparently feel called upon to defend him from the current charges of austerity and frigid dignity—to dispel the notion that he is a sphinx-like block of ice. But dignified, and even possibly austere, Mr. Hughes certainly is.

A RESERVE THAT INSPIRES RESPECT

No one, probably not even his closest intimates, would ever dream of slapping him on the back; I think likewise that most men would hesitate before telling a risqué story in his presence. There is a kind of reserve, however, that inspires, not trepidation, but respect, and which, after all, is intensely human. It is a mark, not of exclusiveness and pomposity, but of simplicity, directness, modesty. Certainly Mr. Hughes never makes one ill at ease. He looks at you with his quiet eyes, hidden under shaggy brows—eyes that are at times quizzical, at times almost pensive and even melancholy; he reaches over to emphasize his main points, taps you on the knee and talks in that chatty, easy-going fashion that means real conversation. Mr. Hughes is not one of those annoying statesmen who answer your question with a monosyllable and then patiently wait until you ask another. As soon as you sit down beside him there is an uninterrupted flow of talk, lightened by smiles and even loud laughter, full of questions, reminiscences, confidential bits of information, and rapid-fire appreciations of men and things. Mr. Hughes's six years on the bench have greatly changed

him—even improved him. The celebrated beard, then a light reddish-brown, is now entirely gray; it has lost its flaring and aggressive quality, being now closely cropped. The Jove-like head is also gray and bushy; the face has lines and corrugations not evident in the old days. Judging from his bearing to-day, Mr. Hughes's six years in this most awesome court have had the effect of bringing into greater prominence the geniality and real human qualities that have always been his fundamental characteristics.

MR. HUGHES'S FATHER

This simplicity, this directness, this passion for doing the obvious thing, has been Mr. Hughes's leading quality from the first. Apparently this trait was congenital; he showed it as a child precisely as he did as life insurance investigator and as governor. Eleven years ago, while attending, as a spectator, the sessions of the life insurance inquiry, I used to notice an old, gray-haired, neatly accoutred gentleman, who made his appearance day after day. He always occupied the same seat, appeared promptly every morning when the session began, and remained religiously until its close. Having found myself one day accidentally seated next this absorbed spectator, we naturally fell into conversation. My new friend turned out to be the Rev. David C. Hughes, father of the man who was conducting the inquiry. The old gentleman, keen, intelligent, filled with an unbounded pride, needed little prodding to talk about his distinguished son.

"I always taught Charles," he told me, "that a straight line was the shortest distance between two points." And then followed numerous anecdotes, all intended to prove this same simplicity of mental method. One day, said the elder Hughes, he found his son, then only five or six years old, highly excited over a book of adventure which he had been reading—one of the hilarious sort that figured in Sunday School libraries fifty years ago. The father, who had passed through the kind of religious conversion that was popular before the Civil War, regarded this sort of stimulation as vain and unprofitable. "Boys should be taught useful facts," he informed me. So, in the afternoon, he took his son for a walk along the shore of Lake Ontario—he then had a church in charge at Oswego.

"Charlie," he said, picking up a handful of pebbles, "do you know what makes these stones round and smooth?"

"No, sir."

"Would you like to know?"

"Yes, sir."

Next day he gave him a copy of "Chambers's Miscellany," a compendium which the eager searcher for exact knowledge devoured over and over again.

PRECOCIOUS AT EIGHT

The elder Hughes told me stories illustrating his son's precocity. The boy's mind traveled so much faster than his fellows' that Charles appeared one day and informed his father that he was wasting time at school. He presented a formidable document labeled "Charles E. Hughes's plan of study." The child—he was then only eight—had divided the day into periods, with each subject assigned to a particular period; henceforth, he announced, he was going to do his studying at home, strictly in accordance with that programme. And he did. He would get up several days' lessons and then recite the whole lot to his father or mother. "Like most small boys," the elder Hughes said, "Charlie had difficulty in keeping still—standing on one foot, then on another. I called his attention to this and impressed upon him the need of self-control. He took a seam in the carpet as a dead line, placed his feet down firmly, and toed it. From that day he has had himself under complete control."

All this sounds, perhaps, a little priggish; it is, therefore, comforting to learn that Mr. Hughes, even at this early period, had other mental relaxations than "Chambers's Miscellany." We are told that, his family having appointed him for the ministry, one of his set tasks as a boy was writing amateur sermons and studying the missionary efforts of St. Paul. The fact, however, that, before he was fifteen years old, young Hughes had read all the novels of a certain Tobias Smollett

ed that his mind was of somewhat ersal character.

any times, in the insurance inquiry, Hughes showed this tendency to do bvious thing—to go, by the simplest ental operations, directly to the of things. His love for a concrete amounted to a passion. Nothing—terest, a desire to protect his friends is party—could prevent him from ng it to its lair. As an investigator, d, Mr. Hughes had no enemies and iends; one felt that, even though his ations were to affect his closest rela- he would still not hesitate.

A "TIP" THAT HE IGNORED

uncovered facts that reverberated world over, almost without displaying ise of personal triumph; he never beat witnesses, never threatened, y ever lifted his voice above the ersational tone. For example, a par- r ledger kept by the New York Life, n as the "Hanover Bank office ac- ," interested him greatly, especially his requests for detailed information deftly side-stepped. Finally a polit- riend gave him a "tip"; this account ined, he was told, a subscription of 00 made to the Republican campaign

This information was given con- ially in the expectation that Mr. es, as a good Republican, would let particular hot potato alone. But Hughes only became more insistent the account be produced. This ed an entry, "1904, December 30th, 02.50"—still with nothing to show to it had been paid. As the informa- had been communicated privately, Hughes could easily have stopped and protected his party; the trans- had aroused no public notice. But Hughes put George W. Perkins on tand and asked him what this pay- represented. Mr. Perkins then ad- d the whole story. "I am glad you ht that out," he said, "because that natter of very far-reaching import- and should be brought out."

es," replied Mr. Hughes—and this actically the only time he showed particular satisfaction over his discoveries, "I intended that it should be brought out."

Mr. Perkins also caused Mr. Hughes to exhibit almost his only sign of personal indignation in those ten dramatic weeks. Whenever I hear people talk of Mr. Hughes as a passionless machine this episode immediately comes to mind. He was asking questions about Mr. Perkins's famous Mylic funds—policy-holders' money appropriated for extravagant agency promotions. Mr. Perkins, embarrassed and angered, dropped a remark which seemed to compare these items with Mr. Hughes's "fees" as a lawyer.

Quick as a flash came the characteristic Hughes gesture; his right arm shot out like a piston-rod, his long index finger shaking in proximity to Mr. Perkins's nose.

"My fees, sir," he said, "are not trust funds!"

When the historian writes of the change which came over American public life in the early days of the twentieth century, he will probably fix the starting point at Mr. Hughes's life insurance investigation. The date visualizes itself in my mind as a dramatic scene in the Criminal Courts Building of New York, in which the chief performers were the late John A. McCall, president of the New York Life, and Mr. Hughes. For intense subdued emotion no hearing compared with that one. As illustrating the characteristic tenacity of Mr. Hughes's methods the proceeding was a masterpiece.

AN ELUSIVE $100,000 CHECK

Mr. McCall, bold, arrogant, courageous, apparently ready to meet all contingencies, occupied the witness chair. Mr. Hughes, calm, even kindly, stood before him. On the wall at the back hung a real estate map, showing a whole block of property with each parcel marked off in red lines. Mr. Hughes held in his hand a check for $100,000. What had this money been used for? Mr. McCall had said that it was one of several checks issued to pay for a block of property in the rear of the New York Life Building. In preparation for this examination Mr. Hughes had had his map made, showing all the New York Life purchases in the

locality in question. He now made Mr. McCall recount the transaction in detail. As each purchase was described, the particular check was produced which had paid for it. In this way Mr. McCall accounted for every parcel; when he had finished, however, that fatal $100,000 check was still unaccounted for! But the fact came out: the real estate transaction was merely a blind; the $100,000 really formed part of a huge fund, amounting to more than two million dollars, which the New York life insurance companies had spent corrupting legislatures.

THE POPULAR CHOICE OF HIS PARTY

This same directness Mr. Hughes exhibited as governor. Many people regarded his pre-convention attitude toward the Presidential nomination as a pose. But he displayed this same aloofness in the days when his name was in everybody's mouth in New York for governor. His party needed him in New York State ten years ago, precisely as his party now needs him in the Nation. On both occasions his attitude was the same. Should the average American declare that he had no itching for public office, that he would not do a thing to obtain a nomination, but that, should the people summon him, he should regard it as his duty to respond, we would naturally put it down as cant. But not so with Mr. Hughes; this attitude represents with him a carefully reasoned conception of good citizenship. No man can seek public office, he believes, without accumulating obligations that will interfere with its disinterested administration. The party leaders of New York nominated him for the governorship because the popular will indicated Mr. Hughes as its choice. The same thing happened on a national scale a few weeks ago. His hands were, therefore, free to conduct the office, not in the interest of a party or a clique, but in the interest of the people. That is precisely his position now with reference to the Presidency. What he did at the Capitol in Albany he will do in Washington, if he is elected. He will not "play politics."

He will not truckle to the bosses, he will not place his office at the service of special privilege, he will not gut the Government departments in the interest of deserving Republicans. He will simply attempt to serve the people with such abilities as he can command.

THE NEW NATIONAL PROBLEMS

On all the standard issues, therefore, Mr. Hughes is entirely dependable. But a new world has come into existence in the last two years. When we discuss the Hughes issues it all has the flavor of ancient history. What concern have we to-day with such matters as direct primaries, public service commissions, the control of corporations? Most of us regard these matters as definitely settled. Indeed, many of the very men, financiers and statesmen, whom Hughes so successfully combated—McCall, McCurdy, Alexander, Harriman, Raines, McCarren, Woodruff, Grady—are dead. Mr. Hughes's struggles with these forces have their significance, as picturing his character and mental traits. But Americans to-day are thinking about other things. The European war has disclosed certain fundamental disharmonies in our national organization. We fancied that we were a homogeneous nation, composed of many elements, it is true, but still functioning as a whole. Recent developments have disclosed that a considerable faction holds its first allegiance, not to the American flag, but to a foreign Power. Fifty years ago, when America was fighting the Civil War, what especially impressed foreigners was the enthusiasm with which the several races of the North joined forces. The United States demonstrated that it was not a conglomerate of alien peoples, but a nation. But since the Civil War we have admitted millions of new immigrants, and our recent experiences show plainly that we are not assimilating them. At the same time vast problems affecting our international position are demanding solution. For the first time in our history an American election will turn, not on domestic questions, but on foreign policy. What are we to do about Mexico? Apparently Mr. Wilson's philanthropic and idealistic attempts to cultivate real democracy in the great Indian republic have

d. We cannot indefinitely tolerate chy and bloodshed and misery there more than we could in Cuba. Are o do with Mexico as we have done Cuba and the Philippines—free the try, that is, of the political brigands now terrorize an inoffensive people, then, by introducing education, sani- n, agriculture, and indispensable public s, attempt to train the people until reach a capacity for self-government? re we to suffer present conditions initely?

CAMPAIGN ISSUES

ain, in the new world that is now ng, what part is the United States to ? Most people believe that the cratic principle on which our nation unded is the thing which is chiefly d in the European war. Have we responsibility for the preservation of principle? Have small peoples and ns any claim upon our protection? our duty to sit comfortably by when cratic, militaristic Powers, in an insane for conquest, trample on treaties, all human rights, and wage warfare in that can be described only as mili- sadism? Mr. Wilson believes that nations should coöperate and that "guiding principle" of such coöpera- should be "even-handed and im- al justice." He would like to make Jnited States a party in a democratic Alliance whose chief aim it should be uarantee, by force if necessary, the iples in which we, as a nation, be- . The conception is certainly a one, nor is it impracticable. The involves the adequate extension of military and naval defenses, for cer- y, with all the rest of the world in , we cannot maintain our ideals and rights without physical force. It ves, also, new national conceptions; ibandonment of all vestiges of paro- ism and sectionalism and the assertion vigorous, efficient, and centralized nal organization.

re, then, are the issues of the cam- . With these ideas foremost, we d see one of the most stimulating lofty Presidential struggles in our history. The Republican Party has nominated Mr. Hughes, knowing nothing of his position on these matters. It has brought forth a man whose achievements in another political era have caused widespread respect for his abilities and character. But that past record will not carry him into the Presidency. His stand on Americanism, the hyphen, our duties to Mexico and Latin America, our position in international affairs and diplomacy, and preparedness will demonstrate his fitness to be our national leader in this new time.

HUGHES AND WILSON

It will be a noteworthy campaign—noteworthy for its issues and its candidates. We can imagine some future Plutarch, writing the lives of America's illustrious men, concluding his biographies of Hughes and Wilson with the usual Plutarchan parallel. Certainly no two American figures are simultaneously more alike and more dissimilar. Both are the sons of clergymen; both had a rigid ecclesiastical training; both still regard seriously their religious affiliations—Wilson the Presbyterian, Hughes the Baptist. Both men are Celtic in origin; Wilson is Scotch-Irish and Hughes is Welsh. Both showed great intellectual power at an early age; both have served as college professors—let us not forget that Mr. Hughes for two years held the chair of law at Cornell University. Both made political reputations as governors of states; and, as governors, both showed similar characteristics and fought for the same things—the liberation of their commonwealths from "boss" rule and from special privilege. When Mr. Wilson turned the "bosses" of his own party out of his office, and made his platform appeals to public opinion, everybody said, "How like Hughes in New York!" Similarly, the two men occupy about the same positions in their respective parties. Just as Mr. Wilson is the statesman who has united the two discordant elements in the Democratic organization, so Mr. Hughes has been selected as the agency for bringing together the sadly disunited Republicans. Both leaders are men of high character,

both love above all the things of the mind, both have a popular reputation for being cold. In dignity, in a passion for issues rather than for personalities, in a patriotic desire to serve the country, there is little to choose between the two candidates. With the nominations of Hughes and Wilson, American politics has attained an intellectual leadership for which we can find a parallel only in the early days of the Republic. How thin the Pierces, the Polks, the Buchanans, the McKinleys seem in comparison with these two men! American politics has frequently witnessed a campaign with a dominating personality on one side; it has never, except in the earliest days, given us two at the same time.

Alike as the two men are, however, they are fundamentally different. These differences will probably become sufficiently apparent as the campaign goes on. Mr. Wilson is keener, cleverer, far more adroit than Mr. Hughes. He has a nimbler wit, is more subtle, has more mental delicacy, imagination, and probably greater skill in managing men. Yet I doubt whether he has as powerful an intellect. Mr. Hughes can never master the exquisite English and the frequently poetic imagery of Mr. Wilson's speeches; yet who could imagine Mr. Wilson diving deep below the surface and unearthing the secrets of the life insurance companies as Mr. Hughes did? Note how the two men will express the same idea. When Mr. Wilson wishes to say that progress is the law of being he tells us that a white post, left alone, does not stay white; it must constantly be repainted. "Human society," says Mr. Hughes, making the same point, "cannot be stable unless it is progressive." If style is the man, there you have the difference between Wilson and Hughes. There is a gracefulness, almost a daintiness, in Wilson's mind unknown to that of Hughes; there is a toughness, a piercing quality in Hughes that we do not find in Wilson. Mr. Wilson likes to play lambently around a sub Mr. Hughes likes to jump at his p Both these types have their uses in Presidential office. The one makes W flexible, practical, ready to sacrifice d in pursuit of the larger object. The will make Hughes determined, set inclined to hew unflinchingly to a defin marked course. Perhaps this quality makes Wilson the more successful p leader, the more effective pacificato factions. Certainly one cannot ima Mr. Hughes sitting around a Cal table in company with such intelle nonentities or such narrow partisan Messrs. Bryan and Daniels. The at phere would be simply intolerable to Again, we can hardly imagine Mr. Hu deftly pulling together his party and g forcing down the Congressional throat constructive legislation as marked Wilson's first two years.

NEED OF PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSH

Mr. Wilson's great contribution American politics is this conceptio the Presidential leadership, both in executive and the legislative bran Mr. Wilson brought this idea to W ington as a result of many years' stu American politics and institutions was an excellent idea and deserve hold a permanent place in the future duct of public affairs. Mr. Wilson mainly disappointed his admirers in failure to exercise this leadership in most important issue of the time— of preparedness. Mr. Hughes ent his office as governor of New York more restricted ideas on executive le ship than Mr. Wilson, but, toward end, his practice became pretty di Certainly, after the exhibition the pr Congress has made, there is the nee Washington for the Presidential le ship. Both parties in Congress failed to express the national spirit; the President—Wilson or Hughes— supply the leadership which Congress l

THE STORY OF THE I. M. M.

ITS REHABILITATION AND EXPERIENCE AND THEIR BEARING UPON GOVERNMENT AID IN THE CREATION OF AN AMERICAN MERCHANT FLEET

BY

THEODORE H. PRICE

(EDITOR OF "COMMERCE AND FINANCE")

THE spectacular rescue of the International Mercantile Marine Corporation (hereafter called the I. M. M. Co. for brevity) from the bankruptcy alleged when it was thrown into the hands of a receiver in April, 1915, has served to direct public attention in a very practical and forceful way to the profits that ship owners have received as a result of the war.

At the bottom of this page is a comparative statement of the market value of the outstanding capitalization of the I. M. M. Co. at the prices of April 1, 1915, and those of June 10, 1916.

The appreciation of $106,022,183 reflects the increased earnings derived from war freights. They commenced to accrue about the time of the receivership. It has been alleged that the act of bankruptcy upon which the receiver was appointed was an unnecessary default in the interest on the bonds which was arranged by those who foresaw the prosperity that the war would bring to the company and sought to foreclose the stockholders from participation in it. As a matter of fact, however, this default occurred in October, 1914, during the acute depression following the outbreak of the war, and the delay in applying for a receiver is due to a clause in the mortgage which prohibited foreclosure until after the company had been in default for more than six months. Almost from the time of its organization, the enterprise had limped financially. Its overcapitalization was generally admitted, and although the preferred stock was in arrears for cumulative dividends aggregating 81 per cent., it never sold above 27⅜ from 1907 to 1914, and 9 was the highest price for the common stock in the same period.

By many the formation of the company was regarded as one of the few mistakes of the late J. Pierpont Morgan's career, and probably the truth is that those who succeeded him in its management sought to scale down his enthusiastic capitalization by a reorganization that would have been entirely necessary if, as most people expected, depression rather than prosperity had been the result of the war.

Be this as it may, the avoidance of foreclosure, the ultimate discharge of the receiver, and the reclamation of the war earnings for the stockholders is largely, if not entirely, due to the acumen and courage of Mr. Frederick W. Scott, a banker of Richmond, Va., who, though previously well known, has now come to be regarded as one of the reconstructive geniuses of American finance.

Coincidently with the receivership, Mr. Scott undertook an analytical study of the condition of the I. M. M. Co. and its prospects under the conditions the war

OUTSTANDING CAPITALIZATION	INTEREST RATES	MARKET PRICE, APRIL 1, 1915	MARKET VALUE, APRIL 1, 1915	MARKET PRICE JUNE 10, 1916	MARKET VALUE JUNE 10, 1916
$17,632,000	5 per cent.	37⅜	$ 6,589,960	103	$ 18,160,960
52,594,000	4½ per cent.	37½	19,591,265	104	54,697,760
STOCK					
$51,726,000	Preferred	5⅜	2,780,272	96	49,656,960
49,872,000	Common	1	498,720	26	12,966,720
		Total . . .	$29,460,217	Total . . .	$135,482,400

THE MARKET VALUE OF I. M. M. CAPITALIZATION IN 1915 AND 1916

had created. He soon convinced himself that the receivership was not only unnecessary but that the company was rapidly accumulating a surplus sufficient to pay all its debts and a handsome dividend to its stockholders.

SAVING THE I. M. M. FROM BANKRUPTCY

He acted on his judgment, bought heavily into the company, advised his friends to do likewise, and came to New York, where he enlisted the coöperation of Mr. Harry Bronner, of Hallgarten & Company, Mr. James N. Wallace, president of the Central Trust Company, Mr. Charles H. Sabin, president of the Guaranty Trust Company, and Mr. Henry Evans, president of the Continental Fire Insurance Company. As a committee acting for the protection of the preferred stockholders, these gentlemen have succeeded in extricating a nominally bankrupt corporation from the hands of its creditors and giving a value of approximately $60,000,000 to stock that would have been assessed or wiped out under the reorganization plan submitted by the bondholders.

That Mr. Scott's prescience in regard to the value of the property was justified is shown by the earnings of the company. During the five years ending with 1914, they had not averaged $7,000,000 a year. In 1915, they were $41,000,000 and in the month of April, 1916, they were $5,700,000, or at the rate of $68,400,000 per annum.

Mr. P. A. S. Franklin, formerly the vice-president and now the receiver of the company, is largely responsible for the management that has made these earnings possible. His skill in coping with the freight congestion and other complications of the war period, as well as his ability as a strategist in marine transportation, have won praise on every side. If he lived in England, it is likely that he would be knighted for the service he has rendered. In America, he will probably have to be content, as he is, to

> Work for the joy of working
> And struggle for love of the fight,

to which may be occasionally added the distinction of being keel-hauled by a Congressional Committee who have summoned him to Washington as a "shipping expert" to enlighten them.

As a result of the financial rehabilitation of the I. M. M. Co., an enormous speculation in its securities developed on the New York Stock Exchange, and it is understood that the American International Corporation, the $50,000,000 concern formed under the auspices of the National City Bank, has acquired a large though not a majority interest in the shipping company with a view to the development of our trade with South America. This purchase, suggesting as it did that the I. M. M. fleet might ultimately be employed mainly in the Western Hemisphere and to the disadvantage of England, under whose flag most of the ships sail, brought to light a clause in a contract between the British Government and the I. M. M. Co. which reads as follows:

> No British ship in the Association nor any ship which may hereafter be built or otherwise acquired for any British company included in the Association shall be transferred to a foreign registry (without the written consent of the president of the Board of Trade, which shall not be unreasonably withheld) nor be nor remain upon a foreign registry. Nothing shall be otherwise done whereby any such ship would lose its British registry or its right to fly the British flag.

It is said that the late J. Pierpont Morgan had been compelled to enter into this agreement and to promise that the British Government should always be represented on the board of the I. M. M. Co. as a condition of acquiring the English lines that it controls, and it has been urged that the United States Government should emulate the solicitude thus shown by Great Britain for the control of her merchant fleet.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE I. M. M.

As a matter of fact, the I. M. M. Co. was the conception of two Americans who had long dreamt of a merchant marine under the Stars and Stripes. These men were Mr. Bernard N. Baker, of Baltimore, who controlled the Atlantic Transport Line, and Mr. Clement A. Griscom, of Philadelphia, who had established the

American Line. They succeeded in obtaining Mr. Morgan's ear—he was always receptive to any plan that applied the principle of combination—and the formation of the I. M. M. Co. was the result. It operates directly only six vessels. It was and is mainly a holding company. Though chartered in the United States, the ships in which it is interested sail under the English, Belgian, Dutch, and American flags. Through stock ownership, it controls the American Line, the White Star Line, the Red Star Line, the Atlantic Transport Line, the National Line, and the Leyland Line. It also owns a fourth of the Holland-American Line. Several of these companies in turn control subsidiary lines.

The combined sailings of the several companies comprise forty-seven distinct lines of service extending practically all over the world.

In 1914, plans had been made for a service from New York via Panama to San Francisco and the West Coast of South America, but the shortage of vessels caused by the war has made it impossible to carry out these plans.

There was no doubt of Mr. Morgan's Americanism, and it is altogether likely that he, as well as Messrs. Baker and Griscom, was inspired by the vision of an American merchant marine when they put the I. M. M. Co. together.

Evidently the British took this view, for when it was rumored that Mr. Morgan was in negotiation for the Cunard company, there was great excitement in London, and the English Government hastily agreed to loan that company approximately $15,000,000 at 2½ per cent. to pay for building the *Mauretania* and the *Lusitania* and so "get ahead of the Yankees." In consideration of this loan, the Cunard company agreed that all of its directors should be British subjects. Prior to the war, the English holdings of the I. M. M. Co. were considerable. The corporation is now owned almost entirely by Americans. It is the second largest shipping company in the world and its future is, therefore, of great concern to the people of the United States.

According to the report of the United States Commissioner of Navigation, the tonnage of the world's merchant navies in 1915 was distributed as follows:

COUNTRIES	1915
American	8,389,429
British	20,874,309
French	2,294,623
Norwegian	2,474,165
Swedish	1,167,717
Danish	825,719
German	5,516,088
Dutch	1,558,895
Belgian	358,500
Italian	1,707,273
Austro-Hungarian	1,025,629
Greek	976,335
Russian	1,559,707
Japanese	1,866,619
Spanish	906,549
Total	51,501,257

These figures are, however, probably misleading. They include all vessels of 100 tons or more whether engaged in coastwise or foreign trade.

As, under the present law, our coastwise and lake trade must be carried in our own vessels, most of our tonnage is so employed, as shown by the table below.

Similar particulars are not obtainable in regard to British tonnage, but according to Lloyd's Register of June 30, 1914, Great Britain had 977 merchant vessels of 5,000 tons or more which, at the probably excessive average of 10,000 tons each, would indicate that her deep sea fleet was not more than 10,000,000 tons. Some figures in the *Statesman's Year Book* for 1915, page 82, tend to confirm this estimate. The merchant tonnage of Ger-

CLASS	FOREIGN TRADE		COASTWISE TRADE		FISHERIES		TOTAL	
	NUMBER	GROSS TONS	NUMBER	GROSS TONS	NUMBER	GROSS TONS	NUMBER	GROSS TONS
Steam	1,107	1,349,846	14,244	4,578,574	597	15,390	15,948	5,943,810
Sail	581	389,563	5,048	978,792	237	16,119	5,866	1,384,474
Canal			560	61,979			560	61,979
Barges	1,106	132,134	3,221	867,032			4,327	999,166
Total	2,794	1,871,543	23,073	6,486,377	834	31,509	26,701	8,389,429

HOW THE MERCHANT VESSELS OF THE UNITED STATES ARE EMPLOYED

many available for foreign trade before the war was hardly in excess of 3,000,000 tons. As a rough comparison of the foreign or deep sea tonnage of the three principal maritime nations, the following figures are probably about correct:

	TONS
Great Britain	10,000,000
Germany	3,000,000
United States	2,000,000

In the operation of the ships which make up these totals, the centripetal tendency of modern business organization is increasingly noticeable. In Germany more than one half the deep sea tonnage is controlled by the Hamburg-American Line, owning, on December 31, 1913, 1,038,645 tons, and the North German Lloyd, with 706,996 tons. The same thing is true of Great Britain. Some of the larger companies and the tonnage owned by them are:

	TONS
The Royal Mail	1,612,199
The I. M. M. Co.	1,143,000
The Peninsula & Oriental	488,408
The Cunard Line	304,598
A total of	3,548,205

in addition to which the Canadian Pacific, the Wilson, the British India, the Allan, the Elder Dempster, the Union-Castle, the Orient, and the Anchor lines all control considerable fleets.

Modern ships are so costly and so many of them are required to maintain frequent sailings between the large ports at which the traffic is to be had that big capital is required to own and operate them; whatever may be the future development of our merchant marine, it may be taken for granted that it will be controlled by large corporations.

As a result of the war, we now own one of these corporations. It already represents a value much larger than the Government investment contemplated under the shipping bill before Congress. It needs many new ships. It is in a position to build them. The question is, shall they be built in the United States and sail under our flag or in England and remain under the protection of the English flag? This question in various forms is the one involved in all the discussion about an American merchant marine of which we hear and read so much in Congress and the newspapers.

In order to answer it intelligently, we must know what an American merchant marine is worth to the United States politically and financially.

The high freight rates resulting from the war will not continue indefinitely, and if we take the experience of the I. M. M. Co. before the war as a guide we may expect that 1,600,000 tons of foreign shipping would earn not more than $10,000,000 per annum. This is more than the I. M. M. Co. earned with its English ships manned by English sailors at lower wages than Americans would accept even when there was no La Follette bill to "protect" them.

At this rate, which is doubtless excessive, 5,000,000 tons of deep sea shipping—probably more than we could construct in the next twenty years—would earn about $31,000,000.

In the United States, the present cost of building ships is about $200 per ton as against about $175 in England now and $135 before the war. No one knows what it will be after the war, but even if it were cut to the English figure of $135, the antebellum experience of the I. M. M. Co. makes it reasonably clear that there would not be enough money in building American ships for foreign trade to attract much capital into the business.

It is reasonably plain, therefore, that if we are to have a merchant marine, there must be:

(1) A great reduction in the cost of building and operating American ships;

(2) A great increase in the cost of building and operating English and other foreign ships; or

(3) Government aid or subvention in some form for ships built and operated under the American flag.

To justify Government aid, the political and indirect value of having American products carried across the seas in American bottoms must be made evident. Can this be done? In times of peace it is to our interest to have our freight carried as cheaply as possible, and foreign ships cost less to build and operate than

our own. We can charter them by the voyage or the year to go anywhere in the world. The argument that we need American ships to develop American trade is, therefore, untenable except in a time of universal conflict like the present.

With a world at war, it is, of course, desirable that we should have our own ships with which to capture the trade of the preoccupied belligerents, but there are many who believe that this war is nearing its end, that universal peace will follow, and that we shall not have another such struggle for a very long time.

Even if we proceed to construct a great merchant marine upon the theory that it may be indispensable in war times, we should have to create a great navy to protect it. This navy should be large enough to guard our many thousands of miles of coast line from attack, to defend our colonial possessions, and to roam the seven seas in search of enemy destroyers of our commerce. It would be needed whether our merchant fleet was owned by the Government, as the shipping bill provides, or subsidized through mail contracts or otherwise.

The cost of the Navy necessary to protect an additional 5,000,000 tons of foreign shipping under the American flag would be enormous. It is hard to estimate, but the cost to the people of such a fleet directly and indirectly might easily exceed $200,000,000 a year in subsidies and the cost and maintenance of the additional navy required. The only offset we should have for this expenditure would be a merchant fleet chiefly valuable in time of war and the pride we should feel in hearing that Old Glory was to be seen flying in a majority of the world's ports.

National pride is a good thing if it stimulates the conscience and devotion of citizenship, but it is very doubtful if our flag in Constantinople or Hongkong at a cost of $200,000,000 a year would greatly increase our patriotism or desire to serve the country. As a people we are too practical and have too keen a sense of humor to be touched by an appeal so tenuous and ethereal.

By a process of elimination, we are, therefore, driven to the possibility or probability of another great war in this generation as the only justification for Government aid of any sort in the creation of an American merchant marine. Those who advocate it will have to convince the people of the United States that the world, or some substantial portion of it, has become incurably homicidal, and to judge from the slowness with which we are recruiting our small army there is but little willingness to accept that theory.

This conclusion does not dispose of the argument that we need a merchant marine in which to train sailors for our navy, but that is easily answered. It would cost us far less to maintain training ships and pay boys to learn seamanship in them than it would to force the building of merchant ships artificially and to protect them with dreadnaughts after they were in service.

Such artificial aid would, moreover, diminish the otherwise constant effort of our shipbuilders to reduce the cost of naval construction in this country. We are building automobiles for the world now because the mechanical genius of America has standardized them. It is not impossible, it is in fact highly probable, that we may be able to do the same thing with ships if the demand for them which is a result of the war continues much longer. More of them would doubtless be building in America to-day if it were not for the fear that the Government would enter the field, and once this fear is removed the experience we have already gained may enable us to compete with the nations of the world in the "quantity production" that is our specialty.

Our supremacy in the building of modern ships in the 'fifties was largely due to the comparative cheapness of Maine timber. There is no doubt that we have already an advantage in the cost of the raw materials used in the construction of steel steamships. It only remains for us to find some way of standardizing ships and building them by machinery as we build automobiles, railway cars, and typewriters.

When we do this, and not until then, we shall have a merchant marine worth while, and Government aid in the meantime will retard instead of hastening our progress in that direction.

THE FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE IN MEXICO

THE TRUE STORY OF THE PLAYERS AND THEIR MOVES IN THE INTERNATIONAL CHESS GAME FROM THE COLUMBUS RAID TO THE FIGHT AT CARRIZAL—HOW MUTUAL DISTRUST HANDICAPPED GOOD FAITH AND HOW MISREPRESENTATION DEFEATED AGREEMENT—MEXICO AS EUROPE SEES IT AND AS PAN-AMERICA JUDGES ITS NATIONAL CRISIS

BY

GEORGE MARVIN

CANDIDO AGUILAR, the Mexican Secretary of Foreign Relations, whose signature concluded the extraordinary note of his Government to the Secretary of State on May 22, 1916, commanded, in May, 1914, a body of Mexican troops thrown across the railroads between Vera Cruz and Mexico City. In the name of his Government, on the first mentioned date, he demanded the immediate withdrawal of General Pershing's column from Chihuahua. In his own name, as "General" of the Constitutionalist forces, he several times demanded, two years ago, the immediate retirement of General Funston and his brigade from Vera Cruz. Finally, in 1914, Aguilar sent his messenger with a note to Funston which ran approximately as follows:

Siento manifestarle que no puedo retener a mi tropa y me permito sugerirle la conveniencia de su retiro inmediato.

Freely translated, this reads: "I am sorry to say that I am no longer able to restrain my troops and I therefore take the liberty of suggesting your immediate withdrawal."

General Funston withdraws very poorly. But even though he cannot walk Spanish he speaks the language fluently. He turned the dispatch around and wrote across the face of it:

Estimado General:

Si es que Ud. no puede retener a su tropa, permítame cooperar puesto que yo lo puedo hacer. ("My dear General: If you can't hold your own troops, allow me to help you, because I can. Funston.")

There is the Mexican situation. And there, also, are some Mexican and American characteristics which have for so many months and years defined its difficulties, aggravated it, and indefinitely postponed its settlement. The story is typical of the situation to-day, but in order to understand it, to reach just conclusions about it, we cannot dismiss it with any story, nor with happy-go-lucky assumptions and our natural patriotic prejudices.

Try to look at this Mexican business from a point straight over it. Seen from our side of the line, it appears unmistakably one way; looking northward at it, across the border from Mexico, through Mexican eyes, you would never recognize it. And so any one who wants to get a just idea of this exasperating lay-out of Mexican facts ought to try to survey them from some mental altitude above the misty atmosphere of ignorance and the dust storms of antipathy.

Thus observed in June, the Mexican situation and its tendencies presented a curious spectacle. Here stood the United States, a comfortable, rich nation, wrapped up in prosperity, with no territorial ambitions and little or no military yearnings, whose besetting sin was, indeed, a prevailing content. And this nation for several years had been trying clumsily and ineffectually, but withal very patiently, to help a smaller neighbor, poverty-stricken and sick unto death with internal revolution. But the smaller nation sim-

ply wouldn't let itself be helped. With an independence worthy of a truer cause, it continued to enjoy poor health and wallow in its poverty, while it repudiated friendly advice and steadfastly distrusted offers of assistance. Never was such clumsy patience on the one side nor such obstinate perversity on the other.

The obstinacy was almost admirable. When the three men elected for that purpose told the First Chief the news of the action taken by the Pan-American Conference in August, 1915, Carranza accepted it imperturbably. They told him in effect that the United States and six republics of Latin America had concluded to back him as the most practical answer in Mexico, the possible savior of his nation. He stroked his gray beard and glowered through his spectacles.

"This has been a long time coming," he said, as though expressing a grievance; "it should have come long ago."

But when the neighborhood of the sick nation, which seemingly could not cure itself and evidently would not be cured, became dangerous, the rich nation got uncomfortable and finally angry. The true story of how the Mexican crisis came about is told in the State papers exchanged between March 9 and June 20, 1916, between the State Department and the de facto Government. The reading of it forces one into the belief that this crisis could not, by whatever human ingenuity, have been permanently avoided. Behind the letters broods always the presence of inexorable racial differences, firmly rooted convictions, profound distrust. The letters themselves seem wonderfully adroit but helpless efforts to deal with innate and prevailing states of mind.

THE DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

But in order to appreciate the continuing story told in instalments by the successive notes exchanged, one ought first to get the personalities of the men behind the notes, their authors and sponsors.

On our side there was the Secretary of State and Mr. Frank L. Polk, Counselor of the State Department and much of the time Acting Secretary of State. Also, General Hugh L. Scott, Chief of Staff of the United States Army and Ambassador Extraordinary to the border. And then, apart, but his personality informing the character of much of the correspondence, the President. Down on the Mexican end of our first line of defense was Mr. James Linn Rodgers, brought over from his post as Consul-General in Havana, Cuba, to be a kind of de facto ambassador at the court of Carranza. Consul Silliman, of Saltillo, a venerable agriculturist, also appears from time to time in the mêlée of notes, as does Special Agent Carothers, sometime boon companion of Villa, whose jurisdiction of information extends in a roving way all along the Rio Grande border. When "Ambassador" Rodgers is away from his post, communications are sometimes signed by one Charles Parker, who represents nearly all that is left in Mexico City of our old Embassy there, since Chargé O'Shaughnessy withdrew in May, 1914. Also in the wake of Mr. Rodgers is Mr. John W. Belt, his secretary. All these names are familiar to those who have followed the course of Mexican events in the papers during the last six months, and most of the public characters they represent are sufficiently familiar to all.

CARRANZA'S CABINET

Much less familiar are the names of those who have settled the destinies of their own Mexico. Their figures are, for the most part, obscure. We have already had a little light on Señor Candido Aguilar. The other important members of the Mexican junta who had a hand in bringing on the crisis are Jesus Acuña, Juan Amador, and the conduit pipe of the de facto Government at Washington, Eliseo Arredondo. In the background always, and not very far in the background, either, was "The First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army in Charge of the Executive Power of the Union," Venustiano Carranza.

The presence of Aguilar in the Cabinet of Carranza has about the same significance and excuse as the presence of Mr. Bryan in the original Cabinet of President Wilson. Neither had any qualifications for the job, though both, in the perverted political way of reasoning which sometimes prevails both sides of the line, de-

served it. Each was a deserving Democrat. It is highly probable that Aguilar never wrote a line of the notes which, as "Secretary of Foreign Relations," he signed and sent to the Secretary of State. Those notes were written by Acuña and Amador, by and with the advice and consent of the First Chief. Acuña did most of the work. When the draft was made they gave Aguilar a pen and showed him where to write his signature.

Aguilar is a fair representative of the type of man that continuous revolution has boiled up from the bottom of Mexico to the top. He is only twenty-eight years old, partially educated, and has never been out of his own country. Under Madero he was a commander of rurales. When Huerta began his stormy régime this comandante declared a new loyalty just long enough to get rifles and horses for his command. Then he promptly deployed into the state of Vera Cruz, where he held up two oil companies at Tampico for $10,000 apiece. With part of the proceeds he could pay his soldiers, thus binding them to his personal fortunes by ties stronger than steel in Mexico, and then declared himself Constitutionalist governor of Verz Cruz with his capital at Tuxpam. Undoubtedly he had a way with him. He is a little fellow, slight, pale; you would take him for a barber's assistant if you saw him away from the trappings of generalship or the panoply of state.

But Candido Aguilar was undoubtedly instrumental in saving the Carranzista cause in 1914, and Carranza is not ungrateful to his own people. He could not afford to be ungrateful to Aguilar. The governor of Vera Cruz, by a careful appreciation of the opportunities of his office, had become a *millonario*. In money and in men he held the cards and he laid them on the table. Both Huerta and Villa bid for him. But he swung the scale in favor of Carranza against Huerta and a grateful and canny First Chief has kept him close on board his ship of state ever since.

Jesus Acuña is a very different type. He also is very young, only a year or so older than Aguilar, a brilliant young lawyer from Saltillo, Carranza's home town. He is both a relative and a protégé of Carranza. As a matter of straight dialectics and ingenious logic, he has really out-written and out-manœuvred the Department of State. Those who have known him for years say that he is irreconcilably anti-American, hidebound, a finished intriguer, with all the resource and mental discipline that a Jesuit education has given him. It is impossible to read the Mexican notes of April, May, and June without a sense of the ability of their author. However perverted, from our point of view, the objects they seek to attain, or the presumptions on which they are based, the Mexican notes themselves are models of clear and cogent reasoning.

In the fashioning of those notes Acuña was helped by Juan Amador, an El Paso attorney who used to live in Juarez, and in border gossip was always associated with smuggling. Amador really knows the border states and their people, and speaks their language; he appreciated to a greater extent than any of his colleagues the weakness and strength of the Government he was dealing with.

Carranza is, of course, already a familiar personality, and he hardly needs any further definition. Over the councils of his young Cabinet he may be imagined presiding in a kind of fatherly way. Most of them are from his native state of Coahuila, from his own town of Saltillo, some of them relatives and others bound to him by ties as close. It is one of the most extraordinary developments in the recent story of Mexico that this group of men, really representing nothing so much as themselves, should have come fictitiously to represent their nation and to determine its course.

ALVARO OBREGON

One other man we must keep clearly in mind because, barring accident, he was in June destined to play a continually more important rôle as the leading military figure on the Mexican side. Villa was—for all we know, is—a bear; Alvaro Obregon is a coyote. Obregon is a square-jawed Spaniard, of florid complexion, very tall for a Mexican. Since he lost his right arm at the battle of Agua Prieta he has

growing fat. He doesn't speak a l of English, but he has beautiful teeth a most engaging smile which takes the : of vocabulary. Also, he possesses rare thing, a sense of humor. De- ing the loss of his arm to an American ampico, he said that he had been hit n expansive bullet and the wound was ainful that he had lost consciousness. t was a very efficient staff that I " he went on to say; "when I regained ciousness, I found they had already ssed my watch and pocketbook."

ter this same battle, at Agua Prieta, e he beat Villa, in November, 1915, he raphed the *jefe político* in Tampico: ix thousand Villista bandits have wiped out by 4,000 of our own."

ie Mexican revolution has not turned a more efficient military leader. He defeated both Federalistas and Villis- With little scientific military edu- n and lacking the dash of Villa, he is a ral strategist and can handle large es of men in a campaign of manœuvre : ably than any of his Mexican emporaries. In General Scott's pri- car at El Paso, during the fruitless tiations which terminated on May , he impressed both the Chief of Staff General Funston by his combination ivariable good manners and geniality a stone-wall firmness in argument.

ow, with this brief sketch of the per- lities involved, a review of the series liplomatic notes exchanged between wo Governments, and what they both atedly represented as continuing ef- to avoid intervention, ought to ac- : added significance and clearness.

HE STORY OF THE MEXICAN NOTES

o to the first week of July, the Mexican espondence, in its critical stages be- n the Columbus raid on March 9th the shooting up of the Tenth Cavalry Carrizal on June 21st, had in its en- y never been published nor reviewed. uring the whole course of these ex- ges the two Governments were un- to reach any agreement. At the of June they were further away from nderstanding than they had been in ch. Each Government persistently held to its leading motif: on the Mexican side an insistence upon the withdrawal of General Pershing's column; on the American side, insistence upon a guaranteed safe border as the condition precedent to withdrawal—on both sides, all the fine phrases of diplomatic usage to the contrary notwithstanding—we discern the deep distrust with which each Government viewed the operations and weighed the statements of the other.

The Mexican Government had evidently made up its suspicious mind that the American Government was not only bent on intervention but was deliberately preparing for a war of conquest. On the 27th of June, Candido Aguilar's pen traced his signature to a note addressed to all the Latin-American Powers declaring that "the American Government, without adequate reasons for declaring war on Mexico, wishes to make hostilities inevitable." It is hard to understand how Aguilar or any of his colleagues could believe that statement. You have to be a Mexican to reach any such conclusion from the facts.

On its side, the American Government, proceeding on what, from a disinterested point of view, appear abundant proofs, questioned both the ability of the Carranzistas to prevent raids across the border and their sincerity either in themselves apprehending fugitives from international justice or in helping the United States to do so. In fact, we had the best of reasons for believing the de facto Government to be accessories before, during, and after the fact.

And yet, technically, the Mexican Government maintained throughout its notes one just contention. Correspondingly our case is weakened, technically, by what was either an oversight or an ignoring —it is not for us to say which—of an important Mexican stipulation. The keynote to the whole correspondence was struck and written in a letter from the Mexican Secretary of Foreign Relations to the Secretary of State, dated May 22d. That note, had it been sent by a first-rate or an established and recognized Government, would have been returned unanswered by the Department of State. That

it was not returned is another proof of this Government's long-suffering patience in dealing with Mexico. It remained unanswered in the Secretary's files until June 20th, when in the opening paragraph of his reply Secretary Lansing said: "I would be wanting in candor if I did not, before making answer to the allegations of fact and the conclusions reached by your Government, express the surprise and regret which have been caused this Government by the discourteous tone and temper of this last communication of the de facto Government of Mexico."

To understand those two notes, the temper of their authors, and the interrelation of facts with which they deal, we must go back for a moment to the date of Villa's raid on Columbus, March 9th. On the very evening of that day Mr. Lansing, in a note addressed to Consul Silliman, at Guadalajara, where General Carranza then was, asked him to convey to the First Chief officially the expectation "that he will do everything in his power to pursue, capture, and exterminate this lawless element which is now proceeding westward from Columbus." Observe, there is no intimation of an invasion of Mexican territory in this first communication.

Nevertheless, on the following morning, March 10th, President Wilson gave out the following statement to the press correspondents at Washington:

> An adequate force will be sent at once in pursuit of Villa with the single object of capturing and putting a stop to these forays. This can and will be done in entirely friendly aid of the constituted authorities in Mexico and with scrupulous respect for the sovereignty of that Republic.

This statement, exactly as here quoted, was telegraphed on the same date by the Secretary of State to all American consular officers in Mexico but with no instructions to any of them to convey it literally or in substance to the Mexican Government. On the morning following the raid, then, the American Government had decided to send a force into Mexican territory and assumed that it could do so "with *scrupulous* respect for the sovereignty of *that Republic.*"

Meantime Mr. Lansing's note of the 9th had been communicated to the First Chief, and promptly on the 10th, Jesus Acuña, who was then "in charge of the Department of Foreign Relations," acknowledged its receipt in a short note addressed to Mr. Silliman, asking him to report its contents from Carranza to the Department of State. It is in this note that the clause appears, the oversight or the ignoring of which by the State Department gave Mexico its just cause of protest and led to the complete estrangement of the two Governments.

THE MEXICAN CONTENTION

Señor Acuña's reply is entirely cordial in manner and in substance. He takes the opportunity to cite several previous instances of raids from the United States into Mexico, in which cases, as he says, "an agreement between the Governments of the United States and Mexico provided that armed forces of either country could freely cross into the territory of the other to pursue and chastise those bands." He then, on the part of his Government, applies through Consul Silliman to the Government of the United States for "the permission necessary to let Mexican forces cross into American territory in pursuit of such bandits, acknowledging due reciprocity in regard to forces of the United States crossing into Mexican territory"—and here is where the colored gentleman appears in the woodpile—"if the raid effected at Columbus should unfortunately be repeated at any other point of the border."

In other words, the de facto Government expressly makes the occurrence of another raid the condition precedent to the reciprocal right of American forces to cross into Mexican territory. And remember that this note, immediately telegraphed by Mr. Silliman to Washington, was received four days before General Pershing, on March 15th, led his column into Chihuahua.

On the 13th of March, Mr. Lansing replied to this keynote of Acuña's in a telegram addressed again to Consul Silliman. He "readily grants permission for the military forces of the de facto Govern-

ıt of Mexico to cross the international ndary in pursuit of lawless bands, etc., . on the understanding that the acto Government of Mexico grants the procal privilege, etc."

THE AMERICAN ASSUMPTION

'he telegram then proceeds, however, his assumption, an assumption which is cult to understand in view of the final ıse in the Acuña note, to which atten- has just been called: "The Govern- ıt of the United States," Mr. Lansing tinues, "understands that in view of agreement to this reciprocal arrange- ıt proposed by the de facto Govern- ıt, the arrangement is now complete in force, and the reciprocal privileges ·eunder may accordingly be exercised either Government without further rchange of views." And lest there ıld be any doubt of the American mate of the situation, he goes on to in the final paragraph of this tele- ›hed note, "with the same spirit of lial friendship the Government of the ted States will exercise the privilege ıted by the de facto Government of tico in the hope and confident ex- :ation that by their mutual efforts lessness will be eradicated, etc."

: is very clear that the Mexican Gov- nent never intended that American es should enter Mexican territory ıout an express permission which they not yet granted, and it is equally r that the United States Government, arly as the 10th of March, intended to s the border and on the 13th of March ımed that they had the permission of de facto Government so to do. There ust one other bit of evidence which ns to throw some helpful light on our tude at that time.

lere enters Mr. John W. Belt, secretary de facto Ambassador Rodgers, who ›rts by telegraph to the Secretary of :e that he "personally presented this ortant communication (the telegram ressed to Consul Silliman) orally and vriting to Foreign Secretary Acuña at › P. M."—this is on the 13th—the eve- ; of the same day the telegram was l in Washington. Mr. Belt reports that Acuña "read the note in my presence and stated, 'I am pleased to receive a reply of this character. . . . It will relieve the very delicate situation that has developed owing to the Columbus affair.'"

"It was plainly evident," Mr. Belt telegraphs by way of comment, "that the reply created a most favorable impression."

Under this comfortable assumption, the Department proceeded consistently. Mr. Lansing gave out a statement to the press after receiving Mr. Belt's telegram, in which he says, "the President has authorized me to give in his name public assurance that the military plans now in contemplation will be scrupulously confined to the object already announced and that in no circumstances will they be suffered to trench in any degree upon the sovereignty of Mexico."

On the following day, Mr. Polk, then Acting Secretary of State, telegraphed to all American consular officers in Mexico and to Mr. Parker, at that time in charge of the Embassy at Mexico City, that "this Government's expedition will shortly enter Mexico with the sole object of pursuing and capturing Villa. . . . Upon the determination of this Government to send a punitive expedition into Mexico becoming known, the de facto Government proposed that reciprocal privileges be granted, etc."

But was this "determination" at that time known? Presumably yes, through indirect channels; but certainly it had never been communicated directly to the de facto Government, although, as we have seen in Mr. Lansing's note of March 13th, permission to cross the border is assumed to be granted.

PERSHING'S EXPEDITION

On the 15th of March, General Pershing rode through the border gates out of Columbus into Mexico. Up to that time no protest had been received from the de facto Government, officially unaware of the expedition but undoubtedly unofficially fully informed of every detail concerning it. Consequently, it is with a full measure of diplomatic propriety, but hardly ingenuously, that we find the Mexican Government protesting against this viola-

tion of its sovereignty in a letter handed to Mr. Polk in Washington by Eliseo Arredondo on March 18th, three days after our advance columns had disappeared into the alkali dust of Palomas. Arredondo, confidential agent of Carranza at Washington, was directed by his Government to bring certain facts to the attention of the Acting Secretary. His note repeats and corroborates his own conversation of the same day with regard to Mr. Polk's telegram requesting from General Carranza permission to use the Northwestern Mexican Railway from Juarez to Casas Grandes for the transport of military supplies.

Arredondo points out with somewhat embarrassing clearness that "without any intelligence between the Government of the United States and my Government an expedition . . . has entered Mexican territory via Palomas . . . The consent expressed by my Government in regard to the crossing of armed troops over our frontier has been erroneously understood by taking it for granted that the crossing of a military expedition in pursuit of Villa has been permitted . . . The above mentioned note [Acuña's of March 10th] states with perfect clearness that this Government is disposed to act within the terms of strict reciprocity *if*, unfortunately, from now on any incursions similar to the one at Columbus or of any other character and at any other point of the line should occur."

NO ASSISTANCE FROM MEXICO

On this position the Mexican Government stood solidly throughout the successive interchange of notes. They kept on hugging their theory all the time that they were faced with an actual condition to which they refused to adapt themselves. They did nothing to assist the United States in the apprehension of Villa and his band nor in the facilitation of the supply of General Pershing's or General Dodd's columns, which were forced to use motor truck transport on lines which were paralleled by Mexican railroads. Our Government meanwhile, during the advance of its expedition, continued to give to the *Mexican people* and to the press of both *countries repeated* assurances of our good faith and respect for the sovereignty of the country we had invaded.

It is unfortunately impossible within the limits of this article to give in detail the succeeding steps in the correspondence. But enough has been said to show how cross purposes and apparently a wilful misconstruction of intent which began on the 10th of March continued to the end of June. Finally, under date of April 13th, Señor Arredondo transmitted to the Secretary of State a long note, signed by Candido Aguilar at Queretaro the previous day, rehearsing in detail with the utmost clearness and impressive logic all the correspondence and facts up to date, and concluding by stating that since the object of the punitive expedition had been practically accomplished, his Government "considers that it is now time to treat with the United States upon the subject of the withdrawal of its forces from our territory."

THE CONFERENCES AT EL PASO

The matters under controversy having culminated in the question of the withdrawal of American troops, General Scott left Washington as special representative both of the War and of the State Departments, and with General Funston, in charge of the Southern Department, met General Obregon, representing the Carranzistas, at El Paso, where conferences were conducted from April 29th to May 11th. The Americans made the withdrawal of their troops conditional on something in the nature of a guarantee of good order on the border. Obregon on his side pointed out that this condition was impossible of faithful performance as the "American Government would understand perfectly the difficulties which exist in the protection of a boundary more than 2,000 kilometers in length, which possesses no natural advantages for its defense."

The meeting, therefore, finally broke up with nothing accomplished except the mutual good-will which General Scott always leaves as an aftermath of all his conferences. While they were all arguing in the hot, private car at El Paso, a party of bandits took the opportunity, on the 6th of May, to perpetrate another raid at Glenn Springs, Tex., thus fulfilling the condition

ident defined in Acuña's note of h 10th.

ajor Langhorne's punitive expedition, econd to enter Mexico, acted therefore mpliance with the conditions as out- by the Mexican de facto Govern- . It drove sixty miles into Mexico, nplished its object, and thereupon drew to our side of the border.

is brings us to the final statement of se by the Carranza group in Aguilar's of May 22d, which terminated after passages of questionable diplomatic riety in a peremptory demand for immediate withdrawal of the Ameri- troops which are to-day on Mexican ory." It is impossible to read through note without an appreciation of its erful presentation of a case and without king of the heart over the evident de- ination which runs all through it not lieve in the good faith of the Ameri- Government.

MEXICAN DISTRUST

t is indispensable," write Señores dor and Acuña over Aguilar's signa- "that this contradiction between the ances of friendship on the part of ington and the acts of suspicion and ust and aggression on the part of the ary authorities should disappear." neral Pershing's expedition was ad- bly organized for almost any purpose t the capture of Villa "provided he stly desired to get away." The ral Staff of our own Army knew that so. And Mexico, contemplating the erous advance into Chihuahua of in- y regiments, batteries of field artillery, nountain howitzers, also realized that procession could have no practical lness in the capture of a bandit flying safety among his own people and igh his own labyrinthine territory. e reason Pershing went in as he did hat we, as we believed on the best of ds, cordially distrusted all northern co, Carranzistas and Villistas alike. we, therefore, wonder that they, in the f this very real inconsistency between station and performance, continue to ust us?

this little strife was made note of in the European chanceries, preoccupied as they are by their vastly more vital struggle close at hand. It may be taken for granted at the outset that the Allied Powers are with us, cordially. Nor is their sympathy altogether a matter of self-interest. Naturally they do not care to see any part of our manufacturing life-blood diverted from their use, nor would they care to have our sympathies diverted from the European death grapple. But beyond and beneath all this lies a real concern, antedating the war, that we should tackle the disagreeable task, which they believe is inevitably ours, of putting Mexico's house in order. England and France have the immediate practical interest of keeping the oil fields at Tampico available for the fuel of their navies, and England wants the sisal grass of Mexico to bind its harvests of Canadian wheat. Everything that M. Jusserand, the French Ambassador in Washington, gets from his own service in Mexico, he turns over to Mr. Lansing, and Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, in the same spirit, gives to the Department the advantage of all information which comes to him through the British Legation in Mexico City.

JAPAN AND GERMANY

Contrary to the popular presumption, Germany is not stirring up trouble in Mexico. There is no sympathy between the de facto Government and Germany. Germany has steadily stood in the way of Carranza's plans; German agents defeated Obregon's forced loan of $10,000,000 in March, 1915. Any one who has studied the question at all carefully will realize that the diversion of the munitions necessary for a Mexican campaign would not benefit Germany appreciably, whereas she has every reason to apprehend the rousing of this nation into a state of actual preparedness.

Almost equally popular with the German scare is the Japanese scare. The sensational press will always use that without feeling the necessity of basing any of their assertions upon facts or even upon sound reasoning. Japan did sell Huerta 50,000 rebored Mauser rifles on a contract made long before the Vera Cruz incident, but

she has done nothing for Carranza. Japan's focus is in the East, where she has her hands full with her own Monroe Doctrine. Japan may be willing to see us involved with Mexico, but she won't lend a hand against us.

PAN-AMERICA AND MEXICO

But the attitude of Europe toward the Mexican crisis is of remote consideration compared to the effect of this crisis throughout Latin America. We must not judge the attitude of the Southern republics by the apparently spontaneous proffer of mediation from several of them. That attitude was never really spontaneous nor ever really at all mutual among the other republics. It came about in the first place through a well meant but somewhat officious initiative on the part of the Minister of Ecuador at Washington, who, either on his own initiative or on that of his Government, first made an offer of mediatory offices to Secretary Lansing while at the same time the Ecuadorian Government in an identic note took upon itself the Christian office of suggesting mediation to its sister republics.

Several of the other American governments followed the lead of Ecuador or took the proposal under consideration in cordial replies. Argentina and Chile declined to be a party to the general movement. As a matter of fact, there was not among the Latin-American republics any true consensus of opinion as to the events in northern Mexico during May and June.

We must always remember this basic truth about Latin America, and it particularly applies to and informs President Wilson's much misinterpreted policy in dealing with the long three years of his Mexican problem. Latin America does not now and never will view with any pleasure the least infringement of sovereignty in this hemisphere, even so rickety a sovereignty as that of Mexico. Throughout Latin America, in spite of our protestations, in spite of so many evidences of good faith, we are still the "Colossus of the North." If regrettable, the apprehensive attitude of some of the other republics toward us is at least understandable. We cannot hope in a few years of consistent performance and sunlit bona fides to do away with the apprehension that goes back generations.

We must expect, therefore, that our infringement of the sovereignty of Mexico, however justified from our own point of view, will be taken up and made much of in the mouths of students and by the less responsible press. And Carranza, with all his imperturbability, has one of the best publicity services in the world. His agents are at work in every country of Latin America, as well as in Europe. And most of the propaganda of that well organized publicity service will fall upon willing ears and find an echo in quick Latin sympathies. We must face that as a fact quite apart from the justice of our case.

But the sober-minded people, the governing class in all those other Southern republics—they are really not so much democracies as they are oligarchies—the sober-minded, intelligent people do not for a moment admit that present-day Mexico is a worthy example of Latin-American civilization. You will not find any intelligent thought in Argentina, in Chile, in Uruguay, even in Colombia with its recent grievance, which wants its nationality to be bracketed with Mexico.

The intelligence of Latin America is with us in this thing. What we have got to try to cure or live down is apprehension. Back of much talk of Latin-American solidarity lurks a fear of the imperialism of the United States. Do what we may or say what we will, the people of the republics to the south nourish a semi-prophetic fear that in the process of a politically natural evolution the Colossus of the North will automatically exercise an ever increasingly larger overlordship, influence, direction over their destinies.

And on our part this fear of offending may have been a weakness. For here were we, the leading neutral nation, conscious of our rectitude and dedicated to resist aggression and injustice, hesitating to take firm steps for fear of their consequences, for fear of trouble and the upsetting of complacent national and international equilibrium.

/HAT WAR WITH MEXICO MEANS

ɪTIMATE OF THE MILITARY PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN THE OCCUPATION AND PACI-
ICATION OF THE COUNTRY—WHAT WE SHOULD HAVE TO MEET AND OVER-
COME—THE ACTUAL MILITARY STRENGTH IN MEN AND MATERIALS OF
THE UNITED STATES AVAILABLE FOR MEXICAN SERVICE—
HOW PREPARED WE HAVE PROVED TO BE

WAS it to be the occupation of Mexico or, as Mr. Lansing's note of June 22d to Pan-America expressed it, ıte of international war without pur- ɔn the part of the United States other to end the conditions which menace ational peace and the safety of our ns"?

ıt was the question that came up the fight at Carrizal with its twenty ers of the Tenth Cavalry dead and y-four more prisoners at Chihuahua. order that either the War or Navy rtment might function coherently, necessary that they should have some te object, some definable mission which to shape their strategy.

ıatever of value, therefore, Mr. Lan- note may have had in disarming -American suspicion, it was alto- r too vague for the General Staff to ılate plans upon. And accordingly, ler to estimate at all clearly how much ɔroblem we actually faced in Mexico Captain Boyd's Negro troops and of General Gomez brought us into a of actual hostilities, with or without ıse, we must try to define that prob- without euphuisms, in the single of war. War with Mexico would ıave any resemblance to the giant ct in Europe. It would be an un- struggle in effectives and material the start; it would contain infinite tunities for blundering and for ıing tests of military preparedness ut much glory to redeem them; it of necessity, when it finally came, war of occupation, a protracted and ısive military house-cleaning.

ɛ situation thus defined was purely a matter of United States face to face with Mexico. Rumors of foreign influences at work in Mexico, except such influences as were at work to avert war, were without verification.

Just what would Mexico mean in terms of opposition? While the mobilization of the National Guard was going forward in almost as many different degrees of effectiveness as there were states involved, almost as many estimates of the Mexican army were being published. There were guesses all the way from the million-citizens-springing-to-arms-overnight—Bryan type—to the fairly accurate 100,000 of an El Paso paper.

All estimates of numbers were, of course, subject to change because of recruiting and of the joining in of Villistas and other factions of bandits. For more than four years the whole economic system of Mexico had been thoroughly upset by revolution, and as the country slid steadily into a complete dislocation of its social and commercial life more human material was continually liberated for the business of revolution, or war, as the case might be. A very large proportion of Mexican soldiers serve in order that they may eat. In many parts of Mexico the only place where men could eat was in the army.

By the most accurate military information obtainable, there were in June about 85,000 Mexicans under arms and ready for field service. As to the kind of arms they bore, Mexico has for many years been a walking arsenal of second-hand arms from gaspipe and fowling pieces to Springfields, including a great many much-coveted Winchesters and what is left of the 50,000 Mausers that were sold by Japan to General Huerta.

Between 20 and 30 per cent. of all the

Mexican troops were mounted. They had at least 150 field guns, Schneider-Canets and St. Chaumonts with Mondragon breech mechanisms, nearly all of them 75's and as good or better than anything we could bring against them. For this excellent French artillery, however, they had only about 150 rounds per gun of ammunition. They had plenty of machine guns, four or five hundred at least, and possibly as many as a thousand.

THE MUNITIONS QUESTION

But unquestionably more ammunition was stored in Mexico than we had any idea of. To begin with, in the six months immediately preceding the breaking out of open hostilities at the end of June, there had been comparatively little fighting in Mexico. Such ammunition as they had on hand was being treasured up and fresh supplies were constantly coming in. An effective embargo was not established on the border until sometime in April. Until that time consignments were regularly going into northern Mexico by all the main lines of railroad. Moreover, every Ward liner was bringing ammunition into Vera Cruz, not to speak of shipments, which cannot be so accurately verified, through other ports. These cargoes were generally invoiced to Cuba.

But what seems like an enormous amount of ammunition on a dock or aboard ship does not last long when thousands of profligates start in to spend it carelessly. For example, the total output of all our munition factories that goes to the Entente Allies at present is still only about 3 per cent. of the total amount they use, and, even making very generous allowances for the amount of material General Carranza may have been able to save or to acquire by any and all devices, it is very doubtful whether he had more than enough to last him on an economical basis to the end of September. That is, of course, if any general engagements were to be fought. The amount of powder and shell used up in one big battle would last a lot of guerilla bands all summer.

In the armies and scattered bands that we should have to fight were Carranzistas, *Federalistas*, *Villistas*, Zapatistas, and soldiers of the other three or four factions which all together have made of their country these last four years a great Donnybrook Fair. But the distinctions are political. Under any flag or inside any uniform the Mexican is pretty much the same proposition.

Most of their leaders would prove much better adapted to the kind of warfare they would choose than the troops we can send against them. They have been brought up literally in the saddle. Nights under the stars are the same to them as nights under a roof. They have hungered and thirsted in the open air, unperplexed by education and unsoftened by steam heat, wandering over the country, learning it and its people. They occupy their positions of leadership, not because they have been appointed to them or elected to them on a peace basis, but because of the mutual recognition of men fit to lead.

THE MEXICAN SOLDIER

Under these leaders serve a motley array in and out of all kinds of uniform. Not fearing death, these men are brave. But theirs is a kind of bravery which depends upon certain circumstances and is not quite like the courage of Anglo-Saxons. They will not go forward, as a rule, under fire in close formation against a 10 per cent. loss. But if they are characteristically deployed and acting independently among a great crowd of their own people in a general attack, they will keep on going against what eventually proves to be very heavy losses, although they are not obviously so during the attack. Your average Mexican is not, like a Russian or a Turk, particularly good in trenches where he must fight it out in one spot or die. He wants a chance to exercise a choice. Very few troops are more naturally good at utilizing cover.

We should have to meet, then, something like the opposition of Cossacks or of the South African Boers, with a lot of North American Indian instinct in it. We should run against a very ardent warfare of a partisan character rather than that of any definite regular military organization to which rules could apply. Most of these hostile forces which might

oppose us are innocent of drill or field service regulations; they could not read them if they had them. They have never, in our sense, "joined the army" and they have never had any doctrine of war dinned into their ears. By sheer hard experience they have evolved a practice of fighting which is entirely suited to themselves. And we must not forget that many thousands of these men have been following the fighting business for four years steadily, part of the time in bodies of from a few hundred to 15,000 men.

In the Mexican army there is only one standard of troops and that is the mounted rifleman. The artillery and the machine gun batteries are served by an efficient personnel, but all told they can hardly amount to more than 5,000 men. The Mexican infantry is made up of men who walk because they can't find any horses to ride. Consequently, the Mexican infantry is a very fluid thing, tending constantly toward self-advancement into the mounted arm and being as constantly reinforced by horse casualties. At the battle of Torreon, Villa's troops, which were at that time well organized, consisted of about 14,000 men, 12,000 of whom were mounted and 2,000 on foot. He had 32 field guns and about the same number of machine guns. That is a very fair idea of the proportion an active and successful Mexican commander will try to attain.

MEXICAN EQUIPMENT

The mounted rifleman being the standard of the army, it may be interesting to know of just what he consists. In the first place, he bestrides a wiry, Mexican-bred pony, shod in front or not shod at all, and weighing from 700 to 900 pounds, which he manages to keep in fairly good condition. There would be one sore back on the Mexican side to ten on ours. He rides a twenty-five-dollar stock saddle and throws his sleeping-blanket across the cantle. He carries a thirty-thirty Winchester if he can get it, or a Mauser or some other rifle if he cannot, and he carries all the ammunition he can possibly get his hands on. When it is plentiful he will be adorned with from 200 to 400 rounds of it, wound in belts all around his person and festooned about the pommel of his saddle. In addition to this long-range preparedness he is often fortified with a machete and about one fifth of his command will carry revolvers. Officers carry about the same equipment and arms and rarely encumber themselves with field glasses, maps, or compasses. The extreme mobility of these brigades is due to their lack of impedimenta. They dispense with tents, wagons, field desks, and sanitary appliances and, living on the country or from railroad trains, transport little or no forage or rations.

MEXICAN ARTILLERY

From Mexican field artillery we should have little or nothing to fear, not because the pieces are inferior—they are as good or better than our own—but because the service is so poor and the ammunition so scarce. The guns are handled by very obsolete methods, without knowledge or ability for indirect fire. Each gun acts separately, and the word "battery," without technical meaning, merely applies to several pieces assembled together for the time being. Artillery as a whole is rarely brought into action at places distant from railroad lines, and a great many pieces have been mounted and used from open, flat carriages on the railroad.

But in a reverse corresponding degree, American invasion would soon learn to dread Mexican machine guns. Something in this deadly hose play seems to have appealed to native abilities. Excellent use has been made of machine-gun batteries by Carranzistas and Villistas alike, and the most recent instance was proved to our cost at Carrizal, where one well mounted and well served machine gun was chiefly instrumental in decimating two troops of United States cavalry. The Mexicans use these arms with much more precision than their individual small arms, a great deal of the fire of individuals being delivered from the hip or in some other hasty fashion, without aim.

During the last three years of almost continuous fighting the Mexicans have acquired a very high degree of skill in utilizing their railroads both as a means

of supply and as strategic bases for operations. Every big command has a special detachment of railroad men on hand, and during the height of Villa's success Eusebio Calzado ran the railroads of Chihuahua with almost German efficiency. Mexico has one other extraordinary method of supply besides her skilful railroading, and that is her women. The so-called "soldadera" system of rationing and messing means that crowds of strong and active women accompany the armies, actually supplying and cooking most of the rations used. They have never thought of voting, but they contribute their full share to national military service; they bump along on the gun carriages and caissons of the artillery, or freight cars on the railroads, and trudge patiently in the dust kicked up by the hoofs of their mounted lords.

MEXICAN TACTICS

On an ordinary route march Mexican troops cover easily from fifteen to twenty miles with few or no halts until an objective is reached. In the presence of the enemy they can make thirty or forty miles or more and keep that rate up for as long as a week. All over northern Mexico a column of any size on the march raises a heavy cloud of dust which can be seen from a great distance even without aërial reconnaissance. Going into action, an attempt is made to get within five or six hundred yards of the objective before the men dismount to fight on foot, each horse being left by its individual rider tied to sage brush or trees or secured in ditches or other declivities. The idea of organized supports or reserves, if appreciated, is very rarely made use of. The Columbus raid furnished an excellent example of how successfully Mexicans can execute night attacks against fortified and guarded posts. They can move far more silently, helped by instinct and habit of life, as well as by lighter equipment, than can our mounted troops. There would be no cessation of hostilities in a Mexican campaign between sunset and sunrise. Villa took Torreon in night attacks which he kept up during five successive nights.

Against this number and this character of Mexican troops, what would be the dispositions and plan of campaign of the American forces?

In the first place, the Navy would be expected immediately to seize every considerable port on both the Pacific and Caribbean coasts. Detachments of marines and bluejackets from the fleet would be expected to hold Vera Cruz and Tampico in force under cover of the guns of their own ships until the arrival of expeditionary columns from Galveston and other Southern ports. The Marine Corps would throw a line across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, which they would be expected to hold. The main objective, then, of the General Staff would be to gain control of the railroads and, by means of them, of the chief railroad centres. Columns based on El Paso and Columbus would be thrown southward to hold the Mexican Northwestern and the Mexican Central railroads to their junction at Chihuahua, where the first general engagement of the war would most probably be fought. These columns thereafter would continue along the line of the Central railroad through Torreon to Zacatecas, with parallel and protective lines diverging westward on Durango. Coincident with those movements, other columns operating from Eagle Pass, Laredo, and from a point west of Brownsville would begin operations designed to focus at San Luis Potosí, where they would be expected to meet a column thrown in along the railroad from Tampico.

OUR STRATEGIC OBJECT

The operations thus outlined, even if entirely successful, would consume at least three months in their completion. During this time an effort would also be made to start an offensive up through the extremely difficult country from Vera Cruz toward Mexico City and from the neighborhood of Douglas, Ariz., down along the line of the Southern Pacific through Sonora to Hermosillo and Guaymas. The strategic key to Mexico is in the quadrilateral roughly outlined by Tampico, San Luis Potosí, Zacatecas, Torreon and Saltillo-Monterey. Once in possession of these points, and with all ports securely blockaded, the fall of Mexico

City would be a foregone conclusion and the back of all organized resistance would be broken. Sustained and organized opposition to a well planned and executed American advance would be over in three or four months—and then the real trouble would begin.

THE WHEREWITHAL TO PREVAIL

It is a comparatively easy matter to outline the strategic plan of a war of occupation in Mexico. It was very far from an easy matter in July to get enough United States troops, equipment, and supplies together to undertake even 25 per cent. of that plan. General Pershing's column, which reached down into Chihuahua to Colonia Dublan, consisted of 15,000 men, seasoned and tough and capable of looking after themselves and their line of supply. About 20,000 more regular army troops were then sprinkled all along the border from San Diego and Yuma all the way east to Brownsville, on the Gulf, most of them on the Texas side of the Rio Grande.

This was altogether too thin a line to contemplate active hostilities. On Sunday, June 18th, a war-jaded public was jarred out of its apathy when the President of the United States for the first time since the Spanish War called out the citizen soldiery of the Union. During the following week the militia organizations collected at places which were called mobilization camps. Mobilization presupposes mobility: that is to say, it involves men, animals, equipment, supplies, every last detail of military preparedness assembled together so as to be movable. In no state did the National Guard turn out to be movable, even at its peace strength, which in many cases was not 50 per cent. of the war strength toward which a week's recruiting accomplished only a slight advance. In nearly every instance the militia effectively demonstrated its immobility. Nevertheless, eight days later National Guard troops were moved from Missouri, Kansas, and California, from their home camps and armories, to be mobilized at various points on the border. In the following two days additional militia regiments were entrained and en route and by the end of the week nearly 20,000 of the original 129,836 citizen soldiers called for by the President on a nominal peace and paper basis were strung out in troop trains clear across the continent, converging from east and north and west toward border towns whose howls for protection had hurried the men there long before they were ready or fit to move.

There was no military occasion for haste. We could not surprise Mexico even had there been any thought of something like a Von Kluck drive across Chihuahua and Coahuila. It was far more essential to get each state contingent fit for service, to weed out its bad physical material, allow political "pulls" time to pull their beneficiaries out of the ranks without wasting transportation money to the border and back, to complete the equipment and assemble reserve material, and to recruit the skeleton organizations up to something like war strength.

It has always been a military axiom not to mobilize in the face of the enemy, but the United States has consistently disregarded it. Nearly every one of the militia organizations will have to be mobilized on the border or in Mexico. The missing equipment, animals, and additional recruits, assembled in the home state and from other points, will have to be brought down to the hot border land and there assimilated. Compared to the disadvantages of this wasteful and ineffective lack of preparedness the calls of a few border towns should not have prevailed to move all the available National Guard before it was ready.

OUR MILITARY WEAKNESS

Thus began a demonstration of the new army law passed by Mr. Hay's Military Affairs Committee through the Sixty-fourth Congress. The provisions of that bill and the appropriations which support it make the National Guard of the forty-eight states the main reliance of the Nation for its defense in time of war. Judged by the terrific standards of the last two years abroad, a war with Mexico could hardly be called a war, and yet this conflict would undoubtedly reveal clearly the military weak-

ness and test the military resources of the Nation.

Too much praise cannot be given to the large majority of the National Guard who responded with high spirit and at great personal sacrifice to the call. It is the system and not the personnel which is on trial and which already in the first week of its trial was found wanting. It is as yet much too early to review the performance of the National Guard in responding to this national crisis. It would be unfair now to attempt to do so. Localities can still be entirely loyal to their contingents and yet be profoundly dissatisfied with a system which absorbs their taxes and yet leaves them unprepared for crises such as this Mexican affair and utterly undefended against aggression by a first-class Power. In another month it will be appropriate and just to consider how well prepared we were for war with Mexico, and particularly how the preparation revealed by the National Guard has justified the dependence of the Nation, or rather the dependence of Congress, upon it.

MESSAGES FROM MEXICO

THE LETTERS OF A UNITED STATES CAVALRY OFFICER WRITTEN TO HIS FAMILY AT HOME DURING THE FIRST PUNITIVE EXPEDITION INTO CHIHUAHUA AFTER THE COLUMBUS RAID—A FAITHFUL CHRONICLE OF A SOLDIER'S DAYS AND NIGHTS—THE HUMAN SIDE OF ACTIVE CAMPAIGNING—HOW INVASION OR INTERVENTION MAY CONSIST OF MANY OTHER INGREDIENTS BESIDES FIGHTING

[*The following letters are chosen out of a series written in the form of a diary by their author from the time his regiment arrived at Columbus, on the 27th of March, up to within a week of the recent fight at Carrizal. In strict conformity with the rules governing all correspondence from the front and in scrupulous regard for the ethics of his profession, this captain of cavalry, even in letters to his immediate family, has not mentioned matters of military importance. From the time his regiment left Columbus, geographical date lines disappear from the postcards and the pieces of paper on which he scribbled these daily messages home. Needless to say, when they were written he had no idea of any other readers than those to whom they were addressed. Those who have edited them have withheld many pages of a purely personal character. What remains seems to have real value in conveying, as no conscious chronicle could do, the simple facts and interests of an American officer's daily life "somewhere in Mexico."*—THE EDITORS.]

Base Camp, Columbus,
Tuesday, March 28, 10 A. M.

WE ARRIVED here about 9 yesterday morning, and have been on the jump ever since, unloading first, of course, and getting into camp, and then getting ready for the orders that came yesterday afternoon. No one knows but the Colonel what these are. Our only instructions are that we strip down to the lightest field equipment to-day and that we go into Mexico tomorrow some time. How far, no one of us knows. Am taking bed roll only. The band stays here and will take care of the stuff we leave behind. We hear indirectly that so far no one has been hurt in Mexico; that the troops have been kept on the jump from place to place. No one feels that there is any danger to amount to anything, though lots of discomfort, which of course is good for us. The nights are very cold but the days are fairly hot. My new sleeping bag is a wonder, so I am very lucky. We are leaving overcoats and blouses behind, but I have a superabundance of O. D. flannel shirts and we all have sweaters, so I know I will be warm. Saw G— this morning. He is left back at the base here with his company and another of

the —— Infantry Regiment. Another battalion of infantry is here, and two squadrons of cavalry guard the line. Have been so busy that I haven't gotten around to see anybody. Will get a bath this morning. No telling when I'll get another. So far there are 108 motor trucks running in supplies; more are on the way. It takes trucks 24 hours to get to Casas Grandes. It is said the troops are fairly short of food, but believe that just to be a rumor. The band of the 13th Cavalry is here, and I have seen a lot of the old men. So far the count of Villistas killed by the Thirteenth is 160, and more are being found daily. The houses and stores are filled with shot holes and the barracks and stables the same.

Columbus, N. M., 10 A. M., March 29.

You need not worry when we go in. The proof of the pudding is in the eating and no man has been hurt yet in Mexico. No one fears trouble here. I suppose that we will not be used in front but to extend the line of communications beyond Casas Grandes. It is said, or rumored, that the troops are about 200 miles below Casas Grandes. Had a tooth filled this morning in 10 minutes. Glad to get it done. We leave at noon. One squadron stays back. Don't know how long but there is a rumor that it will train recruits and remounts. When the line is further extended (distended, I say), it will come in. Dust and sand storms thick here. Will be glad to get away.

[*Notice that from here on no geographical location is given.*—THE EDITORS.]

6 P. M., Friday, March 31.

We have had a terrible 24 hours. Our last camp was a terror. Dust 3 inches deep and the wind blowing like the devil. It quieted for a time as we went to bed. It looked like rain, but no one thought it would rain here, where the rain comes but a few times a year, so few of us bothered to put up shelter tents. About 11, I was awakened by a gentle downpour. It was cold as the deuce and I hesitated to get out of bed for half an hour, hoping that the rain would stop. Finally gave up hope and got up. Was fully dressed except for footgear, as one dresses up to go to bed here. Spent half an hour in the dark trying to put up my tent. The dust refused to hold pins. By digging a hole in each place I finally got in three pins at the front of the tent and had to be content with that. With the tent and slicker I kept fairly dry and slept intermittently the rest of the night. We broke camp in the rain and started on. Marched about 18 miles and came to what would have been a good camp, excellent, in dry weather. Made camp and got well wet. It is so cold that it is hard to hold a pen. To cap the climax, the mare got kicked and will be lame for some days. We have had supper and I have changed into my hunting boots. . . . We hear there has been a fight a long way ahead, but it is just a rumor. We have had no mail since we left Columbus and I don't know when this will go in. The trail of the troops is marked by empty ration cans and an occasional dead mule. Have seen some of my old cowboy friends of three years ago. Passed the place this morning where Villa hanged the three Palomas company men. . . . We are all anxious to go on. Truck trains and wagon trains pass daily going both ways. I hear that the railroad is now available as soon as it can be repaired, so we will hope for better things when we get to the base, about 3 days beyond, I guess. I am feeling fine.

Camp —— Cavalry, Mexico, April 1.

Fine march last half of way. Awful night last night; steady, cold rain. To-day sun came out, nice camp, drying clothes and bedding, and washing. All O. K. Good news from front. Cavalry under Dodd struck Villa's forces and routed them.

9 P. M. April 6.

Have had a very good day. A good night last night, as I had my striker get some hay and put under my bed. The nights are cold but my sleeping-bag was warm. There was ice in the bucket this morning when I got up, but before noon it must have been 85 or 90 degrees. Went out with horses and discovered a covey of blue quail. T— and I decided

to snare them, so after getting the horses out to graze we went over to the mesquite patch where the quail are and built a little fence about a foot high of brush, put in several little gates, and over each gate suspended a noose of thread. It took all morning to build 150 feet of fence and five gates, but we got one quail and another this afternoon. We have had a wonderful camp here and I don't doubt it is the best camp of any of our troops in Mexico. No news to tell you except that we are well and happy and very contented. There goes the candle, so good night!

Saturday, April 8.

We were pleasantly surprised by another mail to-day. In it was last Sunday's New York *Times*. It is nice to know that the papers are beginning to come through. Maybe we will get them regularly. Sorry you were doomed to disappointment about that rumor, April 1, of Villa's capture. We had the same rumor here but have learned always to disbelieve rumors. I saw an El Paso paper of the 5th to-day and learned more than we have heard. In fact, in our own little world we hear nothing except our own part of the work, and our news is made up of the little incidents of the regiment.

April 16, 8:30 P. M.

We leave for the south to-morrow. We do not know where we are going, but rumor has it that it will be a long way. Why, we don't know, for it was only yesterday that the news bulletin told us very briefly that the President was considering negotiating with the Mexican Government for the withdrawal of the U. S. troops, and that, pending the negotiations, the pursuit of Villa would continue, and that the final withdrawal would depend on the sincerity of the Carranza forces' pursuit of Villa. The latter part of this strikes me as the meat of the cocoanut. If you have looked up Parral on the map the newspaper reports will show you that our troops are a long way south. The El Paso paper that drifted into camp to-day, dated the 12th, said that our troops had reached Parral, about 130 miles southwest of Chihuahua. As this was published, I am not violating the censorship in telling you. Where we will go and what we are to do is all conjecture with us, and I cannot even tell you what our conjectures are. We know by the papers that the advance columns' horses are about exhausted. There is no cause for war worry, and none of us feel that we will have the good luck to get into anything. At the same time we are glad to be on the way and in the right direction. When I wrote this afternoon I thought it would be my last chance to get a letter to you, but there is an outfit in the camp to-night that will take the mail over in the morning. G—, who left us yesterday to go to Columbus to drill recruits, was held at —— and returned to-night, causing him much joy. We are all well and happy and ready, man and beast, for whatever may be before us. Had all my washing done to-day by my striker, so have everything clean. The dust and dirt continue south, so will not be clean when I arrive, but hope for more water down there. We have had a fine day again, no nasty wind and not too hot. Read several stories in the *Saturday Evening Post* and finished the Army and Navy Registers. It looks from the news that there are chances for increasing the cavalry.

April 19, Wednesday, A. M.

Didn't get a chance to write you after we got to camp as the troop was the wagon-train guard and we didn't get in until 3 and from then on we were busy grazing, watering, grooming, etc. The nights are fine in this valley, not as cool as those we have had, and the whole outfit practically sleeps under the stars. We did not have a bad day, 22 miles at a walk, for there was a good breeze all morning to keep it cool. Late in the afternoon this breeze became a dusty, sandy nuisance. We are in a nice camp on a river, with mountains practically on four sides. The mountains look like the California mountains, only with more bare rock and rougher. Remember to wire when the Army bill finally passes.

Sunday, P. M., April 23.

I don't know whether I am right about

the day of the month, but I know it is Sunday for I heard the chaplain announce that he would hold services this morning back of his tent, at 6 A. M. We marched at 7:30, but only 14 miles, at a slow walk, so we only arrived here at 12:30. I am at present in charge of the herd grazing, so will try to give you an account of the last few days. The sun is very bright and I have to use my own shadow to write in. The last real letter I wrote you was along the irrigation ditch four days ago. The next day we had 34 miles to go. It was all in the mountains, over them, and through deep canyons. We started at 6:15, marched 6 miles, watered, and then grazed an hour, with 28 miles of h—l ahead of us. During that day we had 25 minutes' trotting. The rest was walk, lead, walk, ad infinitum. No water on the way, down and up rocky roads, terrible roads, filled with loose stones in some places and large bedded stones in others, dusty, and fearfully hot, ye gods! We got to camp at 5:10 that evening, and then the horses went out to graze. The herd guard officers' roster of our squadron at present consists of W— and myself, so we go on every other day. That was W—'s day and I had a good bath in the river. Major G— and I then had our lunch, which we hadn't had time to eat on the march. We then felt better. We later cooked our own supper from our reserve rations, bacon, coffee, and hardtack. The wagons not arriving by 11 o'clock, we turned in in our saddle blankets and sweaters. Captain B— and I slept together, one blanket under and one over, and also our slickers. A small fire at our feet helped keep us warm. I slept until 2, when I heard the wagons coming out of the mountains. I then went and directed them to camp. They had had a terrible time, broke down many times, and ours turned over. The next day's march was 24 miles, but over nice roads, comparatively speaking. Our water was little alkali pools. The next day, yesterday, we did but 12 miles, walking and leading. At base camp saw the Big Mogul of the expedition. Men got new shoes and socks and I got some cigars and socks and shirts. My socks were going fast and shirts get soiled quickly. We left there this morning and are still on our way to a place where some troops are concentrating. Will probably see some of the old bunch there. Got a good bath to-day and have on clean clothes. Have a small can of peaches with me. Got one letter from you, 10 days coming. We still are in mountains and little valleys. A good cattle country, as water is more frequent. Have had no papers or packages for a week or 10 days. Must be accumulating in Columbus. You write no dope about the Army bill. Mrs. G— wrote Major G— that things look good for ten new regiments of cavalry and equalization of promotions. The cavalry is certainly doing the work down here and the necessity for a strong force of it, if only for border duty, must be evident. To-morrow we have 26 miles to the lake, where we stop, for how long we do not know. We are well and get plenty to eat.

Monday, April 24, P. M.

— Troop was advance guard to-day, so I had a nice ride, no one in front of me. We marched 20 miles, and arrived by one o'clock. Found a nice lake about 1½ miles by ¾ of a mile, dirty, muddy water, but we filtered it. Found some troops of the old regiment here. D— and W— rode over and saw me, and I rode back with them. Saw but part of the old timers. Found two sacks of mail, weighing 100 pounds, for us and brought them more than 2 miles from their camp in front of me on "Mary." Your letter was dated the 13th. Almost as bad as being in the Philippines and quite as bad as Honolulu.

April 25.

I have had a busy day to-day getting odd jobs done in troop and getting settled in camp. We have an altitude here of 8,000 feet. Some health resort, eh? Rumors to-day and newspapers of El Paso of 16th and 17th make things look badly for getting out soon. The Parral affair and a report of Villa being still alive complicate things.

April 26, 5 P. M.

. . . I spent the whole day fixing up to be comfortable. Of course we do not know how long we will be here, but

it will be at least a week from all indications, so it seems worth while to make the most of a delightful camp, a summer resort, really. I went out at about 7 this morning with the wood detail and my trusty hatchet. . . . There were some sapling poles available and plenty of pine branches. In two hours I cut enough to make fine habitations for C—, Captain B—, and myself and got the stuff to camp. I raised the tent off the ground with 6-foot poles and filled in around the sides with pine branches. Later helped C— and B— fix their tents, too, and now we live in palaces with plenty of room, and we don't have to squat every time we go into our tents. Have my bed in the back part of the tent, crosswise. We are camping on nice green grass, no dust or dirt, and my tent is only 50 feet from the lake. We are now the envied of all, and every one is copying my design of architecture. The work has filled the day comfortably. We have had but one mail, just after we arrived here at the lake. Have a box for a dining table and another for chiffonier. . . . Rains are hardly worth considering here at present. June and July are the rainy months. Had bad luck with one of my two pairs of khaki breeches this morning. It split out in the knee, beyond redemption I am afraid. Still have my other and one O. D. flannel pair. My striker did my wash to-day, so have plenty of clean clothes. We have a poultry yard in the rear of our tents. C— has a hen and to-day for $1.50 I bought a young hen turkey, about 7 pounds. We are fattening them up on corn and hardtack. Will have a party soon. Opened up a can of Mormon apple jelly to-day, a large can of about 3 pounds, and we are enjoying that. Have a nice beefsteak for dinner to-day with bean soup. You may see I am happy. Every one is well. We all wish to be at home, but so long as we have to be here we are as happy as possible. Three cavalry outfits. It is nice for us all to be together.

May 1.

I have had some bad luck. Started *not to tell you* but thought others would *write home about it* so you would know. I have lost both my horses. I sent them out to graze in herd night before last, as they were getting thin. They broke out of the herd and their absence was not noted until morning. I started immediately to look them up and sent my striker out, too, then got large patrols and searched the country until dark last night. Rode 35 or 40 miles to-day, too, all without result. I wired neighboring stations but heard nothing. Have offered a reward for them among the natives. I am afraid they are gone for good. I examined 25 or 30 herds of horses in a radius of 12 miles from camp on the north, east, and south. Have ridden 75 miles in the last 36 hours, so am tired out. Am pretty blue about it. A troop horse went with them and a wagon mule is missing, too. There is no use crying about it. I have a troop horse assigned to me now. Will try to pick up a pony in 2 or 3 days. We leave to-morrow morning. Some troops remain, so if the horses come in I will hear of it. Sorry to have such a tale of woe. Woe isn't the name for the way I feel. There are two possibilities for finding them. They may have taken the back trail. If so, I should get them as they would wind up in some camp along the line if they are not grabbed by natives. The second possibility is that they may have drifted away with some herd of native ponies and may be brought in. Natives about here we believe to be hostile at heart, so I haven't much hope. Sorry. I can get others but I was fond of these.

May 2.

No news of the horses. On the march this morning I scanned with glasses or had examined by patrols all herds of horses near the line of march, to no avail. I have had no reply to my inquiry to near-by stations. I rode a troop horse this morning. He is a pretty fair horse, but I prefer my own. Am on herd guard duty. It has been pretty hot and we have a poor camp to-night on the furrows of a ploughed field. Water poor. The horses show their lack of hay and oats. Many do not eat the corn well, and grazing does not seem to keep them in flesh as well as hay. Grazing is poor here.

Many sheep keep it close-cropped. Ranches are fairly thick throughout this valley, but no stores or *tiendas*. The inhabitants are stolid, illiterate, and hostile I believe, although they put on a pleasant air. The Americans are always courteous, causing no trouble, paying for everything, and should arouse better feelings in the end. We are urged to be friendly and get the respect and confidence of the people as we need information in the prosecution of our search.

Wednesday, May 3.

We have arrived at this point, about 23 miles of walking and leading. We are on the railroad and there are lots of supplies here of a sort, but expensive. Stick candy and cigars, matches, canned milk, candles, tobacco, pipes, and doughnuts. . . . Candles, 5 cents; cornflakes, 25 cents; matches, 15 cents for 500; doughnuts, 5 cents each; beer, 30 cents. I am going visiting now as it is getting dark and sand and dust blowing. Candles are not much use until the wind dies down about 8:30. Please send me a battery for my large flash light.

May 6.

We are now 80 miles further and are the furthest troops out, but we are having no excitement worth mentioning. I went out with 22 men this morning, rode 27 miles, got back and found the squadron gone, so rested 2 hours, fed the horses and men, and started on. Got into camp at 10:15 to-night. Very tired after 43 miles.

May 7.

I still have my hen turkey. By this time she is probably the most widely traveled Turk in Mexico. Captain F— and K—, in the next tent to me, have a lamb and 6 hens. If we stay here I think I will have to get some hens, too. To-morrow some of us are going to dam the stream for a swimming hole.

May 18.

Captain K— is down from —, and goes back shortly by auto, so I am going to get him to take this letter. As you know, we are supplied mostly by truck trains. Some work all the way from Columbus and some work from Colonia Dublan (Casas Grandes), where the Northwestern Railroad brings in supplies by rail. These supplies are really Government-owned, but are sold to an agent in El Paso who ships them into Juarez and sells them back to us in Dublan plus 10 per cent. transportation and customs duty charges. This saves a railroad haul of 85 miles to Columbus from El Paso and 25 miles of vile road. There are 10 truck trains of 27 cars. We hear that about 25 per cent. are under repair at all times, so the trains don't average much over 20 trucks. Each train has its officer in charge, who rides in a pilot touring car or roadster, Dodges. The trucks are Packards, Whites, and four-wheeled drive Jeffreys, and each train has its repair and fuel car, its kitchen and commissary car. The personnel of a train is as follows: One officer in charge, one train master, one assistant train master, one repair man, one cook, one trumpeter messenger, 27 drivers. Pretty complete and self-sustaining. At first, escorts were being detailed, averaging one guard to each train, infantry, with an escort commander, but now each truck has an assistant driver and all the drivers are armed with rifle and pistol. These trains, as constituted, go anywhere in this country where there are roads, or make roads across bad country. Some trains, according to newspaper reports, have been fired on but no one hurt except the snipers who did the firing. Almost all the touring cars are Dodges. The ambulance company has several motor ambulances. It is a hard country on automobiles, and when the rainy season starts next month, God help us if we are where we have to be supplied by motor transportation!

In the Sierra Madres, Friday, May 19.

We left camp this morning on a little expedition, —— Troop and the Apache Scouts. We have done 20 miles of rough mountain riding to-day and to-morrow have 40 in prospect. We are in a nice little camp to-night, in a little pocket in the mountains alongside an intermittent stream. Streams in Mexico are mostly

dry on the surface. Every few miles the water comes out for a hundred yards or so, and we are always grateful for that much. Saw lots of deer and wild turkey signs to-day, and our guide got a shot at a turkey but shot under him. On this trip we have only pack mules, so are getting our own meals in our own mess kits. Picked up some eggs to-day, so had them for supper. The Apache Scouts, 20, are very interesting individuals. If we don't watch them they will shoot every Mexican on sight. They are good trailers and form conclusions from everything they see, and that is what we want.

Slightly homeward, Mexico, June 1.

We marched 22 miles to-day, almost all in a terrible cloud of dust, but it is the right direction. Got some ink the other day, so now am ultra-stylish.

June 3, 9 A. M.

I am on the road to-day, on a little trip. Started last night at 11. We have done 30 miles or thereabouts, and from the way things look we will have 40 or 50 more before we sleep. We may not get in until to-morrow morning. Saw E—'s horses to-day, too. Tracks of others. Have no hopes of recovering mine or W—'s. The Villistas have them and the horses will have to be shot at when the bandits come under fire. We have stopped to feed and rest the horses and cook our own breakfast—bacon, hardtack, and coffee. Must now go on.

June 4, 2 A. M.

Got in O. K. Am tired, so good-night. 42 hours, 77 miles, since we slept.

June 5.

It is odd how fast money goes down here. With buying eggs and cigars, milk, etc., at exorbitant prices, striker's wages, and mess bills, I spend between $50 and $60 a month. Clothes wear out in a minute, and shoes, too. I am on my third pair of the latter. So much mountain walking where we have to lead the horses. Matches are two boxes for 15 cents, li double-ended wax matches with o about 40 lights to a box. There w some oranges and apples at the ra here the other day, 10 cents apiece. got a dozen oranges and ate three be I had enough. Our food is getting w tiresome. The complete list compr fresh beef, canned beef, prunes ab twice a week, hard bread or field br (the latter only when wagons go into ba coffee, potatoes, tomatoes, beans, bacon very seldom. Sugar is all native lump stuff. Of course there enough and with the packages from ho we do all right. I have not lost more th 10 pounds. Some officers have lost or 40, fat ones. See no prospect of m ing north. All moves at best are v gradual. G— returned from Colum with his recruits last night. He is a f chap and we are all glad to have him ba

June 13

The last two days I have put in m work on sundry small jobs and much ti on our 'dobe shack we are building—n and 'dobe, really. We did all the cavating ourselves with our strikers started to lay the rock-'dobe walls found it was a bigger job than we figu on, so hired three "spiggities," giving th a contract for a completed house at $22 gold, we furnishing the materials at spot. These materials are stone, dirt timber for the roof, box for the windo We hauled the stone from near by are going after timber to-morrow. night the walls are well up and our h should be finished shortly. The bull states to-day that intervention is minent so we may never have a chanc occupy my *palacio*.

Well, a move north would be welco as it would mean we are nearer home, move south, for that would mean tha last we were carrying out our partic destiny in regard to this poverty-ban revolution-stricken republic. for the tooth powder—will luxury, almost.

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CALLING OUT THE GUARD

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PICTURES OF THE VARIOUS STATE MILITIA ORGANIZATIONS PREPARING TO GO TO THE MEXICAN BORDER AND OF THE REGULAR FORCES WHICH THEY WILL JOIN—THE ORGANIZATION OF THE VARIOUS BRANCHES IN THE ARMORIES AND IN THE FIELD—THE UNPREPAREDNESS FOR EQUIPPING AND HANDLING THE MILITIA—THE KIND OF COUNTRY THEY HAVE PRACTISED IN AND THE ENTIRELY DIFFERENT COUNTRY TO WHICH THEY WERE RECENTLY CALLED

MILITIA ENTRAINED FOR A CONCENTRATION CAMP

On June 18th, President Wilson ordered the militia of all the states to mobilize. The total war strength of the militia should be 248,014 men of all ranks. However, the total enlistment when the call was issued was 135,453 men, of which a number of organizations did not fulfil even the lax peace requirements. About 100,000 men were *actually* able to answer the call

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UNITED STATES INFANTRY

Arriving at Namiquipa after a six days' hike. This is the kind of country to which the militia have been ordered and the kind of work they may be called upon to do in their unhardened condition

Copyright *Newark Evening News*

FIRST INFANTRY, NEW JERSEY NATIONAL GUARD

Which was part of the first New Jersey contingent sent to the border

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A REGULAR ARMY SUPPLY TRAIN

The army mule wagon, the traditional impediment of our regular forces, which is being supplemented by the motor truck

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NATIONAL GUARD SUPPLY WAGONS

In supply and commissariat equipment the National Guard is generally inadequately supplied

TROOP C, OHIO CAVALRY

General Wood said in regard to the unpreparedness of the militia: "The result of the Mexican trouble, I believe, will be a reconstruction of the system of equipping the National Guard. The militia will in future, I believe, be prepared. The organizations will have their own equipment on hand in their own armories"

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THE ELEVENTH UNITED STATES CAVALRY
Which has seen active service in Mexico

FIRST BATTERY, NEW YORK NATIONAL GUARD

Leaving the armory for camp at Van Cortlandt Park. There are 70 batteries enrolled in the militia as against 36 batteries of all kinds in the Regular Army. While the Mexican artillery is ill served and poorly supplied with ammunition, in machine-gun equipment the Mexicans are better prepared than our forces

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THE SIXTH REGULAR FIELD ARTILLERY
Going south into Mexico

A MILITIA CONCENTRATION CAMP

When the call to mobilize the militia came, in many cases the camps for concentration were not prepared beforehand and were unable to take care of the militia

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BREAKING CAMP

The Regular Army in Mexico. Although the border has been patrolled for three years, Congress has *refused* to prepare adequately for more serious military necessities

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FIRST ARTILLERY, NEW YORK NATIONAL GUARD

Artillery and cavalry horses had to be bought and broken in, entailing much delay in mobilizing these branches despite the fact that the possible necessity of such a move was obvious for some time past

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REGULAR ARTILLERY ENCAMPED IN MEXICO

The Mexican armies are provided with adequate and good artillery, but they are without trained gunners or sufficient ammunition

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THE SIXTY-NINTH INFANTRY, NEW YORK NATIONAL GUARD

A regiment of Civil War fame entraining for Beekman, N. Y., where it was sent to camp for training

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THE SEVENTH REGIMENT, NEW YORK NATIONAL GUARD

This and many other militia regiments from all over the country were ordered from civil life to the border without any preliminary hardening in camps in their own states

DISTRIBUTING EQUIPMENT

MEASURING FOR UNIFORMS

PREPARING TO LEAVE THE ARMORY

CAVALRY PREPARATIONS

MILITIA SCENES IN THE ARMORY

SURVEYING

COMPANY SIGNALLERS

PITCHING CAMP

COOKING

MILITIA SCENES IN THE FIELD

INFANTRY OF THE OHIO NATIONAL GUARD

In the streets of Cincinnati. Ammunition, equipment, and uniforms were stored in various centres throughout the country rather than in the armories, thus entailing great delay in the mobilization of regiments far from these supply stations

MINNESOTA NATIONAL GUARD Courtesy of *Minneapolis Journal*

Infantry marching through the streets of Minneapolis after the mobilization order. Citizen soldiers *who enlisted to fight*, if necessary, an enemy who has been hardened by four years of warfare, and who, although not a dangerous opponent in large engagements, excels in quick manœuvres and guerilla warfare

TEXAS NATIONAL GUARDSMEN

In the European war none of the great nations send raw recruits to the front without a minimum of three months' training, yet, with this and other lessons of the war before us, our militia is called directly from civil life to the border

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UNITED STATES REGULARS ON THE BORDER

Who are somewhat relieved of the duties of guarding the border and lines of communication by the arrival of the *militia, which* is not in condition to go into active service

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A MILITIA BATTERY IN TRAINING

The lessons of the European war have been lost on this country, for our voluntary militia system took trained mechanics and valuable business men—the same classes that England and France had to recall from the trenches as they were more valuable at home

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GUN CREW OF THE SIXTH REGULAR FIELD ARTILLERY

In position at one of the camps in Mexico. It is to this type of country that the first contingents of the militia were sent during the last week in June

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ARMORED CAR

Of the First Armored Motor Battery, New York National Guard. Since the outbreak of the Great War in Europe certain states have for the first time set about organizing machine-gun batteries, motor batteries, and aviation corps

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MOTOR-TRUCK SUPPLY TRAIN IN MEXICO

Hastily organized when the expeditionary force went into Mexico after the Columbus raid, which has proved *itself effective* despite the handicap of the country

Courtesy of *Minneapolis Journal*

GIVING THE NEW OATH TO MILITIA OFFICERS

Under the old law the President could merely call upon the militia to defend the country inside its borders. Under the new law he has power to send them anywhere in time of war. Every militiaman had to subscribe to the new oath before going to the Mexican border.

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BRIG.-GEN. JOHN J. PERSHING (THIRD FROM LEFT)

Who is in active command of the expeditionary force in Mexico which started after Villa, and which had *little or no* coöperation from the Carranzistas and was twice attacked by them.

LIEUT.-COL. GEORGE O. SQUIER, U. S. A., INVENTOR

THE REMARKABLE CAREER OF A UNITED STATES ARMY OFFICER WHO HAS COME TO THE FOREFRONT OF AMERICAN INVENTORS—AN INVENTION WHICH DOUBLES THE EFFICIENCY OF THE DEEP-SEA CABLE—"WIRED WIRELESS" AND HIS OTHER ACHIEVEMENTS

BY

FRANK C. PAGE

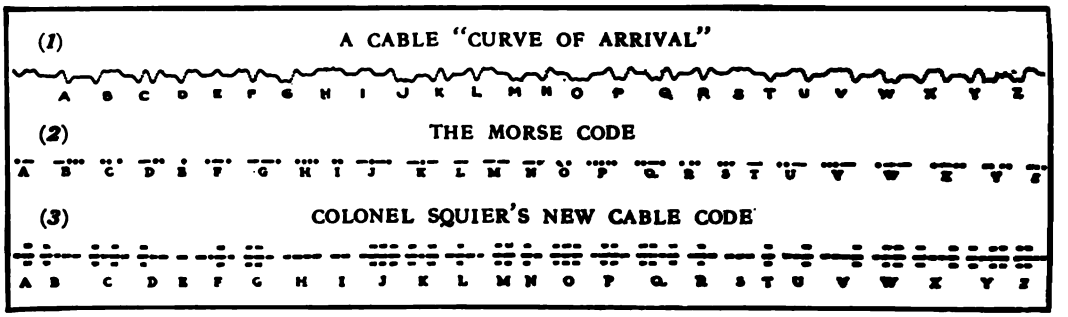
IN JUNE, 1915, Lieut.-Col. George O. Squier, United States Army Signal Corps, read a paper before the Physical Society of London. This society is composed of eminent scientists, and the honor of being invited to speak before it ranks in the field of science of the world with the Legion of Honor in the field of patriotic achievement in France. It was at this meeting that Colonel Squier laid before the world his new discovery in cable telegraphy, a field that has remained practically stationary for fifty years, since Cyrus Field financed the laying of the first permanently successful trans-Atlantic cable, in 1866. The new invention multiplies the speed of sending messages across the ocean by two. One begins to realize the gigantic stride which this invention makes if one stops to consider that had Colonel Squier's invention been installed two years ago the thousands of messages sent in search of friends and relatives stranded in Europe when the Great War broke out, which were never delivered or were delivered days late, would surely have reached their destinations and in half the time, saving anxiety to thousands; if one stops to think of the business messages in which a few hours' delay meant the loss of thousands of dollars which would have been saved; if one stops to think of the diplomatic messages which in some cases meant peace or war which would have been expedited.

This invention really seems simple, after all, to a layman; it is merely the delivering of electric power from one continent to another—that is all.

Since the beginning of undersea telegraphy the method of sending messages has been to close a circuit, charge the cable with electricity, open the circuit, and then to repeat the operation, just as in land telegraphy. The two theories of sending messages are the same but the results are vastly different. When the circuit is closed and the current sent through a cable, there is so much capacity that it is impossible to use the dot and dash system across the ocean, and the message is received in what is known as a cable "curve of arrival," shown on page 454. And this curve, instead of being the same on all cables, varies with the length of the line.

Added to the difficulty of sending and receiving cable messages is a still greater drawback. In sending a cable message each time after the cable has been charged with electricity it is necessary to wait a moment for the wire to clear. There is a "back kick" in the cable after every charge and until it "grounds" it is not possible to send the next charge. On one cable which is continuously busy for twenty-four hours the time consumed waiting for the "back kick" to clear totals up to at least six hours.

Colonel Squier, working on his various wire and wireless inventions, conceived the idea that cabling should be expedited, and set about finding some solution of the problem. Instead of starting with the old system and trying to improve upon it, he started with an open mind and proceeded to figure out the ideal, theoretical way to communicate between New York and London by cable. And the ideal way was delivering



THE ALPHABET IN THREE DIFFERENT METHODS OF TELEGRAPHY

(1) The cable "curve," which is unintelligible except to the expert, high-salaried cable operator. Much time is consumed in encoding and decoding these messages under the present system. (2) The Morse code, the universal dot and dash system of land telegraphy, which any capable operator can read as fast as it can be sent. (3) Colonel Squier's adaptation of the Morse code as it is sent over the trans-Atlantic cable by his new invention. In this code the three parallel lines denote the dash of the Morse code and the single line the dot. The length of the lines makes no difference whatsoever. Such a letter as *c* in the Morse code, which is "two dots, space, dot," Colonel Squier has changed to "dash, dot, dash, dot," thus eliminating the space. Any telegraph operator can learn in a very short time to take messages in this code from a cable tape, and once the code is learned messages can be handled as fast as in land telegraphy

an unbroken alternating current under the ocean — which had never been done. As he said in his paper, given that start as a hypothesis, the obvious method of doing this was a single-phase alternating current of the sine-wave type. (The sine wave is Nature's method of sending the sun's energies to the earth in the form of light and heat, and any other shape of wave is less economical electrically and financially.) So he built a dynamo and made his experiments, finally finding that he could deliver an unbroken electric current which would run a motor at the other end and, once having achieved that, the process of sending and receiving messages soon followed.

DOUBLING THE CAPACITY OF THE CABLE

The first and obvious result is the saving of six hours a day on every cable equipped with the new apparatus, for there is no need to wait for the wire to clear up. But that is not all. In the present method of cable transmission a cable is received in the "curve of arrival," which is unintelligible to one who has not studied cabling. Every message is translated into and from the cable "curve" by one of these high salaried experts with many attendant delays. In the new method, however, an adaptation of the Morse telegraph code is used which any telegraph operator in this country can readily learn to read. So here there is another great saving of time and expense, for an ordinary telegrapher's wages are, of course, much less than those of an expert cable operator.

Besides, the cable can then be attached to a land telegraph line and the message can be delivered without any relay whatsoever to its final inland destination, for Colonel Squier's invention applies as well to land as to undersea telegraphy.

The British cable authorities have tested Colonel Squier's invention and have proved that it increases the efficiency of each cable from 50 to 100 per cent., depending upon the length of the cable. And it has, moreover, a great advantage over most new inventions in that it does not necessitate, upon adoption, the scrapping of the complete plant. A trans-Atlantic cable costs approximately $3,000,000, of which the sending and receiving apparatus is an insignificant amount. Compare this with any ordinary manufacturing plant costing the same amount. A cable has the advantage in that it deteriorates at exactly the same rate whether it is used or not. Colonel Squier's invention does not affect the cable itself, although he says that if the first three hundred miles from shore were relaid with a larger cable the efficiency would be increased to a great extent; it merely affects the sending and receiving instruments and the generating force. No manufacturing firm would hesitate to increase their production 100 per cent. at a cost of less than 20 per cent. of the original outlay for the plant!

ıel Squier has taken out a number nts in the name of the American for he is that kind of a scientist ckons very little upon monetary his philosophy of life being that ıan should do his utmost for the of mankind. For instance, one of Squier's hobbies since the outbreak European war in 1914 and his sub- sojourn in England is that there be closer connection between the of the world. He believes that able should be operated 365 days of r and twenty-four hours every day nating general information at a m rate whenever they are not busy neral business. He said:

we could operate all our ocean ıt a much higher efficiency, it would ower cable rates throughout the which, in my opinion, would con- in no small degree to material s and better understanding between ples of the different countries of the

he other hand he is intensely prac- r his achievements in the world of are chiefly due to his own innate and hard work. He was born and t up in Dryden, Mich., on a farm was taken up by his grandfather, Squier, in 1835, in the days when ın was a part of that great wilder- ıown as the Northwest Territory. m has never been out of the family ıat time, and to-day Colonel Squier ıd operates it.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

a West Pointer, having graduated in a class of sixty-five in 1887. ter he graduated from West Point, sent for duty to Fort McHenry, r Spangled Banner" fame, at Balti- The old fort was useless as a mili- se, but the usual daily routine of life went on. Young Squier, who nt his graduating leave in Europe, around to see how best he could his time. Physics was his peculiar and he soon found that the greatest ıts in this country were right at his n Johns Hopkins University. On ıg into the possibility of taking up studies there he found that it was possible except for the fact that the regular morning parade came at such a time at the fort that it precluded his attending the Johns Hopkins instruction. He therefore applied to the powers that were in Washington and after considerable palaver he was given to understand that if his commanding officer at Fort McHenry agreed to let him off the daily morning parade the War Department would not take any notice of it. With this information he returned to Baltimore and tried to get this permission, but was refused completely by his commanding officer. However, fortune was with him. Officer-in-charge on Saturday afternoon and Sunday was the duty every officer tried his best to get out of, for Baltimore and Washington were both close at hand and the Army officers were usually popular enough to have more invitations than they could use over week-ends. Squier grasped this fact and offered to take every Saturday and Sunday in charge of the fort if he would be allowed to miss the morning parade during the week. His fellow officers jumped at the offer, and so for four years young Squier attended Johns Hopkins and studied under those great scientists, Rowland, Remsen, and Newcomb, and not only made lasting friendships with these men but also laid the foundation for the inventions which have brought him to the forefront of the world's scientists.

It was in 1899 that Colonel Squier first took up his experiments in cable telegraphy, making at that time some extensive experiments with Dr. A. C. Crehore on the Atlantic cable from Waterville, Ireland, to Nova Scotia, for the first time using a special form of dynamo as a source of power for transmitting messages under the Atlantic Ocean.

LAYING THE PHILIPPINE CABLE

In 1900, he was placed in command of the *Rita*, a prize captured in the Spanish-American War. It was renamed the *Burnside*, and under Colonel Squier's direction was fitted up in New York as a cable ship and loaded with the first American-made cable. Colonel Squier took it through the Suez Canal to the Philippines, where for two years he was engaged in connecting the

various islands with a cable system which is still in use.

In 1907, as chief-of-staff to General Allen, of the Signal Corps, Colonel Squier had occasion to make history. Flying was in its infancy at that time, and the United States Government was the first of all the nations of the world to take up the aeroplane as an engine of war. The War Department picked out Colonel Squier to study the requisites of an aeroplane for military purposes and to draw up specifications for such a machine. On December 23, 1907, these specifications were advertised to the public, and they made a great sensation among the nations of Europe, for up to that time the heavier-than-air machine was considered out of the question as an engine of war. The specifications seemed at the time unreasonably difficult, but it turned out that two bidders were successful in coming up to them. In September, 1908, the Wright brothers brought an aeroplane to Fort Meyer, Va., which fulfilled all the requirements. Colonel Squier, on September 12th, was the first man to fly as a passenger in a heavier-than-air machine.

Colonel Squier, after having drawn the specifications and supervised the tests for the first aeroplane for the United States Army, was called to other duties. Since he drew up these specifications for the Government, thus making the United States first in the field, Congress has refused until very recently to see the advantages in this branch of military preparedness and this country has fallen so far behind that even the smaller European nations excel us in aviation.

A FORECAST OF MODERN WARFARE

In December, 1908, Colonel Squier made an address before the American Society of Mechanical Engineers in New York in which he unknowingly made this remarkable prognostication regarding future warfare, which he has himself lived to see absolutely fulfilled:

The realization of aërial navigation for military purposes brings forward new questions regarding the limitation of frontiers. As long as *military operations* are confined to the surface *of the earth, it has* been the custom to protect the geographical limits of a country by ample preparations in time of peace, such as a line of fortresses properly garrisoned. At the outbreak of war these boundaries represent real and definite limits to military operations. Excursions into the enemy's territory usually require the backing of a strong military force. Under the new conditions, however, these geographical boundaries no longer offer the same definite limits to military movements. With a third dimension added to the theatre of operations, it will be possible to pass over this boundary on rapid raids for obtaining information, accomplishing demolitions, etc., returning to safe harbors in a minimum time. We may, therefore, regard the advent of military ships of the air as, in a measure, obliterating present national frontiers in conducting military operations.

"WIRED WIRELESS"

Since he received his Ph.D. upon his graduation from Johns Hopkins University, electrical intercommunication has been one of his chief studies. An invention of his which he did not patent but gave to the public is now being used by a number of armies in the field of Europe. He discovered a method of sending along a telephone wire, outside of it, but still guided by it, as many as half a dozen wired wireless messages at the same time. These messages are, of course, tuned to different "frequencies" so that one receiver can receive only one message at a time. This "wired wireless" of Colonel Squier's can be connected up between a gun battery five miles behind the fighting line and the artillery observation post in the front trenches, along with the regular wire telephone. Of course, if by chance the wire is broken by an enemy shell, or some other agency, the wire connection is lost until some one can find the break and repair it. However, this is not so with the wireless message along the outside of the wire. The wireless will jump the broken space on to the wire again and travel to its destination without getting loose into the air. These "wired wireless" messages will jump a space of from forty to sixty feet and not lose a single wave into the air unless a loose end of the wire is lifted and pointed upward. The importance of this invention in modern warfare is obvious when one realizes that the terrific slaughter of the Canadians at

e Chapelle by their own guns was due : fact that the British artillery did not 'e their orders immediately to change ange of their fire, due perhaps to n wires.

t only has Colonel Squier cable, wire, vireless inventions to his credit, but ss telephony as well owes a great o his genius. The Royal Institution eat Britain has recognized the genius s American Army officer by electing member, which is an honor bestowed ıpon a chosen few.

er a long period of waiting, during time he was busy with other duties, el Squier finally again took up his upon cable communication which he tarted in 1899 with Dr. Crehore, but se of the press of his military duties s not able to push it through. How- when he was elected a fellow of the cal Society of London and the in- ɔn came to speak upon the same plat- with Sir J. J. Thomson, the Solon of ıysicists, before this Society, he felt it was necessary to bring forward hing that was eminently worth while. prepared his paper upon "An Un- n Alternating Current for Cable raphy," which was the first definitely ntic news the world had of this great in cable communication.

onel Squier's little address—it covers wenty-two small printed pages with ıms—before this eminent scientific ring marked an epoch in the field of cal communication. He read his , was heartily congratulated, and back to his work. In a very short those who control the English cable ınies came to him and requested to s models—and to know if he would ate it for them. No, he had his full with his own Army work, but if vished to use his model and elaborate ; patents they might. And so they at it—and to-day, a year after the ss before the physicists, they are pre- ; to put the invention into effect in h cables. Colonel Squier has not a finger over his invention since he his address. The cable authorities ıo impressed with it that they were willing to risk any amount of time and labor in installing and perfecting it.

I asked Colonel Squier how it happened that no one else had thought it out; and he handed me in answer a few remarks he made before the Institution of Electrical Engineers on January 20, 1916, in London, in which he said:

> At present we find the separation and segregation of the field of telegraphy into certain more or less watertight compartments under the head of wireless telegraphy, land-line telegraphy, ocean-cable telegraphy, etc., each of these possessing a separate technique. For instance, the radio engineer prefers to think in wave-lengths, and he calls a variable inductance a "variometer" and a certain tuning coil a "jigger," etc., whereas, of course, there is nothing new in principle in these pieces of apparatus. The wire engineer prefers to think in terms of "frequency," and plots his graphs with *n* as a principal variable. The cable engineer thinks in terms of "curves of arrival." Has not the time arrived for the standing telegraph committees, wireless committees, cable committees, etc., of our scientific societies to combine in a membership that can look at this whole subject as one subject, which in fact it appears to be?

That is the whole case in a nutshell. Each different specialty of engineers, the wire, the wireless, and the cable, is so close to their particular work that they are unable to take a comprehensive view of the matter: it took an outsider to view it from a new angle and to find new solutions to old problems.

Colonel Squier is a rather short man, well set up, quick and decisive in all his actions and speech, not by any means looking his fifty-one years. He is punctilious to a degree and has a strict sense of duty, doing it as he sees it without fear or favor from any one. He impresses you with his enthusiasms, some of which are the United States, the Army, his inventions, and benefiting humanity, and his eagerness and convictions on these subjects make his conversation extremely interesting.

Recently he has been recalled to active duty to reorganize the aero service of the Army, after having served with distinction and ability for four years as military attaché in London.

GERMANY'S FRENZIED TRADE

BY

MAURICE MILLIOUD

[*In his preceding article (published last month), M. Maurice Millioud, of the University of Lausanne, Switzerland, explained how Germany had organized herself industrially so as to produce more manufactured goods than her markets at home and abroad would absorb and to use more raw materials than her own territory afforded, with the result that, to keep her factories working and to avoid disaster, she had to acquire raw materials and conquer new markets. This and the following article form a part of M. Millioud's explanation of Germany's desire for world power, as elaborated in his book, "The Ruling Caste and Frenzied Trade in Germany."*—THE EDITORS]

THE heart, the motive force of business life in Germany is the bank, and the functions of a bank in Germany are quite different from those in France. In both countries capital has tended to become centralized, and although the two countries represent roughly the same area, in Germany nine great banks, and in France five, control the money market.

Not ten years ago both these huge financial groups were doing approximately the same amount of business, namely, about $20,000,000, only French banking consisted mainly of discount business. The French banks held commercial paper valued at $100,000,000 more than the German. The German banks held $240,000,000 more than the French, but in the form of credits, loans, overdrafts, and the like. In other words, the German banks have used the country's savings to finance industrial ventures, and high dividends have been the bait to attract foreign capital.

The Germans have forged two weapons in the interests of trade, the like of which have never before been seen: organization and credit.

As to organization, the financier, holding an interest in competing firms, set himself to reconcile their interests by means of working agreements. Hence the system of "Kartelle." These are understandings between firms, varying as to the form they take and their time of duration, which to-day control the productive activities of every kind.

In 1902, there were 300 such, and of late years their number has increased to more than 400. Competition continues, but rival firms enter into agreements among themselves to the end that they may keep the consumer in their power, settle among themselves what discounts shall be allowed him, what rebates, what rates of interest shall be paid, what commissions given, and so forth; also, understandings with a view to sharing among them big municipal contracts, instead of entering into competition for them.

Next, they organized a method of collecting all orders through a central office and from it distributing them among the manufacturers. Output was controlled, stoppage of work, competition, and fluctuation in prices were avoided.

The consumer was at the mercy of this remarkable organization of manufacturer, trader, and financier.

Here we have a system of very modern growth. The cartel is not a trust in the American sense, it is, indeed, more flexible —the various houses taking part do not become one. They even, to all appearance, are rivals, or continue at least to compete with one another in those fields to which the cartel does not apply. Thus they forestall any protests that the public might make. The great electrical firms of Siemens and Halske and the A.E.G. (Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft) may appear to be deadly rivals; that is for the benefit of the public. The fact is that the electrical trade, the last to arrive on the scene, is one of the most centralized, per-

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haps the most completely organized of all the trades. And what is behind it? The Deutsche Bank, a very "Empire within an Empire."

The Plesiosaurus and the Ichthyosaurus have so wisely united themselves in matrimony as to place their German clients at their mercy and enable them to undertake the conquest of the world, for the German electrical trade has for some years seemed to be obtaining a veritable monopoly in Europe and beyond. Put up prices all round when one controls the market and as a consequence make living more expensive. Dump, crush, and carry on a merciless war on those that one does not control; that is the system in all its terrible simplicity.

In 1900 the cartel among the manufacturers of iron girders made a profit of $300,000 in Germany and lost $212,500 on its foreign sales, which is a very significant fact.

THE ORGANIZATION FOR MAKING LOANS

The most astounding, the most ingenious, the most audacious and rash is the organization for making loans.

One does not find big businesses in Germany, as one does in France, dispensing with outside financial help, and making their capital expenditure out of annual profits.

The saying that "capital is savings" applies, says M. Yves Guyot, to the capital invested in French collieries. In other words, French concerns have grown as the demand for their products has increased and capital accumulated.

In Germany manufacture, mining markets, and trade have all grown up suddenly as if the outcome of some creative impulse of the mind—some philosophical system of thought, instead of as they were needed to fill requirements. All that calls for huge loan capital with which to buy raw material, to build up foreign markets, to acquire mines and collieries, to buy up competing businesses, and to set up new factories. The policy of Weltpolitik dates from twenty-five years ago, and in that period one must reckon the money invested abroad by hundreds of millions.

The annual income from this capital is estimated at nearly $200,000,000 per annum, and it is admitted that it is this income, together with that accruing from her ocean freights, which makes up for Germany's excess of imports over exports.

So she has had constantly to appeal for funds, to cast about in all directions for capital, and even then it has not been sufficient.

Then the great banks substituted paper for accumulated funds. It was high time; for this commercial world conquest, like the conquests of the Roman Empire, could not be checked without serious dangers. The larger the frontier, the more urgent became the need to protect the extended front and to give support to the advance posts.

I do not claim that the big concerns show no large reserves in their balance sheets, but these reserves consist of "lock up" securities and are not realizable. All that is made is constantly being reinvested in industrials, in the same way as the exhaust gases of the blast furnaces are used over again.

THE "CONSORTIAL BUREAU"

Owing to the fact that the banks work together, and to their being linked up with the industrial and trading companies, they hold the paper of the latter in common. Their mutual understandings are not publicly known. The seeming rivalry between the Deutsche Bank and the Diskonto-Gesellschaft on the petroleum question in 1913 meant nothing. In each of the big banks there is an inner sanctuary, the "Consortial Bureau," into which only the few great chiefs to whom the inner secrets are known (not even all the directors) may enter.

There secret financing is done, combinations of interests are developed, and gigantic mutual undertakings entered upon. Each guarantees the other's paper, and all is well so long as the confidence of the public is not shaken, and it is essential that this confidence should be kept up by prestige: prestige of the State and of the Army, the prestige which comes of dividends, the prestige of activity and increasing output.

How have the many crises which have

followed one upon the other during the last fifteen years been surmounted? By just this solidarity and intricate commingling of interests among the banks. If I may so put it, their roots do not grow in the soil, they just adhere to it, but they adhere over a vast area; linked together, they cover the whole ground, and, when a landslide threatens, throw in their cumulative weight to arrest it.

HOW GERMANY RAISES WAR LOANS

Take an example of this circulation of paper. In order to raise a war loan, the Empire set up a lending bank (Darlehnskasse) which, in exchange for securities of industrial and other companies, made advances in the form of bonds to 60 per cent. of their value. The loan could be subscribed for with these bonds. That was all very well as an extreme measure within the State itself, but how about foreign payments? Economists tell us that bad money drives out good.

The Reichsbank itself, head of the whole banking system which it governs by discounting the paper of all the other banks, includes, as part of the gold reserve, Treasury bonds, and since August 7, 1914, the bonds of the above-mentioned Government lending bank (Darlehnskasse).

Thus its cover in gold and silver is watered by a varying quantity of paper amounting, on December 31, 1914, to about $218,750,000, and on January 14, 1915, to $103,500,000, which is the security for notes in circulation. Let us examine more closely, and we shall see more.

The great banks have drained Germany of her savings, have ruined or absorbed the small provincial banker.

They have also accumulated as much foreign capital as possible—that is natural.

They have made issues of securities which exceed greatly the money awaiting investment—that is foolhardy.

What becomes of the state securities or the stock held in industrial companies which have not been taken up? Can they be juggled with among the "Consortial Bureaus" in such a way that if one is overstocked with industrial stock it can exchange its surplus for state securities, and vice versa? We have not been told, we are not told now, and we shall not be told. Nevertheless, what does become of this paper pending the time when it can be liquidated?

Consider the figures: the capital invested in trading and manufacturing companies annually amounted, from 1885 to 1889, to an average of $354,000,000; from 1890 to 1895 of $376,000,000; from 1896 to 1900 of $476,800,000; or more than $6,000,000,000 in sixteen years, not to speak of the repeated loans offered for subscription by the various states!

These issues are mainly taken up by the public, which is attracted by the promise of big dividends, and go to increase the scope and productive power of the issuing companies; in other words, the money is lent on credit to the traders and manufacturers.

Well, is that the real state of the case? In part it is, and in part not. Just as more securities are issued than are represented by the money subscribed, so the banks give more credit than they receive securities for; and this is a systematic practice. In all countries it happens at times that more credit is given than is covered by securities deposited, but it is the exception.

THE SYSTEM OF CREDITS

These unsecured loans are, in German banks, distributed over several ledgers. A bank opens an account of, say, $2,500 with a customer, but the customer is permitted to draw up to say, $5,000. Look at the accounts rendered by any of the branches of some great bank to the head office, and you will see the heading: *Blanco und gedeckter Kredit*, "over-draft and current account." These two forms of credit are, for good reasons, treated as consolidated into one.

Then you will find "Trassierungskredit" and "Saisonskredit." What does that mean? It means that a borrower comes to the bank. The bank does not give him cash, but, instead, allows him to draw a bill which is to be met on maturity, which the bank accepts. The borrower then gets this bill discounted by another bank, which will present it for payment to the first bank. The second bank makes

payment to the borrower in the shape of a credit balance on which he can draw by check. That is "Trassierungskredit," or a credit that is given without deposit of cash or security.

"Saisonskredit" is of much the same kind. It is a loan account granted to merchants for the purchase of such stock as is salable only at certain definite times of the year, such as articles of fashion, furs, ladies' hats, and clothes.

To understand how these loans are manipulated it is necessary to be acquainted, not only with the balance sheet and debit and credit account of a bank, but with its ledgers, showing the balance to credit of each borrower, and the private agreements under which each is doing business with the bank. But I can give one illuminating example. The official return of all loans made by a single country branch of one of the largest banks in Germany amounted over a period of one year to about $2,076,000, of which about $1,673,000 was secured, and about $403,000 unsecured, or, in other words, there was no security to show for 20 per cent. of the loans made.

Indeed, it is not even paper which is in circulation, not even shares in overcapitalized undertakings. It is nothing, in fact, other than a vast number of debts that are in circulation—an amazing spectacle: wholesale indebtedness, vastly inflated, and converted into currency.

And again the magic wand that makes this state of affairs possible is prestige!

The Reichsbank, which issues the Government loans, discounts the paper of the other banks, and by fixing the discount rates is in a position to encourage or to check operations.

It controls the money market, for the banks, despite the competition existing among them, form by their combinations, one with another, by the inextricable intricacy of their system of loans, a giant organism which feeds upon its very self.

And thus Germany got rich. In a period of two years, in Prussia, the taxes imposed on incomes above $750 rose from about $1,693,750,000 to approximately $1,960,250,000.

So people get rich on issues of capital in industrials which exceed the amount which the country can absorb, Government loans without end which the market can with difficulty take up, capital locked up in development works, in plant which must constantly be renewed, and on loans without security! Well, some people get rich. Which are they? And what do the rest think of it all? On what foundation is such a system built? Who pays in the end? Somebody must pay.

Is it, by chance, to use a simile, that the only way to caulk one leak was to spring another? On what did, I do not say the success, but the perpetuation, of this system depend? Was it essential to look beyond the borders for a nation which could be taxed and made to suffer in the interests of Germany, because the country could do no more? Was time short? And had Weltpolitik, the policy of universal economic conquest, after having intoxicated the Emperor, his ministers, and his people, brought them to where war was the lesser of two evils?

THE OBSTACLES IN GERMANY'S PATH

Let us consider together the facts which I have stated. It is not easy to sum up the state of affairs of a great nation, but one may consider the problem within certain circumscribed limits, and I propose to confine myself to seeking the answers to three questions:

(1.) What are the main characteristics of the economic organization which Germany has adopted?

(2.) What was it which led her to adopt the policy which she has adopted?

(3.) Has she been able to comply with the conditions which have, by its adoption, become necessary?

Every one is agreed as to the first. The economic organization of Germany is a policy of conquest. By reason of this policy her trade and manufacture are closely dependent on each other, and both are dependent on the banks. Of late years there has been a new and well-marked tendency toward industrial combination. In the first place, the trade associations and combinations of various kinds make it their endeavor to control all the output and by-products of a trade,

such, for instance, as finished iron. In the second place, and in greater degree, they endeavor to be independent of those who supply the raw material, and of the middlemen whose business it is to sell the finished articles. Thus, for instance, the steel manufacturers buy up collieries, colliery proprietors strive to get foundries and ironworks established alongside their pits. It is a battle of mastodons, but a battle with the result that industrial combination goes on without mercy. Further, the manufacturers have become so powerful that they can dictate their own terms to the merchants; in other words they also control trade, thanks to their control of the sale of their manufactures. They have central offices which fix the price at which the brokers shall sell iron, the amount they may put on the market, and the markets in which they may trade. The brokers are bound to show them their account books if required to do so.

CONTROLLING ALL TRADE

A merchant in Lausanne may not sell a ton of iron to a purchaser in Evian, Evian not being in his district; he may sell only such quantity as is allotted to him under penalty of having any excess amount awarded to his competitor, and he may sell only at a price fixed for him. Should he decline to be bound hand and foot to the Centralverbund of Düsseldorf, his fate is sealed; no more goods will be delivered to him, and he must face ruin. Further, he has to take delivery at whatever time it suits, not him, but his masters.

At the same time that he aims at seizing all raw materials and controlling trade, the manufacturer rounds on the banks on whose help he has so long depended, and which he still cannot do without, by setting up his own financial houses, who issue his stock, and, by buying up bonds and shares, acquires interests in other industries.

The organizing of output became in due course international, and thenceforth it was not only the retailer who was tied hand and foot, but the consumer also.

So we see the system spreading over the whole world, and it has for its policy conquest. No longer is it a case of live and let live. Competition must be strangled or got rid of by agreement. What I have indicated is sufficient to show that; it would be still clearer had I space to go into the question in greater detail.

No sooner is a district or trade won than economic slavery is organized, and the consumer and retailer can do no other than submit to it.

In the case of iron, the Centralverbund of Düsseldorf controls the sale by merchants in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, and France, but no one may penetrate into the secrets of its ledgers, and its profits can only be approximately estimated at 13 per cent. or 14 per cent.

THE GERMAN TRADE OCTOPUS

That is what is called economic organization, and it is the task to which Germany has, for the last twenty years, directed all her national and individual efforts. What resistance can be offered? The consumer is helpless. In the first place public opinion has not been awakened, for the wheels of the great machine are hidden; the public is only aware of local trading companies with, for the most part, every appearance of being native to the country. The eyes and the tentacles of the octopus are at Bremen, at Düsseldorf, and at Berlin; the tentacles, armed with innumerable suckers, reach out to Asia Minor, by way of Constantinople and Saloniki; to Petrograd, Paris, and Barcelona; they threaten London, through Rotterdam and Antwerp, stretch across Switzerland into Italy; extend over the Atlantic and South America, embrace Chile, spread out over Brazil, the Argentine, and Mexico, and in another direction to the Indian Ocean and the China seas, and fix themselves firmly on the Far Eastern strands.

A methodical, universal warfare which Germany was nevertheless unable to conduct to her complete satisfaction.

If, in economic warfare, as in real warfare, one can cast one's bounden duties and all scruples to the winds, there yet exist natural obstacles which cannot be eluded. The nature of these obstacles depends, in great part, on the tactics adopted, and that is why I have described

the means employed by Germany to master the trade of the world.

A general who advances too far from his base must enter an action before he has used up all his munitions and provisions. If he attacks he will endeavor to hustle his adversary and give him no time to call up reinforcements. It is the same thing if one sets out to conquer the world in the manner I have described. Certain conditions must be fulfilled.

ESSENTIALS OF TRADE DOMINANCE

The most important condition which one must take into account is that of two phases of time—continuity and continuance. The first implies the need, not only of continuous, but constantly increasing, output. The second the need to dominate the chief markets of Europe, and even beyond Europe: to control distribution and prices, and to reach that position within a given time.

Let us consider each in turn.

Why must the rate of production be constantly increased? Because from the start it has been calculated on a basis far in excess of the market's power of absorption—a reversal of the sound principles in which we were instructed in our youth. All the aspects of the vast organization which I have described prove this: the producer binding down the consumer, controlling trade, and finally dominating finance; production becoming the aim and object and the chief duty of a powerful nation; production, not regulated to meet the known requirements of the market, but a constant striving after new markets, creation of new markets, and seizure by cunning or by force of existing markets, in order to find outlets for floods of over-production. A huge amount of capital, borrowed capital, is locked up in construction work, in factories, in warehouses, in docks, and in machinery. That capital may well be termed "stationary." The floating capital, which is constantly being turned over, takes the form of raw material and the work of converting it into its finished form.

Once speed of production slackens the interest on "stationary" capital is threatened, for such capital has no value other than that which it produces. Of what value is a factory which cannot turn out work? Conversely, if manufactured goods accumulate in the warehouses, floating capital is threatened. Storage charges mount up, whilst the cost of the raw material and of wages remains the same.

Stock, as it accumulates, must be sold off—and therefore competition must be strangled—and to that end it must be sold cheap and in quantity. The markets must be swamped with it, so that the adversary may have nowhere to turn; and to effect that, production must be still further increased.

One of the largest manufacturers of Frankfurt-on-the-Main, a prince of aniline dye makers, remarked a short while ago to an Italian manufacturer: "I would sell at a loss for ten years rather than lose the Italian market, and if need be I would throw in all that I have made in the past." Excellent, no doubt, if things were not in fact working in a vicious circle.

Moreover, one can no longer choose whether to slow down or increase the speed of production when a whole great nation has been made to undergo a veritable social upheaval, and, in one generation, has reduced its agricultural population by one-half, while throwing ten millions of its people into manufacture and trade.

This crowd of industrial workers must not be left in the lurch, and at all costs work must be found for it, and money to pay its wages.

Lastly, and this is the motive most often pleaded, though it is clear that it is not by any means the only one, by export of goods and by overseas trade alone can the Germans keep the rate of exchange level and pay for the goods they import in excess of those they export.

It is essential to their manufactures that they should import raw material, and it is more essential to import foodstuffs, since they are able to produce food for only 80 per cent. or 85 per cent. of their people, and 15 per cent. or 20 per cent. must be obtained from abroad.

So much for continuity. Now let us consider the question of continuance.

Can production be indefinitely increased? Yes, so long as new and lucra-

tive markets can be found. No, if the finding of new markets means continual and continued sacrifice. The sacrifices may be such as to make it essential to succeed without delay.

Take such a case as this: Vast expansion of trade over the whole world, but with it a rise in prices on the home market. Would not a time come when it would be impossible to maintain the difference in prices between the home and the foreign market? How could the difficulty be got over without destroying the export trade? Only by seeking markets in which there would be little competition, or making an end of competition, crushing one's rivals, and becoming masters, and therefore in a position to raise prices to a figure which should not only be profitable, but highly remunerative.

THE GERMAN DILEMMA

Germany had got so far in the direction of economic conquest that she could neither draw back nor even go slow. It is not enough to say, as people often said before the war and many times since, that her economic crises were due to growth. If so, her case would only be that of England and the United States, the other great industrial nations. Hers is quite different. She has laid herself out to dominate the world's trade, to corner raw material, to regulate output and prices.

Well, her economic policy has failed.

The main fact, the essential fact, whose meaning must be clearly grasped, is this: the conditions under which she started upon her trade campaign do not permit of a prolonged struggle. Facts prove it. Only by raising prices at home have the mine owners, iron, electrical, and other manufacturers been able to keep their prices down on foreign markets, and although this does not altogether apply to certain of the chemical trades, notably the color trade, which they have held firmly for a long time, yet they have to watch unceasingly lest foreign manufacture should threaten their preëminence, or even shake itself free of their control.

Those who stand up for the Cartel system claim that the object is to level *prices in the interests* of buyers everywhere, and to prevent fluctuations; but it is in fact a general leveling of prices which leads to increased cost of living. This has been much contested in Germany. Yet if to import duties one adds abolition of all competition it is clear that living must become dearer.

However, we may dispense with deductive reasoning; we need only compare the rise which has taken place in wages with the cost of foodstuffs.

It is among colliers that wages have risen most steadily since 1890, and Mr. V. Tyszka has based a calculation upon a colony of colliers in the Dortmund district. He finds that the average for the German Empire was about $206 per annum per head in that year, in 1900 it had risen to about $250 and in 1913 to about $376.

In comparing the curve representing wages with that representing prices we find that, taking for comparison the wages paid in 1900 and the cost of living in the same year, and indicating each by 100, the following have been the figures:

YEAR	WAGES PAID	COST OF LIVING
1900	100	100
1905	93.8	106.7
1910	104.1	121.2
1911	107.6	127.0
1912	116.7	135.2

Certainly wages, except in 1905, have risen steadily, but the cost of living has risen in far greater proportion. The comparison is more striking still if to cost of living one adds rent.

For the last twenty years there has been the same general movement in prices throughout Europe—a general rise up to the year 1890, then a fall until the lowest point was reached in 1896, after which a rise, at first irregular, and then rapid, until the present day.

But the rise has been much less in France and in England than in Germany.

Take 100 as the average price of the principal articles of merchandise over the period 1890-1899, and we find:

	1890-1899	1900-1909	1920	1921
In Germany	100	118	128	139
In England	100	111	118	122

If we distinguish between foodstuffs and raw materials for manufacture, and

apply the figure 100 as representing the average price of the former for the years 1899-1900, we find:

	1900-1909	1910	1911
Germany	108	125	142
England	101	108	114

Can any doubt remain that this is not a direct result of industrial combination, coupled with tariffs on imports?

On whom falls the weight of this increased cost of living?

First upon the working class and on manufacturers who have to buy raw materials, but above all on the trading classes and small farmers.

Germany could defy the masses, whether town or country, with the army behind her; and, moreover, no rising, no disturbance even threatened, yet the Opposition won seven and a half million votes at the 1912 election, as against four and a half million given on behalf of the parties which support the Government.

The Socialists won 110 seats in the Reichstag, taking the Opposition parties as a whole 202 seats, which gave them a majority as a result; although no internal trouble was feared a time of serious difficulty was expected to follow consequent upon the expiration in 1917 of the treaties of commerce.

Was there more cause for satisfaction abroad, for in that direction the nation was making its great effort?

THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF STOPPING

Her whole industrial, commercial, and financial organization, which is so vitally interdependent, was directed to the capture of the foreign market, and that could not be abandoned without the certainty of an appalling crisis.

A superficial consideration of the figures might well lead us to think that she had succeeded in her ambition. Her turnover has actually increased by six times in forty years. Her share in the world's trade in 1870 was approximately $750,000,000, in 1890 approximately $2,000,000,000, and in 1910 approximately $4,500,000,000, or in terms of percentage 7 per cent., then 10 per cent., then 12 per cent.

From 1897 to 1911 the numbers of her mercantile marine, an essential element in international trade, rose from 8 per cent. to 11 per cent. of the non-subsidized fleets of the world, and such fleets represent 70 per cent. of the world's trading ships.

From 1870 to 1911 German exports rose from approximately $325,000,000 to approximately $2,025,000,000, and these exports are mainly placed in Europe.

Germany has largely conquered the European market.

In 1900, her exports to the rest of Europe already exceeded those of England, the proportion being approximately $925,000,000 against $775,000,000. Germany's exports to the rest of Europe had risen from approximately $925,000,000 to $1,525,000,000 and England's from approximately $775,000,000 to $1,125,000,000.

She approaches England's output of coal, producing 20 per cent. to England's 26 per cent. of the world's supply; she surpasses England in that of iron, her share being 20 per cent. and England's 18 per cent.

WHY GERMANY WAS ALARMED

Why should there be so much anxiety among the great manufacturers and mine owners, why has such nervousness and almost feverish restlessness possessed Germany during the last few years?

It is that if we look again we shall see things which will negative our first impressions.

One may fall behind a little and yet be going forward, go forward less far, and yet go forward; and that is Germany's condition since 1905. Why? Well, it is partly due to the very operation of trade conquest by Germany, and partly to the revival of national feeling which has in all countries characterized the opening years of the twentieth century.

In the first place, Germany's protective policy brought about a reaction among her neighbors. Russia, in the period 1882 to 1890, raised her duties, Austria and France did the same, and in 1890, the United States established the famous McKinley tariffs; then followed the British Colonies, and Germany suffered heavily in her tariff war with Russia in 1893 and 1894, and no sooner was she recovered

from this than Canada, in 1895, established preferential rates with England. So Germany entered on a foolhardy system of reprisals, and Canada countered by putting a tax on German goods.

Count Caprivi was obliged to drop Bismarck's policy and to engineer (1892–1894) a series of treaties on the basis of low tariffs with Austria-Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, and Belgium.

But the pendulum had swung to its highest, and even from 1892 to 1903, the years of her most dazzling prosperity, Germany began to experience, now here, now there, and all the time increasingly, the challenge of those nations which had hitherto welcomed and admired her.

THE TARIFF WARS

In 1900, a new Chancellor took the reins, and Count Bülow's 1902–1906 tariffs were the outcome of a specific alliance between the agrarian class and the protectionist manufacturers; and from that moment tariff war had come to stay, not only as an item among treaty clauses, but as a fact borne out by the harshness with which it was enforced.

In addition to the tariff war one result of German economic policy has been to favor reëxportation and even the development of certain manufactures in the conquered territory.

A retired Rotterdam merchant spent a fortune in buying German steel plate, built ships with it, and sold them back at a big profit to the Germans themselves—so expensive are steel plates to buy in Germany compared with their price abroad, notwithstanding freight charges and customs. That is what "dumping" leads to.

Germany's peaceful penetration and foreign investments of capital have been very useful to her. By these means she established her manufacturing businesses in Russia, though Russia has shown signs of throwing off the yoke.

She often claims that Italy's splendid industrial revival is solely due to her, though such a claim is, to say the least, a very exaggerated one; and her seizure, or partially successful effort at seizure, of the trade of the peninsula can have in *no way contributed*, in the sense that Germany claims, to the reawakening of the Italian patriotic spirit called Nationalism. The truth is that Italy opened her arms to Germany—economically—after her quarrel with France, following upon the French military occupation of Tunis, in northern Africa.

France was perhaps the last to take alarm, if, indeed, she actually did so. She did not fail to take note of Germany's economic growth, but it did not appear to her to be a danger. She rather saw in it a guarantee of safety and peace.

The fact is that France had too few commercial dealings with her great neighbor to be much concerned with Germany's sudden commercial expansion.

She did not put herself on her guard until the dramatic Tangier incident, when she realized the menace to her peace and the military preparations behind it.

CHECKED ON ALL SIDES

There the Germans saw themselves thwarted, their adventure seriously checked, as much as a result of their own conduct as of the change of feeling which they had provoked.

Added to this were other elements which combined to make them more sensitive and threatened their whole endeavor. The more vital of these elements was the prodigious economic development and competition of the United States; yet that danger was one of the future: the immediate danger was England's competition, because England competed with her in the European markets.

But how could England be dangerous to Germany's ambition since the latter had already got the better of her? Some Englishmen claimed that it was a delusion, but the majority believed it, and then it was that they began to put forward all their energies and to give evidence of all the resourcefulness of a race which has never been so great as in times of adversity.

They set themselves to study the applications of science, they brought their plant and machinery up to date, they expanded and developed their systems of commercial intelligence.

Of rivalry between her and Germany the world knows little except as regards

competition in naval construction, but it does know, and it is clear enough to-day, that Germany is the under dog.

The same position has been hers, in the matter of trade rivalry, also, if all the conditions are considered. Actually Germany has given way in no foreign market, but relatively her progress has been slower than that of England.

The export trade for both countries for the periods 1890-1903 and 1904-1908 in terms of millions of dollars was:

	1890-1903	1904-1908	INCREASE
Germany . .	1,125	1,500	375
England . . .	1,410	1,805	395

Now 25 per cent. of England's trade during the above-mentioned periods consists of goods in regard to which the fact of reëxportation is not taken into account, and to this must be added shipbuilding and mercantile freights. A large amount of the German export trade is carried by English ships, and in this respect, which is one of the most important, England has won back her advantage in a very marked manner.

It is useful to calculate the increase in exports per head of population in order to judge of the effect produced upon the general conditions of living. From 1903 to 1910 the English export trade rose from $26.90 to $36.74 per head of population, while during the same period it rose in Germany from $13.35 to only $18.30.

Thus we see that Germany's victorious progress became distinctly slower as soon as her command of European markets began to give cause for anxiety abroad, and brought about the revival of the keen competition of which I have spoken above.

That, indeed, explains the press campaign in Germany, the violent and endless accusations and abuse leveled at England. Germany thought to undermine the foundations of British power; she found Britain still as unshakable as of old; but, thenceforth warned, suspicious, and on her guard.

A more serious difficulty threatened.

The Imperial dream, the dream of the German Empire since 1899, had been to be in a position to compensate for any slackening or stoppage of its activities on the European market, and more especially on markets outside Europe, should such occur, by the acquisition of vast outlets in an immense country, once wealthy, rich in natural products, with promise of a glorious future—probably for time without end—by laying hands on nearer Asia, from Konieh to Bagdad, from Bagdad to Busra and the Persian Gulf.

On that side at least they would not run up against a brick wall.

They had only to obtain a preponderating influence over the Balkan nations, and that should be Austria's task; Germany herself would see to getting what she wanted, amounting, indeed, to complete submission from the Sultan of Turkey. She would sit by the bedside of the sick man of Europe and lie in wait to secure his heritage, then by way of Albania and Saloniki she would reach the Ægean Sea and open up Mesopotamia by means of railroads which Germany would control and the Turks should pay for. What a grandiose perspective!

In that direction, in 1903, success seemed within her grasp. A German company set to work to lay the Haidar-Pasha to Konieh and Angora railroad: a final concession for the Bagdad railway was granted on March 5, 1903, to Herr Gwinner, of the Deutsche Bank, and to the German Anatolian Railway Company. But Germany could not find the money, and it was necessary to suggest to France and England the floating of a syndicate. France would have agreed, but England and Russia put a stop to it.

The German company found itself incapable of starting work.

At the same time England strengthened her hold on the Persian Gulf at the place Germany had decided upon as the railroad terminus.

Next, in 1907, England and Russia agreed between themselves as to the zones of influence which each should have in Persia, and undertook to build a trans-Persian railroad running parallel with the Bagdad-Busra line, linking up with Central Europe by way of Batum, and with India by way of Tabriz.

Germany realized that she must hurry things forward at all costs, when sud-

denly the Balkan League was formed against Turkey. Saloniki fell into the hands of Greece; Serbia was seeking a way to the Adriatic and was also blocking the road. Serbia yielded to threats, but the Treaty of Bukharest left her larger than before, firmly resting, as it seemed, on Greece on the one hand and Rumania on the other.

What would happen if she had time to pull herself together and to establish herself firmly?

Already, in 1913, things were going badly. In view of the fact that the time for renewal of the commercial treaties would fall due in 1917, Russia openly announced her intention of revoking the advantageous terms accorded to Germany by Count Witte after the Russo-Japanese war.

Germany would no longer be able to send corn into Russia duty-free, and with the assistance of her famous bonuses on exports undersell the Russian corn-growers on their own markets; and, moreover, it was universally agreed that this clause in the treaty had been one of the chief elements in the agricultural prosperity of the eastern districts of Germany.

Not only was a set-back to agriculture threatened, but it might even be ruined if the Russian Government put into force its decision to forbid the emigration of 250,000 Polish laborers who went across the border each year to cultivate the German soil and returned to their Russian homes for the winter. Thanks to these very laborers, Germany was able to flood the Russian market with farm produce cultivated by Russians in Germany. To keep them away was to pass sentence of death on German agriculture.

The land would have to lie fallow. There would be no farm produce, no home-grown supplies. Germany would have to rely entirely on imports from abroad, without having, as England has, command of the sea.

Prophets of ill-omen became more numerous. They pictured with consternation the exhaustion of iron ore in the mines of Germany and Luxemburg. They explained that in 1940 the mineral resources of Luxemburg would be exhausted; that by 1950 Germany would produce no more iron ore, whereas the Briey district, opened up soon after 1880, would ensure a brilliant future for the French ironmasters.

If the French were to put permanent difficulties in the way of the exchange of their iron for Germany's coal, what would become of business in the Rhine provinces, in Westphalia and Silesia?

Millions of hands would be thrown on the streets; there would follow a commercial catastrophe without parallel.

That is the fearful nightmare with which this powerful country was beginning to be haunted in the midst of her prosperity and whilst at the very zenith of her power.

Is it necessary to draw conclusions?

GERMANY'S PREDICAMENT

Threatened by no one, Germany felt herself menaced on all sides. She claimed to be fighting for very existence, and she spoke truth. Her manufacturers, financiers, and statesmen had dragged her so deeply and by such methods into a war of economic conquest that she could not withdraw. The methods employed were now working against her.

Without having entirely miscarried, victory was clearly beyond her grasp. Must she await the inevitable crash, the stoppage of trade, the downfall of her credit, the misery which must overwhelm her people, and the fury which would perhaps possess them in consequence?

Would not such a state of things make war inevitable sooner or later, and was it not better to make war whilst there was the most likelihood of its ending rapidly and victoriously in her favor?

And then, the war won, would not justice be on the side of the victor, as Maximilian Harden has said?

What followed is common knowledge.

MAN AND HIS MACHINES

A DEVICE THAT MEASURES THE WEAR AND TEAR IN A ROAD
A pencil records on a paper-covered drum the rise and fall of the road's surface

JRING THE SURFACE OF ROADS

.OFESSOR of the Georgia School of Technol- ' has devised a machine to be used in con- n contrac .s so that the builder may produce a nt of a definite, measurable degree of smooth- r comparing the wear on a road due to differ- ls and quantities of traffic; and for comparing of different types of pavement.

llustration above shows the machine in use. ıwn over the road to be tested and it gives an tic record of the condition of the surface. ording mechanism is a toothed wheel held in with the pavement by a spring. This wheel d falls as it passes over the irregularities in the and it transmits this rise and fall to a hori- rm which carries a pencil for marking the rise on a drum on which there is a continuous roll r. The machine is sufficiently light as to be ›ver the road by the man making the tests.

INATION STREET SPRINKLER AND FLUSHER

REET sprinkler in the form of a trolley car ıld hardly be called a new invention, inas- s streets have been sprinkled in this way for twenty years. But for a thorough cleansing, sprinkling a street falls somewhat short of the . An improvement on the trolley-car sprink- recently been devised in the form of a com- ı sprinkler and flusher, which thoroughly ; a street 80 feet wide between curbs. In it ıs attached to the sprinkling arm in such a as to pick up the dirt at the main nozzle on proper and flush it to the curb.

AN ANTI-FREEZING DEVICE FOR WATER-COOLED AUTOMOBILES

NO LONGER need the owner of a water-cooled automobile hesitate to leave his car standing at the curb in below-zero weather if his car is fitted with a recently invented heater to keep automobile radiators from freezing in cold weather.

The principal characteristic of the heater is a small electric coil that is covered with a porcelain cap which projects into the pipe through which the water in the radiator moves. This coil is connected by wires to the batteries in the car and is controlled by a switch or button on the dash. The heating of the water around the porcelain cap insures a constant circulation of the water in the radiator, which makes freezing practically impossible. The practicability of the device has been proven by tests made last winter in temperatures several degrees below zero.

The heater is small and compact, uses very little current, and can be attached to any automobile in a few minutes.

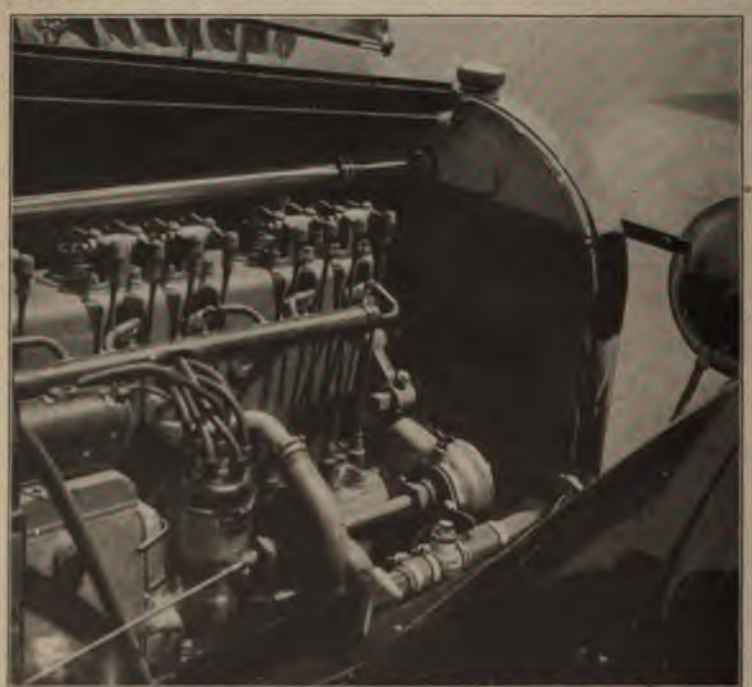
SELF-CLEANING TRAVELING WATER SCREENS

THE necessity for clean circulating and boiler water in power plants has become so much of an accepted fact to-day that it is not necessary to make explanation of it in order to introduce the subject of screens for screening this water.

Every engineer is familiar with the fact that no matter how many sliding screens are placed in an intake one after the other, when each screen is raised a certain amount of sediment drops down and passes under it and on to the next one. This process repeats itself

A COMBINATION STREET SPRINKLER AND FLUSHER
A nozzle is attached to the sprinkling arm so as to flush the dirt to the curb of the street

until the last screen is raised and then the droppings enter the intake to the power plant and are carried into the pumps and condenser tubes, where they hasten the necessity for cleaning those auxiliaries.



FOR THE WATER-COOLED AUTOMOBILE
A device which prevents the water in the radiator of the automobile from freezing in winter by means of a porcelain-covered electric coil that is connected by wires to the batteries of the car

It was with a view of improving the conditions outlined above that a few years ago a machinery company in Milwaukee, Wis., at the request of a firm of consulting engineers in Chicago, built three machines. These were installed at the plant of an electric power company in Chicago.

The machines consist essentially of wire screening baskets mounted on two strands of steel chain belt. These chain belts and screens form a continuous screening apron which pass over sprockets at the top and bottom of the device, which are mounted on a structural steel supporting frame. There are lips on the baskets, and as this screening apron moves through the water slowly and in an upward direction it carries with it particles screened from the water, and after turning over the head sprockets, deposits

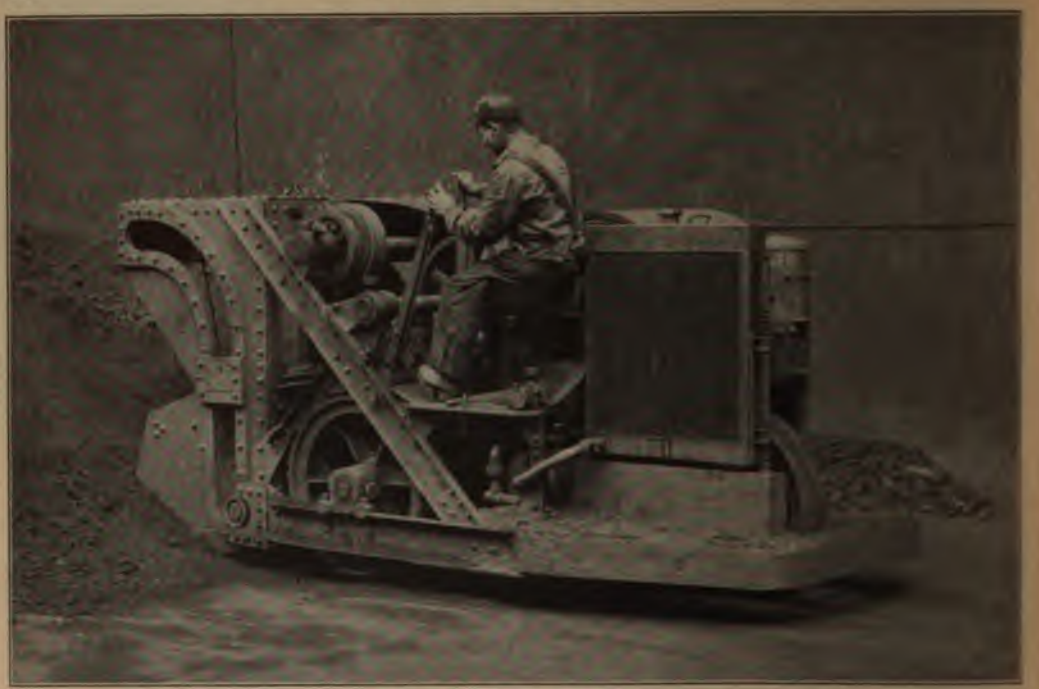
SELF-CLEANING TRAVELING WATER SCREENS
They consist essentially of wire screening baskets mounted on two strands of chain belt

them in a trough from which they are flushed into the river on the downstream side. The cleaning of the screen baskets after they pass over the head sprockets is effected by having a spray pipe running back of the screen baskets, which enables a continuous spray of water to pass through the screens from the back side to the front side, thus carrying away the particles which would naturally adhere to the screen.

IMPROVED DRAINING PLOW

THIS implement has been designed for the heaviest class of work, and its makers say it will mole to a depth of 3 feet 6 inches. It is constructed entirely of wrought iron and steel, and has a platform at the back for the steersman. It has a special winch for raising and lowering the beam, which is constructed of steel angle irons with a large bearing surface underneath. The implement has an extra strong colter and core, and in light work can be drawn with a single rope; but it is fitted with a large pulley for working with the

AN IMPROVED DRAINING PLOW
The bullet-like appendage, or core, between the rear wheels is sunk in the ground and hauled forward by a plowing engine, making a drain which the water reaches via a slit in the ground made by the blade-like attachment, or colter



FOR USE IN VESSEL HOLDS

A power-driven shovel that moves material which cannot be reached by the unloading grabs in the unloading of a vessel, thus eliminating the necessity of shoveling by hand

rope doubled in very deep or hard ground. The operation is a very simple one. A sharp colter is fixed on a raising and lowering beam; the colter carries on its bottom end a hard steel mole or core resembling an artillery projectile. This core is lowered into the ground by the adjustable beam, and is hauled from one end of the field to the other by a plowing engine. In its course it opens out a way for itself, displacing the soil or clay all round, which is forced outward and compressed so that it forms a hard, solid, circular hole. The colter in its forward passage makes a sort of slit or opening, which soon closes on the surface, but permits the moisture to sink down into the drain, whence it runs to the master drain which carries it away.

SCRAPER-SHOVEL FOR VESSEL HOLDS

IN THE mechanical unloading of ore and coal boats there is always a certain amount of material that lies between the hatches and cannot be reached without difficulty by the unloading grabs. *The purpose of this machine is to move the* material to a position under the hatch opening thereby doing away with hand shovelers.

The machine is equipped with a high-powered gasolene engine which gives it motive power and operates a shovel located at the front end. When the shovel is raised to its highest point it is in a dumping position and its load falls out. The entire mechanism is mounted on two rubber-tired driving wheels with a third wheel at the rear which serves as a trailer and steering wheel.

TO PROTECT PAPER IN TRANSIT

A crimped sheet metal band that fits snugly on the top and side edges of a roll of paper

TO PROTECT ROLLS OF PAPER

A USEFUL device to prevent damage to a heavy roll of paper from the time it leaves the mill until it is delivered to the pressman has recently been placed on the market.

It consists of a sheet metal circular band, and is made slightly smaller in circumference than the standard-sized paper rolls, so that when adjusted in the paper mill it fits the roll snugly. The band is crimped at right angles, thus protecting top and side edges of the paper roll in transit.

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

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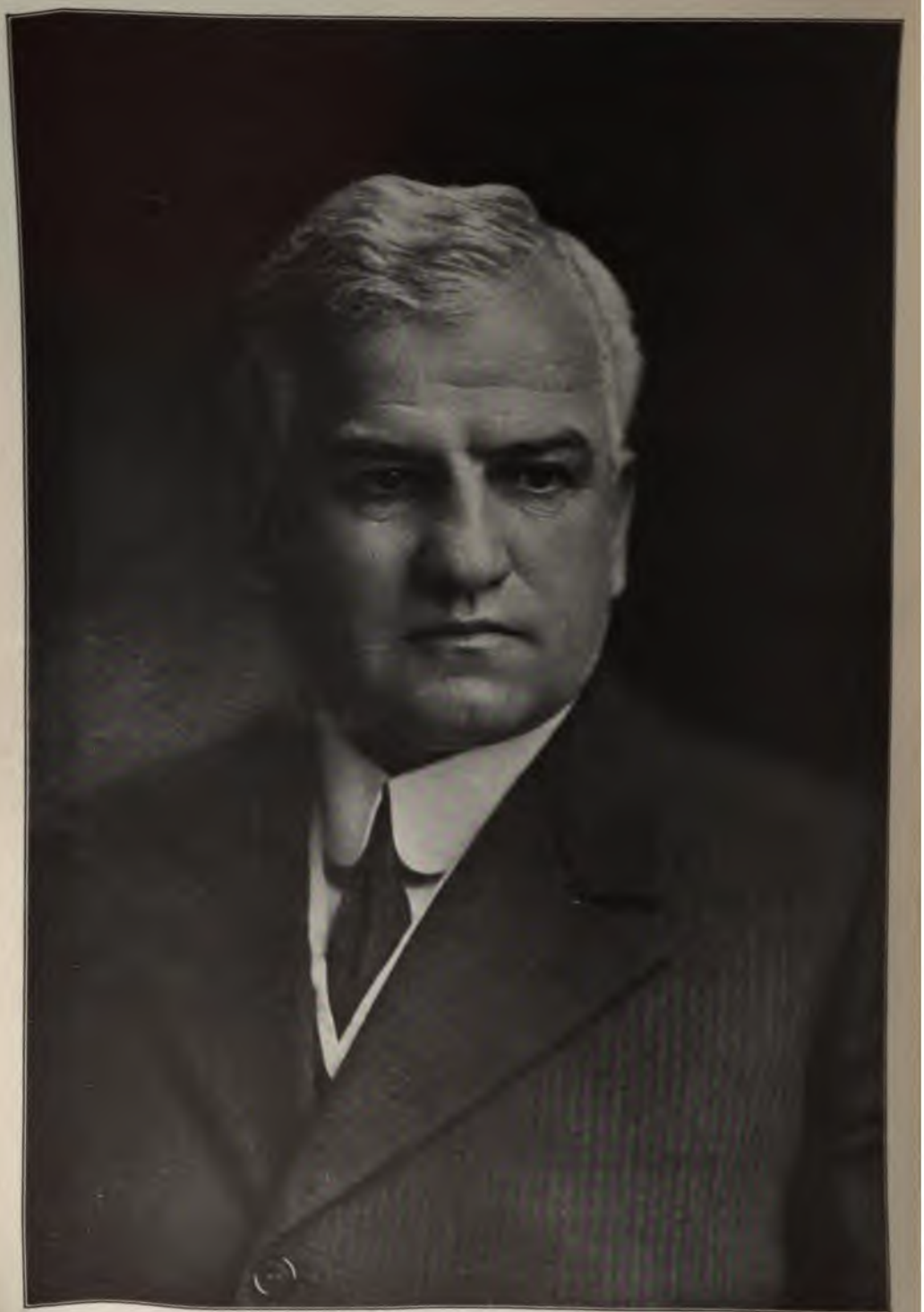

JUSTICE JOHN H. CLARKE

OF CLEVELAND, O., THE NEW FEDERAL SUPREME COURT JUSTICE, WHO REPRESENTS THE PROGRESSIVE ELEMENT IN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. MR. CLARKE UNSUCCESSFULLY RAN FOR THE SENATE AGAINST MARK HANNA IN 1903, AND SUPPORTED "TOM" JOHNSON IN HIS ANTI-CORPORATION CAMPAIGNS

THE
WORLD'S WORK

SEPTEMBER, 1916

VOLUME XXXII NUMBER 5

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

THE United States is not held in the high esteem it was when the war began. We have lost prestige. And prestige is not a useless bauble. It is the respect of the world for a nation which gives that nation the power to get justice for its own citizens and to advance the cause of humanity and civilization in international affairs.

The impression of our inconstancy grew when our Congressional leaders stated that more than half of the House of Representatives were in favor of giving up the rights several times affirmed by the Government as a measure of expediency to maintain peace. Foreign representatives even got the impression that the Administration could not count upon the support of the people, that a certain small and vociferous part of the population was openly treasonable, and that the large population of the Mississippi Valley looked upon American rights at sea from their local, not from a national, point of view, and, not being personally affected, they cared little about the matter.

Moreover, this opinion of us was admitted with chagrin by many of our own citizens, and was further strengthened by our failure to make military and naval preparations in an effective manner. For a nation that *is patient and prepared* may be credited with humanitarian motives, but a nation that will accept insult and injury without giving evidence of an ability to act efficiently must expect to have its words discounted.

Not only our prestige abroad but our confidence in our institutions is somewhat shaken. No other people felt that they had a better opportunity to make of themselves a united, homogeneous, and effective nation under a democratic form of government. We hoped to show the world that a free government was the effective and disinterested champion of justice. We have found that we are not entirely united or homogeneous and that we are far from effective, that we are more apt to be loyal to locality than to the Nation. We, therefore, may pray that our leadership will turn its every energy toward making the National Administration the responsible framer of our laws and budgets and not have it done in a local spirit by district representatives; that it will make us realize our obligations as well as our rights by training every man to help defend his country—in arms or industry; that it will put justice above peace and will nationalize our thought, and organize our industry so that when an opportunity to serve humanity comes to us we shall have the perception to recognize it and the courage and ability to act.

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MR. HERBERT QUICK

FORMERLY EDITOR OF "FARM AND FIRESIDE," WHO, WITH MR. CHARLES E. LOBDELL, MR. GEORGE W. NORRIS, AND MR. WILLIAM S. A. SMITH, HAS RECENTLY BEEN APPOINTED BY PRESIDENT WILSON AS A MEMBER OF THE FARM LOAN BOARD IN CHARGE OF THE NEW FARM LOAN SYSTEM CREATED BY THE PASSAGE OF THE RURAL CREDITS BILL

SENATOR FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS OF NEVADA

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CHAIRMAN OF THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO INVESTIGATE THE
LROAD PROBLEM, WHICH HAS REACHED A CRITICAL STATE CHIEFLY FROM BAD FINA
CONFLICT OF REGULATION BY THE STATE AND FEDERAL COMMISSIONS

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THE MAYOR OF NEW YORK

MR. JOHN PURROY MITCHEL, WHO HAS USED AN EXCEPTIONALLY LARGE NUMBER OF EXPERTS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CITY AND SO GIVEN IT PERHAPS THE FINEST ADMINISTRATION IT HAS EVER HAD

[See page 513]

DR. CHARLES H. MAYO

RECENTLY ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION; ONE OF THE FAMOUS "MAYO BROTHERS," WHO STAND HIGH AMONG THE WORLD'S GREATEST SURGEONS AND WHOSE INSTITUTION AT ROCHESTER, MINN., IS ONE OF THE GREAT MEDICAL CENTRES

MR. ABRAM I. ELKUS

A NEW YORK LAWYER, RECENTLY APPOINTED BY PRESIDENT WILSON AND CONFIRMED BY THE SENATE TO SUCCEED MR. HENRY MORGENTHAU AS AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN CONSTANTINOPLE

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country, can, and should, maintain our fortunate freedom from entanglements with interests and policies which do not concern us. But there is no national isolation in the world of the twentieth century.

If at the close of the present war the nations are ready to undertake practicable measures in the common interest in order to secure international justice, we cannot fail to recognize our international duty. The peace of the world is our interest as well as the interest of others, and in developing the necessary agencies for the prevention of war we shall be glad to have an appropriate share. And our preparedness will have proper relation to this end as well as to our own immediate security.

The last sentence of this quotation is particularly true, for other nations have already intimated that they would not be interested in a League to Enforce Peace in which they were to do all the enforcing and we to enjoy all the peace.

II

The second part of Mr. Hughes's speech was confined to domestic affairs, and it lapsed with some exceptions into the rather ordinary partisan political discourse.

Mr. Hughes painted this picture of our industrial competitors after the war:

With the end of the war there will be the new conditions determined by a new Europe. Millions of men in the trenches will then return to work. The energies of each of the now belligerent nations, highly trained, will then be turned to production. These are days of terrible discipline for the nations at war, but it must not be forgotten that each is developing a national solidarity, a knowledge of method, a realization of capacity, hitherto unapproached. In each, the lessons of coöperation now being learned will never be forgotten. Friction and waste have been reduced to a minimum; labor and capital have a better understanding, business organization is more highly developed and more intelligently directed than ever before. We see in each of these nations a marvelous national efficiency. Let it not be supposed that this efficiency will not count when Europe, once more at peace, pushes its productive powers to the utmost limit.

On the other hand, in this country, with the stoppage of the manufacture of munitions, a host of men will be turned out of employment. We must meet the most severe competition in *industry. We are undisciplined*, defective in *organization, industrially* unprepared.

What is his remedy? To discipline and organize ourselves to meet foreign competition? No. His remedy is to put a sufficient tariff on imports to keep out the products which these energized nations will make, so that our manufacturers can continue to be undisciplined, defective in organization, loosely knit, industrially unprepared, at the public expense. Mr. Hughes says he wishes to do this scientifically. The most scientific way of making this abuse complete is to let the manufacturers write the tariff on their own products. And if all this is done, as Mr. Hughes says, to help the workingman, why not give him the help direct? Why pass it through his employer's hands. This part of Mr. Hughes's speech is old-fashioned political buncombe in the defense of privilege.

On the other hand his advocacy of a federal workingmen's compensation law for those engaged in labor in interstate business is a direct proposal to create proper conditions of labor, and it is wise to put this aspect of interstate business under federal control so that it may be uniform and just.

"I favor the vote for women." Mr. Hughes is right in his opinion that woman suffrage is coming, but it is perhaps wiser to allow each state to decide on woman suffrage as it has other suffrage matters.

Mr. Hughes announced his belief in a budget prepared by the Executive, but he passed over this subject with so little emphasis that it is hard to believe that he realizes the vital necessity of this reform, not merely to save money but as an essential to the establishment of a responsible national-minded Federal Government that is able to act efficiently without the benumbing and corrupting interference of local greed.

Yet in spite of its drawbacks Mr. Hughes's speech does help clarify the issues. Mr. Hughes stands for a stronger foreign policy and better national defense, and in domestic affairs a return to privilege that will be more or less aggravated as the Old Guard or he gains the upper hand.

Mr. Wilson stands for a patient and waiting diplomacy and p[illegible]l n[illegible]ed-ness, but no return to pr[illegible]

THE NATIONAL GUARD DEMONSTRATES SOME FACTS

EVER since the National Guard started to the border there has appeared column after column of newspaper reports about their hardships in travel, lack of food, unsuitable clothing, and similar complaints. The National Guard has been held up as a model of inefficiency, and the Regular Army has been blamed for faulty transportation and commissariat. The Hay federalization plan has been condemned by the showing of the Guard, and the Administration has been criticised for its lack of preparation for a contingency which was possible at any time during the last year or two.

In the midst of all this criticism, General Bliss on the border made an inspection of the National Guard and reported favorably upon its condition and its spirit.

The whole question seems to be involved in contradiction. In reality it is not so. The facts are fairly plain. When the President issued his call for the National Guard several things became obvious.

The plans for a mobilization of the Guard were not perfected and had never been practised, so it took us longer to get 100,000 men together than it would have taken Switzerland or France or Holland to get together five times that number.

The National Guard even after it got together was not equipped for active duty. The regiments were generally unequipped with transport service. The artillery and cavalry were largely without horses. There were few proper medical units, and practically no machine guns or aeroplanes.

The men themselves had had various degrees of training in marksmanship and small manœuvres, but most of their work had been done indoors.

In many vital ways, therefore, they were unready for active service. But they were in much better shape than the Guard was in 1898 and, considering the conditions of their training, they made a creditable showing. But, of course, these men of various ages with comparatively little experience of camp life and almost no previous military hardening found conditions somewhat severe when they landed in the border camps under a torrid sun after the long journey to and through Texas.

As soon as the troops began to leave for the border, other deficiencies in the Guard began to appear. Dependent women and children began to come to the armories for relief, and the newspapers printed notices of the business houses which were paying their Guardsmen employees' salaries while they were absent. These troubles came from the fact that the Guard was made up largely of men with dependents and a well-defined economic status. There were, of course, in the country several times 100,000 physically as good or better soldiers than the Guardsmen, of proper age and without dependents, who should properly have been doing the soldiering.

The improper constituency of the Guard was partially recognized even by the Secretary of War when he gave the married Guardsmen permission to return home.

So while General Bliss could truthfully report that the Guard regiments which he inspected on the border were in good camps, with proper sanitation, well supplied with food, and that they were well drilled and soldierly looking, neither he nor any one else conversant with the Guard is under the impression that it consists of the men who ought to be on the border or that it has had the training or even now has the equipment which it should have.

Moreover, the operation of the Hay federalization plan coincident with calling the Guard for border duty worked a serious injustice to many Guardsmen. Men who had enlisted in the National Guard for local duty were confronted with the choice of joining the United States Army for six years or living under the suspicion of being cowards and shirkers. For the federalization oath was given in most regiments so as practically to leave the Guardsmen little choice. This was not a serious matter to the young and unencumbered, but it did result in mustering in for border service many older men with dependents whom the country should not properly have called in the first hundred thousand.

While Canada with its 7½ million inhabitants is pushing its resources to the limit and has enlisted 350,000 soldiers, it

takes only those married men whose wives consent, while we, with 100 million population, in mobilizing 100,000 Guardsmen for service on the border, send married men whose families immediately need relief.

The Guard as a system of national defense is obviously unfit, and the Administration cannot escape the just blame to which it is entitled for its sins of omission in failing to provide a better system and its sins of commission in trying under the Hay bill to make the Guard our permanent main reliance for military defense.

There are three obvious defects in the Hay bill which almost entirely invalidate its usefulness:

It divides authority between the Federal Government and the states despite the fact that the defense of the Nation is obviously a federal matter and that the divided authority means inefficiency and waste; and by the voluntary system it does not necessarily first draw to the colors the young men of proper military training and few responsibilities whom the state can best afford to send soldiering, but it takes men of various ages and responsibilities, so that mobilization is accomplished with the maximum instead of the minimum of disturbance and suffering. Thirdly, the method of training the Guard chiefly in armories and intermittently is needlessly expensive and entirely inadequate.

THE SPREAD OF POLIOMYELITIS

A CONTAGIOUS disease, of which thousands of intelligent Americans have never before heard, has been sweeping over the United States, especially the Eastern section. Yet medical history records more than forty previous epidemics of poliomyelitis, or infantile paralysis; in the main, however, these epidemics have affected so few people and the disease itself has been so unusual and ill defined that, so far as the popular mind is concerned, this recent visitation represents something entirely new. New York City had an experience in 1907, when about 2,500 cases were recorded; this was merely one manifestation of an epidemic, traces of which appeared in practically all parts of the world. At that time even scientific workers knew little about the disease. Investigations based upon that calamity, conducted largely by the Rockefeller Institute in New York, supplied practically all the information we possess concerning it now.

Yet probably the organism which wreaks such terrible havoc on children has existed for millions of years. Through all that period the disease has existed in what is known as endemic form—that is, as a disease which is always present, like a smouldering fire. Suddenly, for reasons unexplained—perhaps because the virus develops unusual strength—the fire blazes out, and destruction, such as we have recently seen raging about us, becomes widespread. Yet the name popularly assigned to the disease, infantile paralysis, betrays our ignorance concerning its nature. Those who gave it this name merely observed its most characteristic symptom—paralysis, and the obvious fact that it almost exclusively assails young children. In their mind, the disease was simply a true paralysis, not particularly different from the general human affliction so called. But, when experimental studies began to reveal its true nature, scientists gave it another appellation. In medical literature to-day the disease is always referred to as poliomyelitis. An analysis of the Greek words making up this composite gives a fair description of this affliction. It is an inflammation of the anterior gray matter of the spinal cord. As the spinal cord regulates muscular action, the paralysis, which is the disease's most conspicuous symptom, is explained. When the inflammation goes so far that there is a degeneration of spinal tissue this paralysis becomes permanent. Eight years ago, though there were plenty of signs that the disease was contagious, there was no absolute proof. That proof was definitely supplied when Dr. Simon Flexner and Dr. Hideyo Noguchi, of the Rockefeller Institute, succeeded in imprisoning in the culture tube the organism that caused it.

In addition to the fact that this discovery yielded the secret of another disease, it had the utmost scientific interest. Up to date, the laboratories had un-

covered only the grossest and most obvious infective agents. It was comparatively easy to isolate the organisms of pneumonia, typhoid, diphtheria, and other every-day infections, for these organisms were the giants of the microscopic world —so huge in size that they stand out distinctly on the microscopic slide. Besides these Gargantuan micro-organisms, there are many more so exceedingly minute that no microscope can detect them. No one has ever discovered the guilty agents in smallpox, scarlet fever, or chicken-pox; Pasteur hunted for years for the hydrophobia germ, but died without finding it. There is a powerful mechanism known as the Berkefield filter; though this holds back nearly all the known microbes, these other mysterious and minute races easily pass through its microscopic meshes. For this reason they are known as the filterable viruses. The poliomyelitis germ, like that of smallpox and scarlet fever, was a filterable virus. The isolation of one of these agents, therefore, opened a new day in bacteriology.

The same studies revealed the fact that the virus entered the body through the nasal and throat passages. So far as the experimenters could discover, it did not exist in the blood—a fact which seems to dispose of the possibility that a biting insect may transmit the infection. The laboratory made little headway in obtaining a serum, largely because the monkey is the only animal, besides man, to which the disease can be transmitted and the monkey is not a useful animal from which to obtain a serum. No one has yet discovered—and this is the fact that makes sanitary control so difficult—the way in which the disease is carried from one human being to another. The fact that poliomyelitis is usually, though not invariably, associated with poverty and uncleanly surroundings carries its lesson. The death rate in the present epidemic appears to be about 20 per cent.—much lower than is generally supposed. We also have the encouraging statement of Dr. Flexner that complete recoveries—recoveries, that is, without physical or mental disal more numerous than most

BUILDING ZONES IN NEW YORK

NEW YORK CITY has taken a step which really signifies a new era in urban civilization. It has abolished the *laissez-faire* principle in city development. Practically all American cities, New York among them, have grown in easy-going, haphazard fashion. Their external aspects picture that lawlessness that most observers regard as the greatest defect of the American character. The owner of a plot of ground has enjoyed almost complete liberty to "improve" it, irrespective of the rights of his neighbors or of the community. He could erect a skyscraper which, by cutting out light and air, would render almost valueless adjoining property. His tenants could utilize the property for any purpose that was not definitely forbidden by the fire and health laws, irrespective of its effect upon the beauty or commercial advantages of the town.

New York has now adopted an orderly if somewhat complicated series of building laws. In the congested downtown office district, buildings in future can attain a height of only two and a half times the width of the street. This will permit buildings of perhaps twenty stories. In other parts of the city they can go only so high as the street is wide. The new laws contain numerous exceptions and provisos that need not be detailed here; the important fact is that the largest municipality in this country has decided to exercise a restraining hand upon the land owners and speculators—to prevent them from injuring permanently the health, the business interests, and the artistic value of the city.

Even more important is the new system of "zoning." As in most American cities, the indiscriminate mixture of business, manufacturing, and residential districts has had the most disastrous consequences. Hardly had people selected one section as a desirable place to make their homes when the sweatshops would establish themselves in the same location. New York has now divided the city into residential, business, and unrestricted zones. In the future only buildings intended for

human habitation can be erected in the first; only business buildings—from which manufacturing or industrial establishments are specifically excluded—in the second; whereas any kind of a building not prohibited by law can be erected in the third.

What precipitated this wholesome innovation was the rapid encroachment of the wholesale clothing industry upon the city's most ornate business avenue. Twenty-five or thirty years ago practically all the clothing factories were located on the East Side. Thence they found their way to lower Broadway. Huge loft buildings, housing thousands of workers in the needle trades, rapidly drove out the retail shops. About fifteen years ago these same industries surrounded the lower part of Fifth Avenue. The beautiful old houses of the Knickerbocker aristocracy were dismantled and great clothing factories occupied their sites. Twenty-third Street, which for years had been perhaps the city's finest shopping thoroughfare, became one huge industrial chaos. The large department stores and high-class shops fled from these sections and established themselves on Fifth Avenue, from about Twenty-seventh to Fiftieth streets. This part of the avenue became transformed into a street of unusual brilliance—according to many observers, the finest shopping section in the world. Two or three years ago the city awoke to the unfortunate fact that clothing factories were encroaching on this area at an alarming rate. In a few years more, unless radical steps were taken, this magnificent avenue would become a hideous ruin.

New York has now taken this radical step; the new zoning system prohibits the future construction of manufacturing plants in the district extending roughly from Fourth to Sixth avenues and from Twenty-third to Fifty-ninth streets. Moreover, a campaign started to persuade manufacturers already located there to move into the new manufacturing zone has met with great success. The fact that a great municipality has thus chosen to subject itself to discipline and orderly progress augurs well for the improvement of *general urban conditions, spiritual as well as physical, in this country.*

INSURING SPECULATIONS BY ARMS

SENATOR LA FOLLETE, i speech against armaments in Senate, said among other thi

"I think that American people wh into Mexico go there to make big mon to speculate. I believe every man f this country who goes into a foreign l looking for profits should accept the law that Government as an arbiter for his rig

"The thing that attracts most Ameri to Mexico is the great wealth of natura sources, where an investment of $100 will buy property worth $1,000,000 und stable Government. This new doct that the flag should follow the investm of a citizen means that the Governm will follow up the speculator and make investment worth face value. . . .

"I sincerely hope the standard beare the Republican Party in this campaign not feel himself constrained to take position that it is the duty of this Gov ment to put the flag of the United St behind the investment of speculators Mexico and elsewhere. President Wi declared, in his speech at Detroit, he w not stand for that policy and would not come the collecting agent of foreign vestors in Mexico."

This course of argument appeals to m people who have no foreign investm and who are not engaged directly in for trade. It has sufficient truth in it to plausible and enough error to be misl ing. It is worth examining.

The Senator is undoubtedly right w he said that the Americans who are Mexico went there to make big money, as the Senator's Scandinavian and Ger constituents went to Wisconsin for the s reason. There is nothing wrong in desire to make big money.

In the second place, in the prevalent cussion of how to enlarge our export tr we have been counseled time after tim send men to foreign countries wh settle down and study conditions a American goods. There can, then, be ing wrong in Americans going outsi own country even if they do go i of big profits.

The Senator is, of course, correct when he says that when an American goes to another country he should accept the laws of that new Government as an arbiter for his rights. But the Senator did not finish the thought and explain to what arbiter the American in foreign countries was to appeal when the laws cease and anarchy reigns. If the American Government disinherits its citizens under such conditions, the logical result is the encouragement of anarchy wherever Americans own property in countries of somewhat unsettled conditions, for that property need not be protected but could be confiscated and looted at pleasure. And if property is not protected lives are likely to be sacrificed with the property, as has happened in Mexico. If the flag is to shed the responsibility for the lives of Americans as well as their property when they leave our borders, we should have evolved a policy of expatriating all our foreign investments and export trade and sending forth our oversea traders and investors as men without a country. And shortly we should see all our intercourse with the rest of the world in the hands of foreigners.

Yet there is much truth in the Senator's contentions. There are traders and speculators who try to pull their nation into wars that will be profitable to themselves. Professor Millioud has shown the influence of German foreign trade and investment on the causes of the present Great War. There is little question that British subjects seeking large profits dragged their Government into an unjustifiable war in South Africa. There are probably Americans who would try to precipitate intervention in Mexico for their private profit.

It does not seem wise to abandon Americans and their money as soon as they leave our shores, nor, as the other extreme, to let an adventurous and unscrupulous trader lead the nation into war for his profit.

There is a middle course in which we can convince other nations that we will protect American lives and property from lawless destruction no matter where they are, even to using the Army and Navy for that purpose, but that we shall not use any such occasion to acquire more territory. In other words if conditions in Mexico do not improve, we may have to intervene there as we did in Cuba, which does not mean to "follow up the speculator and make his investment worth face value."

II

The reign of anarchy has destroyed so much property of foreigners in Mexico that even if Carranza or any one else were to establish a fair approximation of order a more difficult financial task would almost surely follow.

One of the complaints against President Diaz was that he had allowed the most valuable opportunities in Mexico to get into foreigners' hands in his efforts to get the country developed. This was true for the fundamental reason that the foreigners were in more cases the only people with the vision, ability, and credit to use the opportunities. During the Huerta-Villa-Zapata-Carranza régime millions of dollars' worth of these foreign enterprises have been destroyed and many foreigners have been killed. When order is restored one of the first things which the Mexican Government will face will be a tremendous bill for all this damage. The claims will be enough to be a great burden financially even if they had no political entanglements. But they will have a political bearing. The Mexican people who have themselves suffered terribly from the reign of anarchy could hardly be expected to look with enthusiasm upon the payment of a large proportion of their taxes to the foreigners who had the best opportunities in Mexico while they themselves got no redress for their losses and the state revenues were insufficient to meet the many and pressing domestic needs of the Government.

The usual way of rehabilitating the credit of a country in such a predicament is for one of the richer nations to furnish a loan. But such loans are not usually forthcoming unless the army and navy of the lending nation is prepared to see that the loan is not repudiated. The loans which Germans and to a lesser extent the French had made to the Black Republic of Haiti were of such size and under such conditions that the payment was practically impossible, and except for American intervention they would almost certainly have

led to the taking over of the country as a payment for the debt.

Carranza has made the ingenious and indefensible proposal that all foreigners who own property in Mexico must either sell their property or become Mexican citizens. If he could carry out this idea, he would be id of the danger of foreign pressure to collect debts. But he cannot put this idea into practice, for it amounts to confiscation, and neither we nor any other nation will allow that.

The Mexican problem begins with the establishment of order. The reincarnation of Mexican credit follows, and then comes the long experiment of whether the Mexicans are able to take a sufficient part in the development of their rich country to prevent foreigners from owning and controlling its agriculture, commerce, industry, and finance, for, in the long run, if these are in alien hands distrust and disorder ensue and the control of government passes also. Our sincere desire not to take Cuba resulted in our withdrawing after two interventions had become necessary. But if Cuba had not risen to the opportunity and attended to her own affairs, and had frequent interventions been necessary, no repugnance at the prospect of terminating a free government would have prevented the eventual absorption of the island by the United States when it became evident that it could not maintain its liberty in order.

FROM A PAST WAR

THE French Ambassador, M. Jusserand, has done us a good and timely service in the publication of his book, "With Americans of Past and Present Days." In the first part of it, called "Rochambeau and the French in America," is an account of the origin of the French expedition which came to help the American colonies and whose help alone made possible the capture of Yorktown which decided the war. In thinking of our success in the Revolution we do not often realize that of the 16,000 men in Washington's army at Yorktown, 7,000 were French and that the sailors of De Grasse's fleet, without which the whole operation would have been impossible, swelled the French numbers so that they actually outnumbered the Americans.

But the French Ambassador's account does not stress this point. His main theme is the fact that so many of the French were men who volunteered to fight for the idea of liberty, not so much for America as for France, or against England as for an abstract principle which they regarded as right. The opinions which M. Jusserand quotes on this point are extremely interesting now that the conflict of autocracy and democracy is again in open strife:

> The Americans, according to Turgot, must be free, not only for their own sake, but for the sake of humanity; an experiment of the utmost import was about to begin, and should succeed. He added this, the worthy forecast of a generous mind: "It is impossible not to form wishes for that people to reach the utmost prosperity it is capable of. That people is the hope of mankind. It must show to the world by its example that men can be free and tranquil, and can do without the chains that tyrants and cheats of all garb have tried to lay on them under pretense of public good. It must give the example of political liberty, religious liberty, commercial and industrial liberty. The shelter which it is going to offer to the oppressed of all nations will console the earth. The ease with which men will be able to avail themselves of it and escape the effects of a bad government will oblige governments to open their eyes and to be just. The rest of the world will perceive by degrees the emptiness of the illusions on which politicians have festered." Toward England Turgot has a feeling of regret on account of its policies, but no trace of animosity; and, on the contrary, the belief that, in spite of what some people of note were alleging, the absolutely certain loss of her American colonies would not result in a diminution of her power. "This resolution will prove, maybe, as profitable to you as to America."
>
> Not less characteristic of the times and of the same thinker's turn of mind is a brief memorial written by him for the King shortly after, when Captain Cook was making his third voyage of discovery, the one from which he never returned. "Captain Cook," Turgot said, "is probably on his way back to Europe. His expedition having no other object than the progress of human knowledge, and interesting, therefore, all nations, it would be worthy of the King's magnanimity not to allow that the result be jeopardized by the chances of war." Orders should be given to all French naval officers "to

from any hostile act against him or his d allow him to freely continue his navi- and to treat him in every respect as the is to treat the officers and ships of neu- l friendly countries." The King as- and had our cruisers notified of the sort d character which they would have to e in that ship of the enemy; a small fact but showing the difference between the those days and in ours.

gether it is a pleasant book to read ll of facts which are particularly ant with comparisons and contrasts e present time.

MORAL STANDARD FOR CONGRESS

HE medical and legal professions re has long existed a professional ndard of ethics which, despite many has been of tremendous service in the standards of these occupations. vertising business has lately adopted cal constitution. What is termed rial courtesy in the upper house of ss might be transformed into a use- fessional standard. But the House esentatives is in need of taking hold question more drastically and creat- itself such a standard.

e recent occurrences indicate the it.

William S. Bennet, elected by the of the Twenty-third District of New part of New York City, to repre- eir intelligence and morals in making r the welfare of the Union, so mis- ed his function as to introduce a " into the appropriation bill de- to open the way for a large con- or food at Ellis Island to go to a y which previously had retained counsel to help it maintain this ontract. It was obviously a most er act, yet the House of Repre- ves took no notice of it.

ressman Frank Buchanan, from the h District of Illinois, which includes of Chicago, was indicted by the Jury for plotting against the United in the interest of Germany. The of Representatives, instead of feel- grin that one of the body had so far departed from his patriotic duty, not to mention the ethics of his position, instead lent themselves to a contempt proceedings against District Attorney Marshall, who had Mr. Buchanan indicted. Mr. Marshall's opinion of the House may be technically in contempt, but if the House had had a proper standard it would have itself assumed an attitude toward Mr. Buchanan which would have left no occasion for Mr. Marshall's very righteous indignation.

When the Colonel and the Lieutenant-Colonel of the Sixty-ninth Regiment of the New York National Guard were discharged from the service because of physical disability, half a dozen New York Congressmen and Senator O'Gorman rushed to see the President and the Secretary of War to have the officers reinstated. This is exactly the kind of activity which is common in the Post Office Department, but it should be evident that even if we have never been able to emancipate the postal service from political influence, it is both indefensible morally and dangerous to the Nation to have the appointment, promotion, or retention of the officers in the Army affected by the political influence of Senators and Representatives.

The Representative body of the Nation certainly ought not to acquiesce in its members using their official position to try to enact legislation for the benefit of former clients, nor as a cloak for unpatriotic activities, nor as an opportunity to throw the monkey-wrench of politics into the wheels of Army efficiency, which run none too smoothly anyway.

THE MEDIOCRITY OF VICE-PRESIDENTIAL TIMBER

AS VICE-PRESIDENT during Mr. Roosevelt's term in the White House, Mr. Charles W. Fairbanks made little impression on the public. The newspapers made fun of his tall form and frigid manners and the rest of the public catalogued him as a politician of little more than mediocre ability and of regular Republican antecedents and possibilities—certainly not a man who was big enough to be in the White House.

His nomination again by the Republican

Party may be an encouragement to the political machine, but it adds nothing to the attractiveness of the Republican ticket in the eyes of the independent voters. To the progressive-minded who believe in Presidential leadership the possibility of Mr. Fairbanks as President indeed is a dismal spectacle.

Nor is there anything more attractive about the possibility of Mr. Marshall's becoming President. He plays no part in our national life. His personality is discounted by the public. His speeches receive no serious recognition. His ideas are perhaps more original than those of Mr. Fairbanks but not more reassuring.

The theory upon which we have a Vice-President is that we shall have available in case of the President's death or impeachment a man capable and worthy to take the position. Our practice differs from the principle. The position of political impotence which we have made of the Vice-Presidency is not attractive to strong men, and so it happens that as a rule the Vice-Presidential candidates compare unfavorably not only with Presidential candidates but also with many other leaders of their party. They do not rank second best, but far below that among men in political life. The office of Vice-President has failed of its purpose, and it needs to be changed so that the Presidential succession is not almost certainly doomed to mediocrity.

FARM MORTGAGE BANKERS AND BROKERS

Every month the WORLD'S WORK *publishes in this part of the magazine an article on experience with investments and lessons to be drawn therefrom*

A WISCONSIN attorney was prompted recently, by the frequent references to Western mortgages he had seen in the news of finance and investment, to write "a little bit of autobiography," in which he made some very timely suggestions for buyers of that class of securities.

His letter was particularly apropos of the following reference to the general causes that led up to the collapse of the early '90's in the farm mortgage field:

> The principal cause was that the mortgage business had been tremendously overdone. Investors generally knew little in those days about how to judge underlying values . . . and in the East especially there had been so much indiscriminate buying that many of the reputable loan agents themselves became careless, while scores of unscrupulous adventurers were tempted into the business. The result was a condition which precluded even a slight resistance to the financial panic which came along in 1893. . . . But conditions have changed to such an extent as to make it difficult to conceive of a repetition of widespread disaster in this field of investment. Land values have become stabilized, and the development of mortgage banking along scientific lines may be said to have been both the cause and the effect of the growth of a highly discriminating class of investors in mortgages.

The attorney recalled that, in 1893, he was supplementing his professional work by negotiating loans on farms in his vicinity. At that time, he had had thirteen years' experience in the business, which he had started by making investments for a few personal friends whom he had known in the East before following Horace Greeley's advice in 1877.

In making his loans, the young lawyer followed the practice that was then universal of charging the borrowers a commission for obtaining the funds, requiring them to furnish proof of clear titles, verified appraisals, etc., and to pay all incidental expenses. The unusual demand for money to develop farms had made the business profitable, and, in his efforts to increase it, he explained that whenever he got in correspondence with an Eastern investor

tpressed doubt about the value of the :ies he could furnish, he offered to ıtee their collection without loss or ıe, on the condition that he should re- ; compensation all interest collected ɛss of a specified rate.

; practice, the attorney said, un- ɛdly made him more cautious, but, :he 1893 panic came, he found he had l mortgages on his books amounting rly a million dollars, of which about ɔre his personal guarantee. He said l always taken pride in the fact that e of his clients had lost a dollar. He hem fully informed about conditions, ;ked and obtained many extensions ıe, but in the end was able to pay ıll in full. In a few instances he had f made the final payments after hav- ken title to the mortgaged farms, of which he found it necessary to for several years.

recollection was that he himself had t come out even, but he said the hard d him eventually to quit the business y, although in later years he had ɔnally invested in farm mortgages at ;tance of some old acquaintance.

lesson of his experience, the attorney ɛd, was this: that "there is some- wrong about the principle involved investors send money for investment :tgages to people whose sole interest transactions is to get as liberal com- ns as possible for acting as agents of ɔrrowers." The tendency in such he pointed out, could not be other- ıan toward accepting scant security; ıat even if that tendency were over- as it doubtless was in many instances character and sense of responsibility loan agents, it was something to be ıed with by every one contemplating ment in farm mortgages.

had observed, however, that there mortgage dealers in the West who ed the practice of advancing their ıoney to borrowers on the security of and, subsequently selling the mort- to investors, on whose behalf they :ook to act in the collection of in- and in looking after all the other in- al details throughout the life of the :hey made. This, he said, seemed to him to be the sound way of carrying on the business. He concluded by saying:

> It is possible, of course, for such organizations to be fraudulent in character, but a very little investigation ought to be sufficient to satisfy one whether he is dealing with an agency that is financially responsible and honorably managed; and the result of such investigation being satisfactory, it would seem that Western mortgages on farm lands, negotiated in that way, ought to be desirable investments, especially as it is still possible to get such mortgages to yield the investor from 5 to 7 per cent.

The main point which the Wisconsin attorney made in recounting his experience, namely, that there is an essential difference between the farm mortgage banker, properly so called, and the farm loan broker, is one to which it is timely to call attention.

There are three particulars in which the banker's relation to the mortgages he offers provides a peculiar kind of assurance for his clients. First, if he is to make loans with his own funds, he must obviously be possessed of capital—the evidence of his financial responsibility. Second, in loaning his own funds without any definite assurance in advance that he will be able to turn his capital over by finding investors to buy the mortgages he takes, he will naturally look the more sharply to obtain adequate security for both principal and interest. And third, to conduct the business in that way, he must have a permanent organization, an organization so equipped as to enable him to handle intelligently and effectively every detail of making and supervising his mortgages.

However honest and conscientious a mere loan broker may be, it is the rule, as the attorney's letter suggests, that he lacks financial responsibility, at least in the sense of having involved any of his own capital with which to provide the safeguards that he would expect and demand if he were in the investor's position. And he almost invariably lacks the equipment for rendering distant clients the kind of service which experience has shown to be an essential of satisfactory mortgage investment.

The story of the farm mortgage phase of the panic of 1893 would not have been one of almost universal collapse had more of the business previous to that time been con-

centrated in the hands of bankers organized as perhaps the majority are organized at the present time; or even if more of the loan brokers of those days had possessed the courage and stick-to-it-iveness which the Wisconsin lawyer must have had.

The trouble was that, when values went to pieces, the majority of the investors in farm mortgages found themselves dependent upon individuals who were powerless to prevent the properties from going by default, or otherwise to protect the investments. There were, of course, many failures among mortgage houses that had seemed impregnable. But, on the other hand, there are still in existence a good many organizations which found it possible to bring their clients through those trying times practically without loss. It is to such organizations that the investment world is indebted for the establishment of the high standards of negoti by which safe loans are judged.

Attention has lately been called to fact that the extraordinary growth in investment demand for farm mort during the last two years has brought a a situation in some respects similar to one which prevailed previous to the sw up of the early '90's. The tend toward the organization of concerns acquainted with the requirements of business and lacking the experience essary to discriminate between fu mentally safe and inferior mortgage been especially noticeable. So it belo the investor to take added precauti satisfy himself that the mortgage ba with whom he deals is one who has fore the dangers of the present situation who has had the resolution and abili guard his clients against them.

THE PRESIDENT ON THE INDEPENDENT VOTER

AN AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENT OF MR. WILSON'S ATTITUDE TOWARD HIS CAMP FOR REËLECTION

BY

L. AMES BROWN

FIVE million voters are ready to vote their convictions regardless of party ties in the November election. They hold the balance of power in the present national campaign. It is the belief of President Woodrow Wilson that there are enough independent voters to swing the election for or against him, and his campaign plans are being framed with it constantly in mind. Whether he or Mr. Hughes is elected in November, Mr. Wilson believes, the winner will owe his success to the fact that his character and abilities have been carefully weighed by the independent voters of the country and judged to be superior to those of his opponent.

The time has passed, Mr. Wilson believes, when either of the old poli parties constitutes a normal majorit the electorate. Talk about the cou being normally Republican in 1912, the probability of this majority reasse itself in 1916, he regards as misleadin he is convinced that the wholesome p ical condition has been established in United States wherein the political c ing of the states which decide the nati elections is dependent upon the tempo party affiliations of men who vote prim for the man of their choice regardle the ticket upon which his candidac enrolled. Never before, he believes, l party ties sat so lightly upon the co of the members of the American l politic; never before was there as la number of voters ready to disregard

ıinating machinery of their party in erence for the independent exercise the voting privilege which is their :reign right; never before has there ted a condition in which the candidate President was as certain to be subjected ın even-handed judgment of the bal- rs as Mr. Wilson and Mr. Hughes are red of this test.

hese are the views of the political mist. They represent the conviction the party spoils system after all is e, that the "pork barrel" and its low of rewards for party fealty are fficient to change or prevent desirable ıges in the political complexion of the ernment. If tenable in the face of ıment they constitute a sufficient tation of the writings of cynical tico-philosophers, who see in the mod- development of the party system the ı of the Republic's destruction.

ven if his interest in current condi- s were not sharpened by his candidacy reëlection, Mr. Wilson's standing as a ent of our institutions would com- d prestige for such an authoritative entation of his views on the inde- lent voter as I am privileged to put 'ard. The study of politics, of Amer- politics, has been both his vocation avocation since his college days. ıaps no man in public or private life ay is better prepared by knowledge of historical changes in our institutions nterpret existing conditions than is Wilson.

ROWTH OF THE INDEPENDENT VOTE

he expansion of the independent vote phenomenon of our own times. The pendent was unheard of or at least eeded in the elections which preceded election of Mr. Roosevelt to the Presi- :y in 1904. Men voted "straight" :he larger part of their lives, changed when some paramount development ıed to command a shifting of party mitments, and after the change lly remained in the party with which newly had become affiliated. Contrast a condition with that existing in the ent campaign. Five million men and ıen have entered this campaign in the best possible state of intellectual preparedness. They have begun the campaign with open minds, critical of both contestants, awaiting from the campaign a fuller unfoldment of the issues to be passed upon. They are disentangled and therefore capable of voting in the best interest of the country.

The citizen who has no more important stake in the election than the governmental welfare of the country cannot escape a feeling of satisfaction at a survey of the condition outlined. The country's future is safe in the hands of the men who compose the independent element in our politics. Withdrawal from one's party organization always is an intensely personal experience presaged by intellectual processes which produce a better understanding of issues and the responsibilities of suffrage. A man who has thrown off the party yoke is certain to be better informed as to party conditions and political happenings than he was before. His judgment upon candidates, therefore, will be more of an intellectual judgment than it would have been; it will be unclouded by personal considerations, and the ruling motive of his balloting will be the establishment of a "disentangled government" which Mr. Wilson postulated so firmly upon his own candidacy in 1912.

A CAMPAIGN BASED ON ACTUAL POLICIES

The President has well worked out ideas as to the character of the independent voter. For one thing, his conviction that there is less of partisanship in the country than ever before is not accompanied by the belief that a special sort of appeal must be made to the independent voter. He considers that the only sort of appeal which holds out any promise of securing response is one based solely upon policies and executive acts of national scope. The germ of the idea in the President's mind is that the independent voter is not a fanatic who can be lured into the Democratic fold by the scintillations of some fantastic legislation or campaign shibboleth such as "social justice," which is cited without any thought of reflecting the President's attitude toward the ideas behind that phrase.

Neither the issues nor the character of the Wilson campaign is to be altered, therefore, for the benefit of the independents; and the President does not believe such changes would be effective. According to his view, the independent voting class is not made up to considerable extent of men who are committed to the ultra-modern propagandas, whether for suffrage or single tax, prohibition or government ownership. He considers the independent as, above everything, sane and well balanced, and he believes that the bulk of the independent vote can be secured only by the candidate and party capable of holding out the more solid record of achievement and the better platform for future performances.

It is a fact, however, he believes, that the independents as a class are progressive, that one moving consideration in their repudiation of the machinery of the old parties was the extent to which the reactionary leaders had gained control of that machinery, and that the candidate most likely to receive their suffrage is he whose record and commitments savor most directly of constructiveness and forward-looking spirit.

A separate campaign organization already has been formed of those political independents who favor the reëlection of Mr. Wilson. It is known as the Wilson Independent League and numbers among its leaders some of the foremost independent political thinkers of the country. The conception of that organization met the President's approval from the very start. While it was not formed spontaneously in the sense that it originated among men who have not been committed to Mr. Wilson's political destinies for several years, it stands out as a body entirely free of the Democratic National Committee, at liberty to disregard the campaign prospects of Mr. Wilson's party colleagues who are candidates, to express its disapproval of the Congress majority and any of their enactments, in short to devote itself solely to the head of the ticket. It remains to be seen whether the organization will be a really important element in the campaign.

Sincerity will distinguish the campaign propaganda of those entrusted with the management of Mr. Wilson's appeal to the independents from ordinary political propaganda. The independent campaign will not follow up the campaign ideas of the typical political manager who concedes no virtue in the opposition and admits of no fault in his own candidate or party, whose own party has left nothing undone that it should have done and who holds the opposition incapable of anything approximating efficiency or political righteousness. The independent campaigners will be guided by the clear conviction that their task is one of more subtlety than the lining up of party voters. In the contest between Mr. Wilson and Mr. Hughes, it consists in demonstrating the superior merit of one good man to that of another admired public servant. In other words, the bulk of the Wilson independents think properly that two decent men stand before the country to be judged. One of them has a record of performance behind him. If this record is praiseworthy he deserves advantage over his opponent even though the latter be conceded to possess character and ability of a type as high as his own. The case can be rested there.

A NEW KIND OF CAMPAIGN

It is an obvious assumption that that part of the campaign with which independent leaders are concerned will be conducted upon an elevated plane. I have the same expectation regarding the whole scheme of Mr. Wilson, however, for I know that in so far as he dominates his own campaign Mr. Wilson will make it a clean one. Already it has been made evident that the contest between Mr. Wilson and Mr. Hughes, for the most part, is to have a wholesome effect upon the public mind. Preëminently the appeal of each Presidential candidate will be to the thought instead of the emotions of the country. Each of the contestants is naturally inclined and especially fitted for this sort of contest, and each is both disinclined to and unfit for a campaign of emotionalism such as Mr. Bryan and some other politicians of our time have conducted in the past.

It is to be forecast, therefore, that intellectual honesty will mould the campaign utterances of the two candidates to a greater extent than is customary in national campaigns. The natural disposition of both Mr. Hughes and Mr. Wilson is to rest upon just claims and fair statements, to reject befuddlement and mud-slinging as unworthy methods of advancing worthy considerations, to seek no undeserved triumph. And, of course, the projection of the candidacy of one of these men against that of the other produces a task of subtlety for the protagonist of Mr. Wilson, who is resolved to limit his appeal to the confines of sincerity.

DEMOCRATIC CONSTRUCTIVE ACHIEVEMENTS

The independents wisely plan to give a very important place in their campaign to a number of legislative enactments and executive recommendations procured or promulgated by Mr. Wilson, regarding which there is no considerable division of opinion in the country. The list of these measures is by no means a short one. Heading it are the two new laws relating to credit facilities—the Federal Reserve Law and the Rural Credits Law.

The most significant thing that can be said regarding the country's appreciation of the former is that no derogatory mention of it was made in the platform adopted by the Republican National Convention at Chicago. While some unfavorable comment has been made upon it, based on the allegation that it has not infused elasticity into the currency and that the reserve machinery provided by it is exceedingly costly to the banks, these criticisms have accomplished little. Paramount is the belief that it has put an end to financial panics. The truth of this assertion already has been tested in one period of financial stringency, and those who gainsay its future applicability are few. The Reserve Law has democratized credit, in the parlance of the campaign orator; or to make a more conservative and meaningful statement, it has made the utilization of credit less of a privilege and more of a right to those who have the means of commanding it. The second credit measure of Mr. Wilson's administration is that relating to agricultural credits. That measure, in one of the singular quirks of political campaigns, was condemned by the Republican Platform although a heavy majority of the Republican members of the House and Senate voted for it and did not put forward a substitute measure. The probable scope of its usefulness can be predicted from the fact that in the thirty years since the Rural Credits Law has been operative in Germany, the percentage of farmers who do not own their farms has been reduced from 50 to 10.

There is an extensive group of other measures which have appealed to the good sense of men of all parties, without achieving quite the same measure of nonpartisan approval which has been accorded the Reserve and the Rural Credits Laws. Included in this group are the Trade Commission Law and the Tariff Commission Law. Both are widely recognized as bringing a salutary influence to bear upon the industrial community. The idea of a Trade Commission is a popular one among business men and those who have studied business problems. Disagreements have arisen over the manner in which the Democrats applied the idea, but these are concerned mostly with details. The Tariff Commission plan in the abstract is thoroughly approved by the tariff protectionists. Some Democrats with a leaning to free trade theories regard it as a sinister development, but the typical Democrat who believes in a tariff for revenue adjusted with an eye to business welfare finds no fault with it. Its prime motive is the turning out of adequate information by which either school of tariff thinkers may be guided. The possibility that it may be the means of explaining away many differences of opinion between the two schools which are attributable to over-emphasis of isolated facts or lack of information has not escaped the attention of a large section of public opinion.

Then there are measures, like the Cotton Futures Law, the Cotton Warehouse Law, and other measures for increasing agricultural efficiency, which, although little advertised, already have had a substantial effect for good and are highly appreciated

by the elements of the population whose welfare they affect.

The measures I have recited conjointly fill certain well recognized needs of the country. Many of these needs existed for a part or all of the fifteen years following Mr. Cleveland's term—a period during which the Republican Party controlled Congress and the executive branch of the Government. They constitute an achievement against which the opposition to Mr. Wilson may not cavil without incurring the disapproval of large bodies of those voters whose paramount fealty is to the national welfare, and not to any political party. The extent of the popular appreciation of this achievement is fully understood by the Republicans. It can best be epitomized by the statement that not one of the measures in the list would be repealed by the Republican Party were it returned to the control of the Government. Amendments, more or less important, might be made, but the body of the legislation would be left upon the statute books—a monumental tribute to the constructive character of the administration of Woodrow Wilson.

MR. WILSON'S UNPOLITICAL APPOINTMENTS

Mr. Wilson's prestige among independent voters has been strengthened by the character of the men he has chosen for some of the most important federal appointments made during his administration. The charge that he and Mr. Bryan turned the diplomatic service over to the uses of partisan politics has long since been forgotten in the light of the other cases where the President has hearkened to the propaganda of Government efficiency as distinguished from political expediency. Mr. Wilson's attitude in making appointments has been deplored by more than one of his political advisers. It betokened a too-studied disregard of the need of keeping up the party fences and a too earnest commitment to the idea of picking the man for the job, however small his political capital.

It is unnecessary to catalogue all the cases where President Wilson has set aside personal and partisan considerations among applicants for office and has tendered the position in question to the man he deemed best suited for it. Senator Kern of Indiana, the majority leader of the Senate, is reported to have been chagrined when he heard that the President had overlooked the claims of the good Hoosier Democratic judge who aspired to be ambassador to Mexico. The President realized that unusual demands would be made upon the new American ambassador at Mexico City and he appointed Henry P. Fletcher, a Republican, for the simple reason that Mr. Fletcher appeared to be the best trained diplomat in the American service who had experience in South American affairs. Another case which attracted attention was the appointment of Mr. George Rublee, of New Hampshire, to the Federal Trade Commission. The appointment was rejected by the Senate for the assigned reason of Senatorial courtesy, but the real fact was that Mr. Rublee was entirely independent and without supporters among the dominant leaders of either of the political parties. He was appointed by President Wilson solely because he seemed to have a special fitness for the office, although he was not politically qualified for it. His rejection by the Senate was inspired by practically the same reasons that caused the President to appoint him.

When Mr. Wilson named Mr. Louis D. Brandeis Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, he aroused just as much resentment among his own party colleagues in the Senate as among the Republicans. Democrats were the first to predict that Mr. Brandeis never could be confirmed. The President was steadfast in the matter, however, because he had chosen Mr. Brandeis as a man of rare vision, who was needed to bridge the gulf between the tribunal as it was made up at the outset of the present year and the new fields of thought toward which important sections of the American public mind is traveling. The leaders of the Wilson campaign among the independents have a goodly list of such appointments as these, which they intend to bring to the attention of the independent voter with all proper forcefulness.

CHEMISTRY AND PREPAREDNESS

THE UNITED STATES ONE OF THE GREATEST NATIONS IN CHEMICAL MANUFACTURE BUT BEHIND THE LEADERS IN THE PRODUCTION OF THE NITROGEN PRODUCTS THAT ARE INDISPENSABLE IN WARFARE—A PREPAREDNESS THAT FITS FOR PEACE AS WELL AS WAR

BY

L. H. BAEKELAND

(OF THE UNITED STATES NAVAL CONSULTING BOARD)

MR. HOWARD E. COFFIN, in the May number of the WORLD'S WORK, gave an excellent general idea of some of the unsuspected difficult problems with which the United States Naval Consulting Board is confronted while it is endeavoring to organize the industries of this country for national defense. His examples referred mostly to the mechanical industries; but his general statements apply with even greater force to the chemical side of the subject.

It is an open secret that as soon as some of the war orders were accepted in this country, even our best organized chemical industries were strained to the breaking point. Prices of chemicals have gone up tremendously, some of them reaching prices ten and even twenty times higher than they were in times of peace. In a number of other cases the supply became entirely exhausted.

In some of our chemical industries, the production has now increased to a hitherto undreamed of extent, and this, in itself, demonstrates the resourcefulness and hustling spirit of our chemical engineers. In other cases, however, we have not been so fortunate, and this explains why many of the war orders for chemicals are still away behind in their deliveries; where, in some instances, in 1915, only 5 per cent. of the contracted orders could be delivered, in 1916 the deliveries of the same concerns will probably reach only 20 per cent. of the totals contracted for.

In the meantime, the public should know that this country has as many chemists, and as good chemists, as any other country, even if it happens that in the past they have preferred not to specialize in coal-tar dyes, but have given their attention to other important chemical problems which are more in consonance with the special needs of the United States. In these specialties they have distinguished themselves as much as chemists of other countries have done in other lines of chemical manufacturing which happened to be better adapted to the special opportunities.

Since the beginning of the present war, even the most ignorant people have more or less become awakened to the fact that chemistry plays a big rôle in modern warfare. Through the newspapers the public knows pretty well, by this time, that modern explosives are made by intricate chemical processes; the horrible use of asphyxiating gases also has played on the imagination, although this side of warfare, from a practical standpoint, is in reality of much less importance.

But what is not known, except by a very few, is that most of our other industries of the United States, covering the most varied lines, would have become hopelessly crippled but for our chemical enterprises.

These general sober statements do not begin to describe the turmoil and commotion of which the chemical industries of our country have been the scene, even if we have had to manufacture only a relatively small portion of the ammunition used by some of the countries now at war.

What would happen if we ourselves were to participate directly in any serious war?

In the early spring of 1915, most of our chemical enterprises were so depressed on account of the general lack of orders that more than one of them was preparing to

forego dividends. About that time, the Allies had come to realize that their most difficult problem was not to enlist enough soldiers or even to drill them, but that the existing capacity of their factories and their chemical plants was hopelessly unsuited to providing them with enough ammunition; they were compelled to apply to the United States to buy our soda and other chemicals, our benzol, our toluol, and our explosives.

GERMANY'S NITRIC ACID PROBLEM

Nor were the Allies the only ones that were caught short. Explosives in this war were used up at such an unexpected rate that even the Germans, who imagined they were armed and prepared for all foreseen contingencies, saw their enormous stock of Chilean nitrate for making nitric acid dwindling away like melting snow. Practically all modern war-explosives, from smokeless powder to T. N. T. (as trinitrotoluol is commonly called) are made from nitric acid. So no nitric acid meant no explosives, silent guns, empty shrapnel, no mines, no torpedoes, an entirely paralyzed war equipment—an automatic stop of the war. England knew as much as this, and, with her watchful fleet, prevented any further importation of nitrates. If the British Government had listened to its able chemical experts, it would have learned sooner that, aside from nitrates, such harmless looking materials as cotton, lard, fat, and oil are just as essential raw materials for the manufacture of high explosives. Indeed, cotton is used for making nitrocellulose, which is the base of smokeless powder and other explosive agents; fat and oils, treated with caustic soda, engender soap and glycerine, and the latter, by reacting upon nitric acid, gives the deadly nitro-glycerine, the very soul of dynamite and other high explosives. Chemists can easily see the direct relation between fattened pigs or cattle and dynamite manufacturing; but, some way or another, the Government of Great Britain has never been over-enthusiastic in her appreciation of her scientists in general, and chemists in particular, and has not even yet a real name for real chemists and calls them "analytical" chemists, in about the same way as if we should call engineers "draughtsmen" or business men "bookkeepers." So the British Government, through sheer cocksure ignorance, for a while at least, let the Germans have all the fats and cotton they wanted, although these were just the materials on which Germany was dependent upon outside importation. On the other hand, excluding the importation of chemicals to Germany was like excluding the importation of coal to Newcastle. All these errors, due to lack of scientific knowledge, were committed notwithstanding the public protests of such eminent chemists as Sir William Ramsay. In the same way, England has always had an enormous respect for antique institutions like Oxford, but very scant enthusiasm for her newer universities or engineering schools, where science is more important than dead languages. And yet, the British Navy, the strongest hope of Britain's defense and power, is paramountly dependent upon applied science or good engineering. In fact, since wooden ships and sails have vanished from the navy, every modern warship is nothing less than a complicated floating microcosm of applied science.

ENGLAND, CHEMISTRY, AND THE WAR

So that for those who lack imagination, as well as knowledge, the statement that the battles of England were won on the athletic fields of Eton may still be hailed as a clever epigram, but it is no longer true. But England has been aroused from her easy-going ways; is learning fast nowadays, and is making up for lost time. She has been doing her best to recall from the trenches those of her engineers and chemists who, in all eagerness, responded to her first call to arms, since she came to the conclusion that she needed them much more at home for making ammunition. She went farther; after compulsory military service was introduced, chemists were among the first to be exempt from soldier service—laboratories and chemical works are too indispensable in winning this war.

In the meantime, the German Government seldom missed an opportunity of enlisting the help of her scientists and engineers for any problem of peace or war. No wonder, then, that as soon as war

took proportions never dreamed of the German army was notified that nitric acid should be produced by newer processes which could be carried out independently from the interrupted imports of saltpetre from Chile. German chemists had to act and act quickly to obviate this threatened shortage of nitric acid. Although several processes were known to science, the important question was to pick out the one which was best adaptable to circumstances and could be installed first. But it took German engineers about a year and a half of work, night and day, carried on in feverish haste, before they were ready with installations of sufficient capacity to turn out all the nitric acid required, and it involved the expenditure of about $100,000,000 for erecting the additional equipment needed.

THE PENALTY OF UNPREPAREDNESS

But nitric acid is not used alone. In the nitrating process by which explosives are made, it is used in conjunction with sulphuric acid. The enormous requirements of sulphuric acid demand again additional sulphuric acid plants, which have to be built right on the spot, because it is practically impossible to transport pure nitric acid, while its transportation becomes relatively easy if mixed with sulphuric acid. Again more problems, more chemical engineers, more specially trained workmen, more plants to erect. Bear in mind that none of the equipment or machinery used for these purposes, or at least very little of it, can be purchased ready-made. Practically all of it has to be designed and constructed to order, and all this involves endless delays, especially as far as pottery and stoneware are concerned; and moreover, these are indispensable in almost every chemical plant.

Do not forget, either, that this is only one of the endless chemical problems which enter into the plan of industrial mobilization for the defense of our country. In this example, we have not yet reached the point of the manufacture of any explosives. Suppose we have to make trinitrotoluol, an excellent explosive much used in war. Well, first of all, we need toluol, a liquid which, in ordinary times, is easily obtainable from the distillation of coal, either as a by-product of gas plants or from modernized coke ovens. But in this war, the consumption of toluol increased suddenly to such unexpected quantities that there was not enough of it produced in the world to supply the demand. So toluol went soaring to unheard of prices; fortunes were made by those who happened to have some toluol available, which they had bought at thirty cents a gallon and which they could sell at $4.50. New coke ovens had to be erected here and elsewhere to produce more toluol. But this takes months and years, and after they are constructed it takes some time before they are in regular running operation.

Heretofore, this country had had very scant use for toluol. In Germany, it had been an abundant commercial product, used in large quantities in the manufacture of aniline dyes. This again was an enormous advantage for Germany, because with her well established aniline dye industry she could immediately avail herself of the same raw materials, the same equipment, and, by modifying somewhat the chemical processes, her aniline dye works were rapidly transformed into explosive manufacturing establishments.

TRAINED WORKMEN NEEDED

Here in the United States, as well as in England and in France, these additional equipments for the manufacture of war explosives had still to be erected, which entailed considerable delay. Furthermore, in each instance, a new staff of chemists and inexperienced workmen had to be trained for conducting these operations on a large scale. In all these matters, the difficulty is not so much to know the chemical reactions as to have a full industrial equipment ready and a staff of workmen thoroughly skilled and trained in this particular class of work. One careless workman, one single act of an untrained employee, frequently upsets the whole plant for weeks and months, and may cause terrific explosions, fires, and loss of life. On the other hand, all these operations, when thoroughly understood, are as simple and safe to conduct as those in a sugar refinery; after the workmen are

well trained, all these chemical operations reduce themselves to mere routine work.

The obvious necessity has been demonstrated by this war that this country should be self-contained so that its various industries should not depend on the good-will or conditions of supply of other countries. This in itself is important enough; we have seen many of our industries paralyzed here for the want of dyes: our textile industries, at a time when they were loaded with increasing orders, were hampered and stopped after they could no longer obtain the dyes for which they had been dependent on Germany. Until recently, many of us have looked at this matter from a rather one-sided standpoint; the dyes imported into this country amounted to only about 10 million dollars a year, and it seemed to be much simpler to import our supplies from abroad, inasmuch as our business men and chemical manufacturers could better give their attention to bigger and better paying industries. But we now have come to realize that the importance of an industry should not be rated by the amount of its sales, but by the ramified indispensable uses of the product it manufactures. There are few products which have such endlessly diversified uses and which are more indispensable in many industries than coal-tar derivatives. All these industries are needed in time of war; for instance, how could we dye the soldiers' uniforms, or how could we obtain the synthetic medicaments which are made by the same general methods used by dye manufacturers?

DYE BUSINESS AFTER THE WAR

But the subject cuts more sharply into the direct problems of war if we consider that one of the surest ways of avoiding demoralization and disorganization in times of war is by the rapid and easy change of coal-tar dye works into factories for explosives, as was possible in Germany. Of late, the enormously increased price of coal-tar dyes has led to the starting here of some new enterprises of the kind. It is very probable, however, that every one of these new concerns will have a hard struggle for existence as soon as the war is over, because German competitors will certainly use every available means to prevent any important coal-tar dye industry from obtaining a permanent foothold in our country. It is always easy to compete with a newcomer in the field, especially if an industry has had to be improvised in a hurry, under abnormally expensive conditions, and has not had full time to take root. The German dye manufacturers have had the benefit of more than fifty years of experience, a very well established, prosperous industry, and well trained staffs, which since long ago have been patiently at work to reduce all operations to a minimum of cost. Most of those old established plants have been written off and amortized, so they can well afford, for a few years at least, to sacrifice part of their profits by conducting energetic commercial warfare with any of the newly attempted enterprises here in the United States.

A PROTECTIVE TARIFF FOR COAL-TAR DYES

Here is an instance where we must forget all the usual theoretical considerations about tariff or no tariff and where for a few years the Government, by direct protective measures, which will cause only a small burden to the consumer, should nurse our newly arisen coal-tar dye industry into a permanent asset for national defense in war as well as in peace.

Here again, then, is an example where a question of preparedness for defense links itself directly with important considerations for industrial preparedness for peace conditions, and the same considerations are forced upon us practically along the whole line of the preparedness idea. For instance, it is relatively easy to provide nitric acid regardless of cost; the most direct way would be to buy enough nitrate of soda for all emergencies, and to keep it in stock. Germany tried this, and got about a million tons of nitrate of soda in reserve. At present prices this would cost us about $40,000,000, quite a respectable sum of money, not to speak of the storage capacity required for keeping this material without deterioration and the interest on investment. But even then we are not sure that for a protracted war this supply would last long enough.

Since we are not provided with any

etic nitric acid plants large enough ver our possible demands in case of let us see how we might attempt to ate ourselves from the critical posi- which we would be in if our supply of es gave out. In case of a serious with a first-class Power, the Govern- should commandeer all the ammonia nable in the United States, and, ut losing a moment's time, start the erection of plants for making acid by oxidizing this ammonia. would take considerable time, prob- year, before the first large units were od working order. Even then, we l face the awkward possibility of our ting so much of our ammonia from sual channels of consumption that ould be upsetting other industries s indispensable. So we should con- our programme by producing ad- al ammonia, for instance by means so-called cyanamid process, and this l suggest commandeering enough ic-power plants, which could be ed into cyanamid plants. For the purposes, we ought to commandeer, our present plants where calcium- de, the raw material for cyanamid, de. It has been proposed that we plants where nitric acid should be by means of the so-called "arc" ss, as used in Norway, which trans- the air directly into nitric acid. t now is generally conceded that this expensive process, especially objec- ble in all cases where water-power is d or even moderately expensive; at rate, it requires about five times as horse-power as is required for mak- he nitric acid from cyanamid.

OUR OWN NITRIC ACID PROBLEM

fact, it has been calculated that to a plant which would be able to supply o,000 tons of nitric acid a year would re no less than 600,000 horse-power, ther respectable amount of power. is more important, however, is that re encumbered with the fact that in of peace there is no profitable use for enormous amounts of nitric acid, r as such or as nitrates; the plant l then have to stand idle. So here again we come to a problem of arranging everything so that the plant may be able to do efficient service in times of peace and could be transformed rapidly if we became involved in war.

FERTILIZERS AND THE COST OF LIVING

This brings us to another national problem, the production of cheap fertilizers. This country has all the time been short of cheap fertilizers. To show why this is so would require a rather long explanation. Some blame it on the many middlemen, some on the high freight rates, some on the high cost of production. Up till now, we have been importing large amounts of nitrogen fertilizer, either in the form of nitrate of soda, or as sulphate of ammonium; but we are told that by the increasing production of by-product coke ovens there will be a much larger supply of ammonium salts for nitrogen fertilizers. However, the main question is: Will ammonia be decidedly cheaper than it was in 1914? If not, this larger supply will hardly have any effect on the present consumption of ammonia for fertilizing purposes. The farmer in the United States does not begin to use nitrogen fertilizer to the same extent as does the farmer in Germany or in Belgium, and this explains, in a large measure, why the yields per acre in Germany are about double those of the United States and why Belgium, which uses still more nitrogen fertilizer than Germany, has the very highest yields on record. Cheap fertilizer bears a direct relation to cheap wheat, cheap corn, cheap food—to lower cost of living. Are our acres forever to raise half the crops of those of Europe? Here, then, is an opportunity to adapt one phase of the programme for national preparedness for defense to serve a vastly more permanent purpose by handling it in such a way that by fixing the nitrogen from the air we can make, at will, a cheap fertilizer in time of peace, but which, in time of war, can be converted into nitric acid for our explosives.

But this whole problem finally comes down to the question of very cheap electric power by which cheap fertilizers are made. The fact is that water-power enterprises here in the United States, by the time they

are financed and developed, cost so much that, in many cases, we find we are in the absurd condition that it is cheaper for us to make power from steam or gas than to buy it from the power companies—another problem of national efficiency. The cost of water-power plants is not so much influenced by the engineering side as by the financial side; the operation of a water-power plant may cost only $1 per horse-power year, but it costs usually $9 or more for paying the fixed charges of bonds and interest, not to speak of dividends. This makes the cost of the engineering look like ten cents on the dollar, and seems to imply that any improvements in the engineering end of a water-power plant will have a trifling scope for diminishing the cost of water-power, while the main improvement has to be found in less wasteful or more efficient methods of financing, whatever you like to call it.

For instance: Power in Niagara Falls, which is sold at $18 and $19 per horse-power, is obtained in Norway at about one-fifth this cost. This also explains why the American Cyanamid Company, which took the initiative of starting the manufacture of cheap fertilizer on this continent, although it is an American company, run by Americans, with American capital, was compelled to locate in Canada, because it could not find power in the United States as cheaply as in Canada.

So here, a chemical problem of nitric acid becomes directly dependent upon the better utilization of our national resources and is more particularly dependent upon more economical banking methods. But when we say this, bankers justly point out that wild legislative methods have frightened away conservative investors from water-power enterprises.

TO STANDARDIZE OUR SHIPBUILDING

So in every instance we are confronted, while studying problems of war, with the problems of peace. The study of more efficient internal combustion engines of the Diesel type for submarines or warships leads directly to similar problems of cheaper methods of propulsion for our merchant vessels. In fact, it begins to look very much as if the success of the future American merchant marine of dreams will depend more than anyt else on the construction of an econom well-standardized, one-model vessel transport unit; this vessel to be equi with inner combustion engines of the D type, inexpensive to build, easy and expensive to operate with a minimu men; thereby suppressing all the e labor of stokers and mere hand-la which would enable the ships to get a with a small crew of intelligent men, paid and well treated according to Am can standards. The history of the a mobile industry may repeat itself; Am can automobile manufacturers could compete with the European product u they revolutionized the industry by sta ardizing their cars for mass productio

All these considerations are looming in their full magnitude before the mind engineers and chemists; it is probably this reason that perhaps no other clas citizens has become so extraordina enthusiastic in pushing the problem national preparedness.

The organization of the Naval Cons ing Board led to the discovery of the me ods of mobilization of the good-will of 30,000 engineers and chemists of United States. When General Bad Powell inaugurated that splendid inv tion of his, the Boy Scout movement wondered who would extend his idea start here, sometime, a boy scout mo ment for "grown-ups." It looks now a Mr. Coffin and his sub-committee h found a way to it.

FOR A CIVIC ARMY IN PEACE TIME

This war has compelled us to admit t in all countries there is abundant lat good-will, a feeling of duty for the good the community; it has been displayed every one of the countries now at w This devotion to the common cause ready to spring into action as heroism a self-sacrifice, whenever tragic conditi require it. Nevertheless, it is too sad think that, up till now, the excitement war and slaughter and battle should needed to arouse these noble sentimen Why wait until there is war? Why bring out this same spirit in times of pea

now, when we are trying to organize tter army in the United States, why develop a new kind of an army worthy e ideals of this Republic, in such a way every citizen of the Nation, even in of peace, may pay his duty to his try not only by drilling and exercising ldiers, but by rendering some lasting ice which can be seen by the eyes and by the hands? Why not modify this of military service from its antiquated pean militaristic prototype into a tly modern conception of civic ser- Why not let compulsory military ce include some civic duties which are inly not inconsistent with good mili- training?

e soldier of to-day has to be very much mechanic and has to participate in y engineering problems of war. Why enlist every young man for at least year, enroll him in a more modern and er Grand Army of the Republic, e, besides military drilling, he would ble to participate in some lasting national work?

I would go further; I should like to see a law introduced whereby every man, and every woman, would be compelled to give at least one year's work to our Republic and thus earn their full citizenship—the right to vote. After all, citizenship by mere accident of birth, or citizenship by merely swearing allegiance to the American Constitution, is a rather weak foundation for claiming full citizen's rights, inasmuch as it involves no serious duties. We have spoken enough of rights: let us speak sometimes of duties.

RECOVERING THE BY-PRODUCTS OF COKE

re-heating room in the by-product type of coke oven plant, where benzol and other valuable chemicals that are used both for dyes and for explosives are now saved and utilized

The women would perform their year of civic enlistment by serving in schools, hospitals, or in national factories, where clothes or equipment for our army and navy and for philanthropic or educational institutions were manufactured. All this would be a better preparation for making better citizens by learning the dignity of public service than by the usual frivolities which occupy too much of the life of the young men and women of this country.

I believe that our public works, for instance, the building of roads and canals,

DYE-MAKING IN THE UNITED STATES

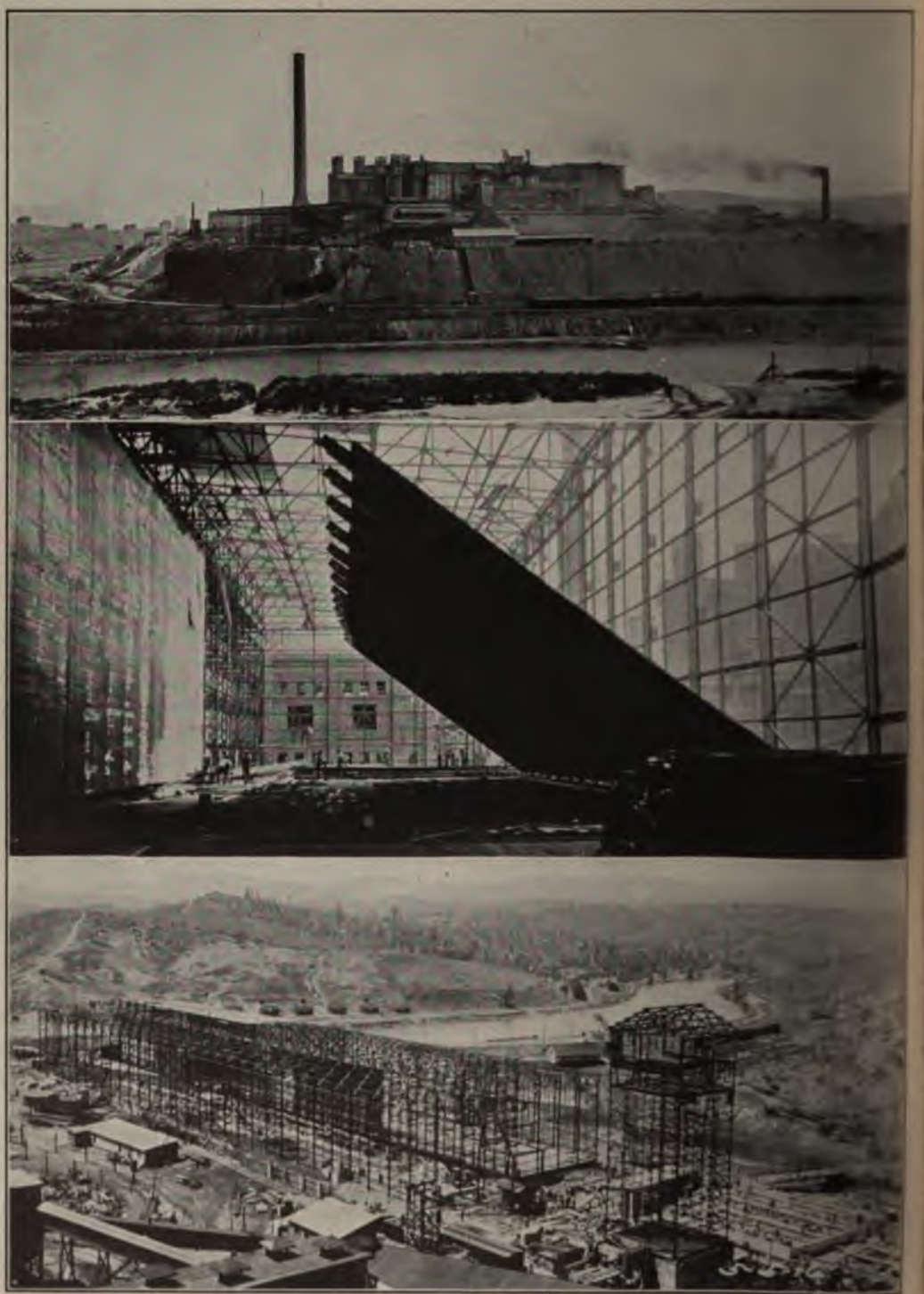
This plant of the Central Dyestuff & Chemical Company, at Newark, N. J., is one of the American enter black and red coal-tar products; scraping the dye out of the dye press, after which it goes to the dry kilns; product being baked; a coal-tar product being taken out of a filter before going into the dye press; the in matter; right: dried dyes pre

reclaiming of land, building dams, improving the navigability of streams, irrigation works, national forestry, sanitation, and construction of public buildings, should be carried out by a civic army, as part of military service, and under the supervision

IN COMPETITION WITH GERMANY

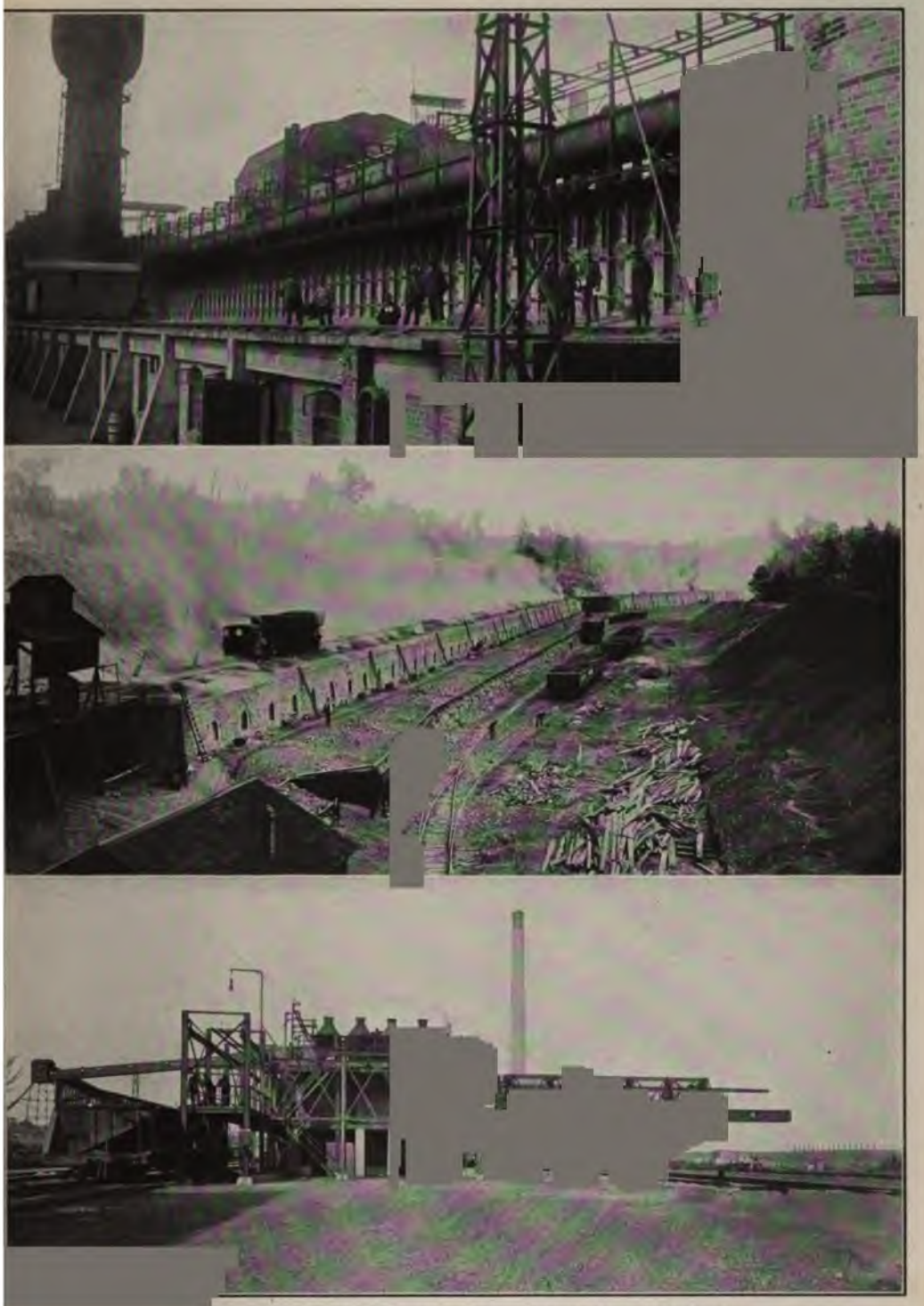
prises now helping to make good the shortage of imported dyes. Top pictures, left to right: Cooking vats for taking dyes out of grinders; aniline oil separators. Bottom pictures, left to right: An intermediate coal-tar terior of a drug manufacturing plant; making benzol. Centre pictures, left: Dye vats being cleaned of foreign paratory to being powdered

of army engineers in the same way as the Panama Canal has been constructed. I rather dislike the accepted idea that young men in the Army should do nothing beyond drilling and military exercises. In the minds of many young military enthusiasts,



THE ENLARGING OF A CHEMICAL PLANT, DUE TO THE EUROPEAN WAR

The Tennessee Copper Company, as a by-product of the reduction of copper ore, recovers sulphuric acid and nitric acid. Of these, nitric acid is indispensable in the manufacture of fertilizers and explosives. Upper picture: the original plant at Ducktown, Tenn. Lower picture: the new sulphuric acid plant built to care for the increased demand since the war began. Middle picture: putting up the lead walls of the new plant



HOW COKE BY-PRODUCTS ARE SAVED AND WASTED

Upper picture: a German coke oven that saves all the valuable by-products. Middle picture: American bee-hive coke ovens that waste the by-products up the flues—the type in almost universal use in this country before the Great War. Lower picture: the by-product type of coke oven that is now rapidly replacing the bee-hive oven in this *country*

AMERICAN PRODUCTION OF NITRIC ACID

Two views of nitric acid boilers in the plant of the Tennessee Copper Company. Having neither large nitrate deposits nor many plants for the production of nitrates by chemical processes, the United States could be deprived of an indispensable element of all explosives by an enemy strong enough at sea to shut off importation from Chile

this breeds some kind of disappointment that they cannot go to actual war. During part of this term of military service, we should let every man coöperate in accomplishing something permanent, something tangible, along the lines of public engineering work; something to which he could point back with pride as a national achievement, to which he had contributed his share in earning his right to vote, and

MAKING BENZOL IN THE UNITED STATES

The plant of the Benzol Products Company, at Marcus Hook, Pa., where benzol is now being made. Benzol is the source both of dyes and of toluol, which is used in the manufacture of "T. N. T." (trinitrotoluol), one of the most powerful of the high explosives

FOR THE AMERICAN MANUFACTURE OF FERTILIZER

Recovering ammonium sulphate in the plant of a coke company in Pennsylvania. Ammonium sulphate is a by-product of coke and is used in the manufacture of fertilizers. The United States depends on the potash mines of Germany and the nitrate beds of Chile for the two chief ingredients used in the manufacture of commercial fertilizer

which, just as a feat of war, would stimulate his feeling of patriotism and make him say with legitimate pride: "I helped to build the best ten-mile stretch of the Lincoln Highway"; or, "I helped to build this or that portion of the Atlantic Coast Canal." This, in itself, would constitute an excellent recommendation later on in his further efforts in practical life. In this way, too, our young men and women, rich

AN AMERICAN CHEMICAL PLANT

The Solvay Process Company at Syracuse, N. Y. The United States has as many and as good chemists as any other country, but before the war they had not devoted their energies to the problems of dye-stuffs and war chemistry, but rather to the more pressing peace-time needs of the country

THE MAYOR AND MRS. MITCHEL

Who was Miss Olive Child, of Boston. Mrs. Mitchel is greatly interested in public matters and is one of her husband's closest advisers

AT THIRTEEN

r. Mitchel's uncle, Henry D. oy, was a famous Tammany tain who frequently fought nst that organization

AS A COLUMBIA GRADUATE

He also spent several years at St. John's College, Fordham. For a few years he practised law

EIGHTEEN YEARS OLD

When suggested for mayor, Mr. Mitchel issued a statement saying he would not accept a nomination or an endorsement from Tammany Hall

re to the point. To dents of Irish revolu- nary history his grand- ner, John Mitchel, is a niliar figure. According his biographer, this John tchel was the most bril- nt Irishman of his time. ough he was the son of Presbyterian minister, red of England and love Ireland were his ruling sions. We can imagine ne of the New York yor's bewildered friends plying to him the words ich Thomas Carlyle ad- ssed to his grandfather 1846: "A fine, elastic rited young fellow, whom grieve to see rushing to truction palpable, by at- k of windmills, but on om all my persuasions re thrown away. Poor tchel! I told him he uld most likely be hanged, I told him, too, they ld not hang the immortal t of him." The particu windmill against which n Mitchel tilted was glish rule in Ireland. In paper, *The United Irish- n*, he preached open sedi- n; as a net result of ich he awoke *one day a* convict in Van Diemen's Land. Thence he made one of those picturesque escapes to the United States that so frequently enliven nineteenth century Irish history. Irishmen and native Americans turned out in November, 1853, to welcome him to New York; in his diary, published under the title of the *Jail Journal*, he records his reception. "The City Hall," he said, "is a quite stately building of white marble, with a fine piece of ornamental ground in front. It is the only object I have seen in New York that would be called architectural." There was a great procession; women scattered the refugee's path with flowers; the Mayor made a dignified speech of welcome. Could this Irish patriot have foreseen, however, that, sixty years afterward, his grandson would have entered as mayor the building which he so admired, his reception would have delighted him even more.

AT FOUR YEARS OF AGE

Mayor Mitchel is a grandson of John Mitchel, the famous Irish patriot and revolutionist who, with his three sons, fought in the Civil War, on the Confederate side

This John Mitchel, even on this state occasion, showed a bluntness of speech not unknown to the grand-

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WITH MRS. MITCHEL IN THE ADIRONDACKS
The Mayor is a crack shot, a tramper of great endurance, an expert canoeist, and an enthusiastic camper

son. He accepted this great honor, he said, in his speech of reply, expressly as an insult to the British Government. At this the Mayor, says the chronicle, "hemmed and hawed"—as he might well have done. John Mitchel's popularity in New York was short-lived. He began editing a newspaper chiefly distinguished for its attacks on the abolitionists and its championship of the South. He and his three sons fought in the Civil War on the Confederate side. The oldest son was killed while commanding at Fort Sumter, the youngest at Gettysburg, while Captain James, father of Mayor Mitchel, who served throughout the war, was wounded four times. When the war ended, the patriot went to Ireland and was returned as a member of Parliament from Tipperary, although Disraeli prevented him from taking his seat on the ground that he had been convicted of a felony. He wrote a history of Ireland, engaged in a literary battle with James Anthony Froude, and now lies buried in a Unitarian cemetery in his native country. Besides his literary gift and his powers of leadership, his conspicuous traits—and these are important in the present connection—were a tendency to speak the truth boldly as he saw it, a hatred of all compromise, and a readiness to fight for his convictions without counting the consequences.

Though this patriot Mitchel was a Protestant, his children nearly all became Catholics. The only son that survived the battlefield—though he survived it

ON THE REVIEWING STAND
Mayor Mitchel; Arthur Woods, Police Commissioner; George McAneny, President of the Board of Aldermen in 1914 and 1915; Comptroller William A. Prendergast; R. A. C. Smith, Commissioner of Docks and Ferries; and, at the extreme right, Robert Adamson, Fire Commissioner

carrying two bullets in his right leg,—married Miss Mary Purroy, the sister of Henry D. Purroy, one of the most accomplished New York politicians of his day. Mr. Purroy—"Hoy Purroy" the scornful called him—at times fought Tammany, at other times led the Tammany hosts to victory. His chief pleasure seemed to be a political fight; the side on which he fought was a secondary consideration. Though Mayor Mitchel was his favorite nephew—the old Tammany chieftain made him his heir—Mr. Purroy practised a kind of politics that would probably not meet with favor in the New York City Hall to-day. Four years ago, when Mr. Mitchel's name was under consideration for the nomination, he came out with a statement that under no circumstances would he accept a nomination, an endorsement, or any other form of approval from Tammany Hall! Uncle Henry not only gave the future New York mayor his middle name, but associated his boyhood and adolescence with an atmosphere of politics that has probably had its uses in the present crisis.

After a course at St. John's College at Fordham—one of America's largest Catholic universities—a similar course at Columbia and the New York Law School, Mr. Mitchel began twiddling his thumbs in a law office. According to his friends of that period he was not taking life with great seriousness. A day in the woods—he was a terrific walker, a crack shot, an expert canoeist and camper—had much greater at-

A BELIEVER IN EXERCISE

Both indoors and out. His fox-trotting has inspired unfavorable comment from Methodist preachers

MAYOR MITCHEL AND CARDINAL FARLEY REVIEWING THE ST. PATRICK'S DAY PARADE

The Mayor's attempt to secure better care for the children has involved intense antagonisms. New York City spends $3,200,000 a year for the care of approximately 22,000 children in private charitable institutions

A PREPAREDNESS ADVOCATE

Mr. Mitchel is an advocate of universal military service. He was prominent in organizing the mayors' conference on preparedness which met in St. Louis

tractions than had New York's bad-smelling court rooms. His one conspicuous mental trait was a passion for figures. He displayed great skill in analyzing complex accounts and had a mind that could sweep away unessentials in pursuit of the main fact. His entrance into politics, however was pure chance. His first job came simply as a prize in the spoils politics of the day. McClellan was mayor; and the New York *World* was publishing a series of articles alleging great corruption in the administration of the office of John F. Ahearn, the Tammany President of Manhattan Borough. Mr. Robert Adamson, now Fire Commissioner under Mayor Mitchel, was the reporter who wrote these articles—articles based on an investigation made by the Bureau of Social Betterment. Finally Mr. McClellan told Adamson that he had appointed an assistant corporation counsel to investigate the scandal.

"Who is he?" asked Adamson.

"He's a young chap named Mitchel, of the law firm of Mullan, Cobb & Mitchel."

Adamson seized a directory, located the firm, and paid Mitchel a reportorial visit. He found Mitchel an attractive looking stripling—but hardly one who seemed qualified to grapple with the intricate rascalities of Tammany Hall. Mitchel's biography, when Adamson learned the details, hardly encouraged the idea that a serious inquiry was intended. His appointment looked like a straight out-and-out Tammany job. Mitchel evidently had got the place because he was a nice young chap with family "inflooence" and

PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF ALDERMEN IN THE GAYNOR ADMINISTRATION

His energetic attention to the city's interests in this position led to his nomination for mayor

use he could be depended on to make port that would completely cleanse rn of the journalistic filth with which reformers" were besmearing him. Mr. llellan did not know it, but, when he inted Mitchel, he introduced a new into municipal administration. Prac- y all the professions demand a period prenticeship in their devotees. We ent men from practising medicine law who cannot show the essential fications. Our captains of industry advanced to their present positions low and painful processes. No one, ver, has ever suggested anything in ature of education for public adminis- on. The most progressive universi- have established no post-graduate ses or training schools for mayors. cult and technical as the job is, almost man, according to our happy-go-lucky rican ideas, can fill it. But Mayor llellan now unconsciously established, ublic expense, a local university in inistration. It had no faculty and one pupil—this innocent child, of many antecedents, who had been ted to "investigate" in the way that d best promote the interests of the inistration.

hen Greater New York's charter

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MAYOR MITCHEL AT PLATTSBURG

One of his uncles was killed at Fort Sumter and another at Gettysburg. His father, Captain Mitchel, was wounded four times in the Civil War

was in process of incubation, some well-meaning crank had inserted a paragraph which established a body consisting of two persons known as the Commissioners of Accounts. Their duties were supposedly investigative; it was to be their business to go into the departments, analyze their

PRESIDING OVER THE BOARD OF ESTIMATE AND APPORTIONMENT

He has a keen scent for accounts and figures and delights in all the intricacies of the city budget

figures, and report malfeasances to the mayor. For many years their usefulness had been limited to providing Tammany with two "fat" jobs, and to defending maligned officials against the "attacks" of the "uplifters" and their journalistic abettors. But Mitchel, who presently became a Commissioner of Accounts, put the office to other ends. The very title of his new job—Accounts! Figures!—lured him like a siren's song. The place gave Mitchel the entrée not only to the Borough President's office but to all the city departments. Here were figures in glorious abundance, many of them alive with dramatic value and historic import. In this delightful atmosphere Mitchel now spent two industrious and adventurous years. What chiefly interests the average observer are the direct results he obtained. Ahearn, whose administration he was appointed to exonerate, lost his executive head; Louis F. Haffen, the President of the Bronx, paid the same penalty for years of maladministration; Bermel, of Queens, resigned and took a trip to Europe.

DISTRIBUTING POLICE MEDALS

Under Mr. Mitchel, the old systematized graft that prevailed in the Police Department under Tammany has disappeared. The department is now very efficient and, as a whole, honest

These were the spectacular achieve-

GIVING OUT PRIZES AT A BABY SHOW

Light-heartedness and geniality are qualities the Mayor has always with him

ments, but they were not the most significant. The really important fact was that a clean, alert mind with a genius for figures was searching the minutest penetralia of the city's departments. Hidden recesses of the Fire Department, Police Department, Tax Department, *City Record*, and other branches that had never felt the trail of the investigator now gave up their secrets. New York was training a great municipal expert; it was paying for the education of its future mayor. This is precisely what Mitchel became—the one man who knew most about the business affairs of this great city. He knew the city in the sense that no one else has ever known it, and that is concretely. Others could discourse generally about municipal "policy," the proper relation of the Police Department to great city problems, the wisdom of taxing buildings separately from the land. Mitchel could tell you how much fire hose the city had bought the year before, how much it had paid, and the precise amount it had been cheated. These dry details happily did not fall upon an unimaginative mind. They inspired a passion for honesty, for civic decency, for the intelligent transaction of public business. Mitchel's ideal of a city became a city in which the tax payers received their dollar's worth of service for every dollar expended. That seems at first a prosaic statement; analyze it carefully, however, as Mitchel did, and you will find that it holds the solution for practically every problem, financial and spiritual, of municipal government in this country.

A NEW TYPE OF MAYOR

When Mitchel entered the City Hall, in 1914, he therefore represented a new type of mayor. He was an educated man —educated directly, that is, for the task which he assumed. Primarily, he was not a politician, but an investigator. In the last twenty years a new spirit has entered the administration of public affairs. This might be called the investigative spirit. Certain private agencies have interested themselves in government, largely in the way of collecting information, forming public opinion, and exerting pressure upon the men actually in control. Such have been our city clubs, our municipal leagues, our civil service reform associations, our bureaus of municipal research. Their task has been a thankless one: that of standing outside the breastworks and telling those within what they should do; the salaried gentlemen directing these organizations have aroused the wrath and scorn of politicians, and sometimes the better-natured ridicule of private citizens. "Uplifters" is the word popularly used to designate them.

Under Mayor Mitchel's administration these agencies have ceased to be mere critics—they have directly taken charge of public affairs. Hitherto Tammany politicians or politicians almost as practical have managed the city, with the "uplifters" stationed outside constantly. pointing the finger of scorn. Now the "uplifters" are themselves holding down nearly all the good jobs, with the hungry Tammanyites peering through the window from without. Mayor Mitchel's administration is government by "uplifters." He has found his lieutenants mostly in these unofficial agencies which have so long been telling us how it ought to be done. Just run over, for a moment, a few of his department heads: Henry Bruère, for many years one of the big guns in the Bureau of Municipal Research, became his City Chamberlain and closest adviser. Robert Adamson, who for years made a business of exposing municipal evils in the New York *World*, is Fire Commissioner. John J. Murphy, for many years chief worker in the Citizens' Union, heads the Tenement House Department. Henry Moskowitz, for years a leading settlement worker on the East Side, is chief of the Civil Service Commission. John A. Kingsbury, Commissioner of Charities, had served as General Director of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. Miss Katharine B. Davis, head of the Department of Correction, was for many years head of the Bedford Reformatory for Girls, and is a trustee of John D. Rockefeller's Bureau of Social Hygiene. Arthur Woods, a young Harvard graduate of fine character who had made a study of penology, heads the Police Department. George McAneny—a man who had spent

several years as secretary of the Civil Service Reform Association and as president of the City Club—was elected President of the Board of Alderman on the ticket with Mr. Mitchel. Mayor Mitchel's ambition to have only the most experienced and capable men was shown by his unsuccessful but persistent attempt to persuade General Goethals, the builder of the Panama Canal, to tackle the hardest job of all—the Police Department.

A GOVERNMENT OF EXPERTS

Irrespective of what one may think of the results, the mere recital of these names shows what a change has come over the government of New York. The old Tammany plan was to superimpose the system of district leaders on the city administration; the district leaders became the heads of the city departments, which were stuffed to suffocation with their salary-drawing parasites. But this patriarchal or semi-feudal state of society prevails no longer in New York. Mayor Mitchel has introduced a new conception: he regards government as a matter exclusively for experts. What have been the practical workings of this new ideal?

I fear it will be dreary business to recount in detail precisely what the Mitchel Administration has done. Efficiency, when analyzed, seldom makes entertaining reading. To show how departmental expenses have been reduced, how the budget has been cut down, how money has been saved in the purchase of supplies—all these things, important as they are, unfortunately look rather prosaic in print. Mr. Mitchel's speeches sound like reports made to the directors' meeting by the president of a corporation. They describe, with amazing intimacy, all the details of municipal housekeeping, tell a splendid story of economy, and give irrefutable evidence of success. As a result of this close attention to detail, New York is probably the best governed city in the United States at the present moment. In the opinion of competent examiners, organized graft has disappeared. Doubtless in its 100,000 employees there are plenty of dishonest people; but the Tammany system is no more. Take the Police Department for illustration: it employs ten thousand men and w[illegible] not to suppose that there are graftin[illegible] or captains or even inspe[illegible] 'em would be only chilish [illegible] but the days when the old T[illegible] man used to make his rounds coll[illegible] his weekly tariff—the precise amount nominated in the bond—from saloons, gambling hells, and houses of prostitution; when each news-stand dealer and each old apple woman had to yield up a percentage of the weekly earnings to the gang who controlled—all that is gone. Look at Arthur Woods and then remember that, fifteen years ago, "Bill" Devery occupied his chair! Think of the difference between Sigismund Goldwater, head of the great Mt. Sinai Hospital, as Commissioner of Health, and then call to mind one-eyed "Mike" Murphy, who held down the job in the not far distant days of Van Wyck. New York, sixteen years ago, could always count on one thing: the City Administration could always be relied upon to oppose any law or any movement that improved the condition of the poor and to favor any organized raid upon the city treasury. Now, under Mitchel, we always find the Administration on the side of decency. The greatest enemy of the masses usually resided in the beautiful old City Hall; that is now the habitation of their best friend. The Mitchel Administration is not occupied in finding places for needy political dependents and contracts for favored insiders: its business is to clean the streets, protect the poor people from grafting policemen, improve facilities for education, and promote general social welfare. In a word, it occupies itself with something almost new in American cities: that is, the serious business of government.

THE CHARITIES MUDDLE

I have emphasized this standpoint of efficiency, this determination to get a dollar's worth of return for a dollar's expenditure, because it explains the great Mitchel controversy which has echoed from one coast to another. So much has been made over the Mayor's attitude toward the use of city money for the support of the city's dependents that the real point at issue has

obscured. Injecting religion into discussion usually muddies the waters. or Mitchel has a [illegible] heroic ıre among bigoted [illegible] because, ıugh a Catholic himself, he has been ly pictured as assailing the Catholic :ch. He has seemed a kind of municiMartin Luther who has thrown off his mal religion and nailed his new tieth century theses to the door of the York City Hall. Catholics have deıed against him as an apostate who is ling the one thing that Catholics deem precious: the religious instruction of young. So long as these states of exist it is rather difficult for an imal writer to set forth clearly the dison its mere merits. Essentially, howthe issue is simple. It is this: New spends $3,200,000 a year for the supof about 22,000 dependent children ivate charitable institutions. These :utions are mostly under the control ligious bodies, Catholic, Protestant, Jewish. Now has the city any reibility to see that this money is spent ıe way that best secures the object d at? Mayor Mitchel believes that New York erects a school building it d get a dollar's worth of school buildır every dollar expended. Likewise he ves that when it spends a dollar for a 's board, shelter, instruction, and al preparation for life, it should get dollar's worth. That is all there is his great charities dispute. I can in the matter no more lucidly than uoting Mr. Mitchel's own statement: or two years and a half, as the repretive of the people of this city, I have endeavoring to secure humane treatand proper care for the 22,000 homeand dependent children committed ty wards to private charitable instins. I have been endeavoring to secure :r administration of public funds any disbursed to these institutions for are of the city's wards. That is the : I am fighting for, and I shall con- to fight for it, no matter what damage ıy bring to me, for it is a matter of c duty and personal conscience."

e city has established the practice, ı no one proposes to disturb, of having these children brought up under the influence of their parents' religion, so far as it can be ascertained. Inasmuch as thousands are foundlings, that fact is not always easily determined. Consequently, these waifs are baptized alternately, one as a Catholic and one as a Protestant, and sent alternately to a Catholic or a Protestant institution.

NEW IDEAS OF CHARITY

Nearly all these institutions, Catholic and Protestant, were established many years ago. They represent the period when charity was largely an ecclesiastical activity. But in the last quarter century modern scientific methods have been applied to charity as to nearly everything else. The business of the State is not merely to clothe, feed, and shelter these pitiable children and instruct them in religion and the rudiments; its business is to prepare them most carefully for responsible citizenship. In place of the cold walls of an institution, the modern idea is to furnish the semblance of a home. The children, no longer dressed in identical uniforms or made to march with the precision of soldiers, are placed in cottages, where their existence, in so far as possible, is made that of a home. They receive schooling by the most modern methods; the best possible medical attention; their play is about the same as that of the average child in more fortunate circumstances; vocational training, with the idea of fitting each child with a means of livelihood, is carried on along the most intelligent lines.

Many institutions, Catholic and Protestant, to which New York commits its waifs, represent the highest standards. Many fall far below them. In a good many cases, physical limitations prevent their rational development; the orphanages are located in the city, where they were built many years ago, and have no room in which to grow. Others have failed to keep abreast of the times and represent about the standards so picturesquely set forth in the late Jean Webster's play, "Daddy Longlegs." For several years the problem has been a difficult one, the fact that it involved the element of religion making it

exceedingly delicate. Any one who presumed to approach this subject has clearly understood in advance that, however enlightened his motives and however diplomatic his methods, he would be accused of assailing religion. Necessarily we had an antagonism between the conceptions that guide the Mitchel Administration and those that ruled in more easy-going times. Mitchel, as I have attempted to explain, represents the idea of expertness. He has appointed expert heads to nearly all city departments. This was especially the case with Mr. John A. Kingsbury, his Charities Commissioner. Mr. Kingsbury had spent years in active charity work along the most modern lines. He had absorbed the notions of philanthropy and child-caring taught in Columbia University, where he had been a student. Mr. Mitchel selected him because he had made so great a reputation as General Director of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. On the one side we had modernism in charity administration; on the other we had the conception of pietistic benevolence which had paid little attention to expertness. New York's great charities explosion represents merely the irrepressible conflict of scientific management—of the "uplifting spirit," if you will —with tradition.

Probably no Protestant mayor would ever have attempted to institute reforms, as Catholics are especially sensitive to anything that sounds like criticism directed against their institutions. But Mayor Mitchel is a Catholic and he takes his religion seriously. Before going upon the operating table for appendicitis last fall, he received the ministrations of his Church. His Deputy Charities Commissioner, Mr. William J. Doherty, who has jurisdiction over the placing out of dependent children, is a Catholic and a man who has spent his lifetime as a worker in Catholic charities. Both Mr. Mitchel and Mr. Doherty have taken the position that their membership in this faith was only another reason why they should exert all their energies to reform conditions. In this, as in everything else, the Mayor is the investigator; early in his term, therefore, an advisory committee was appointed to inspect all the institutions which received money. The members of this com were Dr. R. R. Reeder, for thirtee the head of the orphanage of the Ne Orphan Asylum; Dr. Ludwig B. Be an expert in Jewish charities; a Rev. Brother Barnabas, who had b years the superintendent of the I Agricultural School, a Catholic orp of very high character. Brother Ba after serving two months, withdrew the committee. The other membe sisted by a small staff, represent religions, spent nearly a year invest the fourty-two institutions which a received $3,200,000 from the City ury. The committee found that met modern requirements. Of thes were Catholic, three were Hebrew, a was Protestant. That is, in the " troverted institutions" the Catholic izations made a far better showing t Protestant. The committee foun twenty-six institutions failed to desirable child-caring requirements. list did not contain a single Jewish i tion. It contained twelve Catholi tutions and fourteen Protestant. wishes to apply the strict sectaria therefore, the committee's report s that the Catholic orphanages, thoug were twelve that failed to meet th made a considerably better showin the Protestant. This mere fact sho absurdity of the charges that a Catholic bias inspired the investiga

THE CHARITY REPORT

The report was voluminous and de It showed, in the criticised institut distressing failure to appreciate the mentals of their problem. "In som tutions, of all denominations," said Mitchel, "children were found wit hair nitted with lice, their scalps c with itching sores, their bodies covere filthy clothes that had not been c for three weeks, their bodies underf undernourished, deprived of any reas opportunity for recreation, compel sit on backless, wooden benches, s them compelled to bathe themselv fifteen, and twenty-five standing trough with six inches of water,

hem compelled to use the same towels r bathing, and other kindred condi- s. These conditions are not illustra- of all the private charitable institu- s of the city, nor must it be understood mply that they are. They are illustra- only of a certain number, but they e found in that certain number."

lany had wretched hospital facilities and scantiest opportunity for medical care. ty and uncomfortable beds, swarming insect life, were not uncommon. One e had two hundred boys and not a le toothbrush. A colored orphan asy- —a non-Catholic institution—used its ver bath as a punishment for mis- avior. In many places food was un- ritious and tables dirty; not the slight- attempt was made to teach table iners. In one nursery some of the dren had to eat standing. Little care given to teeth; extracting was the hod of solving most dental problems. re were no mental tests for the dis- ery of defectives. There was a pitiful of opportunity for recreation; some itutions for little girls did not have a le doll on the premises, and others had playgrounds. Discipline was rudimen- in nature, though there were no evi- ces of physical cruelty. School rooms e poor in equipment, unventilated, ry, and instruction was given largely untrained teachers. There was prac- lly nothing in the way of vocational ning, although children were some- es overworked as household drudges. its essentials these facts present yor Mitchel's child-caring problem. contains numerous side issues, which e been so forced to the front that the question has been largely ignored. It rdly worth while to go into these mat- now.

MAYOR MITCHEL'S STAND

layor Mitchel has acted upon these s simply because he is mayor. The is paying large sums to these child- ng institutions; clearly, if these reports true, New York is not getting value ived. As an honest man, mindful of oath of office, he had only one course. properly issued orders that no more children should be committed to the disapproved institutions until these outrageous conditions were remedied. Nearly all immediately admitted the justice of the criticisms by adopting reforms. Such as have met the new requirements have again been accepted as suitable places for the city's wards. But the proceeding has stirred up antagonisms that had been smothered for years. With the exception of Bishop Frederick Burgess, who issued an especially silly statement denouncing Mayor Mitchel, the Protestant orphanages have accepted the criticisms in silence and done their best to meet the new conditions. Unfortunately for itself, the Catholic Church has not shown a similarly commendable spirit. It has cleaned up many of its institutions, but members of its high clergy have assailed the Mayor in language undignified and discreditable. The efforts to get decent food, decent clothes, sanitary surroundings, and adequate educational facilities for the city's dependents have been described as "an attempt to take God out of the hearts of little children." But the question of religious and moral instruction of the young is not the point at issue. Mr. Mitchel is not seeking to withdraw the city's wards from the religious institutions nor to secularize the city's charity. All he seeks is the right to insist that orphanages receiving city money shall maintain certain modern standards. Mr. Mitchel has met these charges that he was assailing his own Church with splendid scorn: "If there is one thing that is a fundamental in American life," he says, "it is that, just as we declare that Government shall not lay its hands upon the altar of the Church, so the Church shall not lay its hands upon the altar of Government, and let me say that, while I am mayor, it will not."

Almost thirty years ago Abram S. Hewitt, when mayor of New York, refused to fly the Irish flag over the City Hall on St. Patrick's Day. This act ended his political career. Most people believe that Mayor Mitchel's attitude on the charities question will make inevitable his retirement to private life. That remains to be seen. Whatever the result, it has without question enriched our political annals with an example of almost unprecedented courage.

MARKING TIME WITH MEXICO

WHY THE NATIONAL GUARD WAS UNPREPARED TO GUARD THE NATION—THE TIMELY TEST OF A WEAK AND OUTGROWN MILITARISM—HOW THE CONCENTRATION OF UNMOBILIZED TROOPS BLUFFED MEXICO AND PRODUCED BY-PRODUCTS OF NATIONAL SERVICE AT HOME—OUR CITIZEN SOLDIER ON THE BORDER

BY

GEORGE MARVIN

YOU take it with all them glistenin' cannons an' all these 'ere rumblin' trucks, they ain't nothin' to it," observed "Captain R—," squinting over the side of our car in the main street of Mercedes.

"Yes, sir (accent always on "sir" in uttermost Texas), they're sure bluffed several miles. They got used to cavalry patrols that couldn't come acrost the river, but you take it with trains whistlin' all day an' all night, an' unloadin' them glistenin' cannons an' shovin' yeller armies into all these river towns, an' they naturally ain't nothin' to it."

He had hailed us through the canopy of dobie dust which our motor car threw over the Mercedes plaza. "Hi, Cap'n. Hold on, Cap'n," he yelled, and up he came running heavily, a figure out of Bret Harte, big Texas hat and cartridge belt, the handle of his Colt .45 "glistenin'" appropriately where the flap of the holster for greater convenience had been cut away. The handle of that same ".45" would be whittled away if he tried to notch in all the homicides which to him had been justifiable. Mexicans feared and hated him worse than any other white man on the lower Rio Grande, chief of Texas Rangers between Brownsville and Laredo, slant eyed, red faced, unshaven, with the untroubled emphatic lines around the mouth which come from chewing tobacco and repeatedly shooting to kill. In himself he typified the old régime which had brought him into official being, and he leaned over the side of the Quartermaster's car in the blistering sunshine of the Rio Grande noontime, and "gave us the real dope" on *bandits, the border, and Mexico.*

The ranger was right. The bluff did work. The concentration of 60,000 men on the Mexican border in one month accomplished what four months of international note-writing could not do—averted war. Men who have lived several years on the border and know the subject matter say "we have merely postponed an inevitable dirty job," but diplomacy unaided had failed to postpone that job. Up to June 19th the tone of the Mexican de facto Government's correspondence had been peremptory, almost insulting. By the 4th of July, the tone of that correspondence had changed: it was conciliatory, affable. The acid note of Jesus Acuña's able pen disappeared from its pages and some wiser authorship, suddenly impressed by a show of force, and possibly by the desirability of not alienating the only possible source of financial assistance, took its place.

It was a close shave at that. There came one day, General Funston told me, when it was only a matter of hours—of the two remaining hours of daylight—whether it should be peace or war. From Yuma to Brownsville every command—horse, foot, and guns—was ready and waiting on that day for the single code word which was by prearrangement to "bump" them in one long wave of invasion over the line. General Funston, by virtue of the authority vested in him at El Paso and not withdrawn, could have issued that command himself in an emergency. He rightly played safe and wired Washington to say the word. The word never came.

As it turned out we did not actually have to use force against the de facto Government of Mexico to compel it to recede from its attitude of opposition to our efforts to

: order along the international ary. We did not withdraw Per- ; column, we did not back down from sition defined in Mr. Lansing's note ' 7th. But the bandit raids stopped. ızista troops after the Carrizal fight ut of further clashes with our own, under what had been previously d sufficient provocation, and in a mosphere of something close to faith 'easonableness Carranza and his / Cabinet "purposed to employ all that may be at its disposal to avoid ırrence of new incidents which may cate and aggravate the situation." resentations by foreign govern- notably those from Latin America, ɔme weight with Mexico, as un- ıdly Carranza was also affected by :reasing financial strain upon him. ıese influences had been continuing /eral months. They were at best : causes. What hit Carranza was a f force. What changed him was the tion that the patient Government had been trying to befriend him ac- could, and apparently would, fight.

REPAINTING THE BORDER

concentration of the State Guards of ight states was an impressive sight. se of us who, knowing the weakness system, found in the concentration ıent daily proofs of unpreparedness, heless the mere bulk and momentum those olive-drab men and machines g devotedly in one direction and for ırpose was impressive enough: it money, resourcefulness, power, ap- determination. And if we were fected, you must multiply by ten for ɜct upon sullen, border Mexico, and east five for the rest of that country got its news exaggerated by distance oft repeating. They were all bluffed, ıe incredulous Carranza family group had guessed wrong.

ywhere ran the olive-drab color, g, moving constantly. On the roof of the St. Anthony Hotel, or in the hadowed patio of the "Menger," rab arms from Illinois and Wisconsin l white waists of Texas, while the made the same magic that they make on Broadway, and from every table men jumped silently erect at midnight when a Mexican band played the "Star Spangled Banner." The train going down to Brownsville was full of olive-drab journeying first class to the front. Three fat sergeants with neat dress-suit cases slept across the aisle from me, and nearly all the uppers and lowers gave forth reluctant olive-drab legs in the morning. In the night, restless with the heavy weather of a Texas road-bed, I pushed up my shade to watch the moonlit country slipping by. At some unknown junction two long troop trains clankety-clanked past us over the switch frogs of a branch line, dim lights in the tourist cars showing a wilderness of legs and heads of hunched up, sleeping olive-drabs—somebody's sons and husbands and brothers—rolling along out of an unknown peaceful Northern state bound for some unknown hot border town. The farther south we went the thicker they got. Finally, down in the river valley they became the dominant note in the great open spaces of Texas, triumphing over mesquite, cactus, and the peaceful handiwork of man.

When the militia was called out on the 18th of June it seemed probable to both the State and the War Departments at Washington that a state of war with Mexico could not be avoided. No matter what we called it—invasion, intervention, "a state of international war without purpose," or plain war—we faced a complete break with Mexico at that time.

"MOBILIZING" THE MILITIA

A certain amount of speed was therefore necessary in order to provide for eventualities. The word "mobilization" was used currently in defining the camps in the various states where the militia gathered before entraining for the border. But the word "mobilization" as used in military terminology presupposes ability to move; a mobilization camp is where troops are put into movement toward predetermined concentration points. It became evident that not one of the state camps was, in the true sense of the term, a mobilization camp. Not a single one of the state contingents was able to move within a week. The Hay Bill, passed by majorities in Congress

which deliberately ignored the lessons of history, the advice of military authorities, and the actual needs of the country, constituted the forty-eight little state guards an integral part of our first line of national defense. The probability of their mobilization had been foreshadowed months beforehand, and yet had there been any real military peril to meet in Mexico none of this "integral part" would have reached General Funston in time or in condition to be of any military service to him.

First, then, let us consider the preparedness of the National Guard of the United States merely as a matter of time. Thanks to a merciful Providence, the element of time did not prove important. We could not have surprised Mexico even had we so desired. So far as any war with Mexico was concerned it became evident in ten days that we had all the time we wanted.

TO THE BORDER UNMOBILIZED

Accordingly, it would have been the part of ordinary military common sense actually to mobilize the different state units before they were sent into the heat and unexperienced conditions of a Rio Grande summer.

But what happened? The state adjutants general were loudly protesting with a local pride, generally in inverse proportion to its justification, that their troops were ready to entrain. From various points on the border came calls for help transmitted through Congress to the administrative halls of the State and War Departments. A new Secretary of War, very receptive to public service suggestions and anxious to give a prompt accounting of his stewardship, did all he could to speed up the working of the complicated machine under his direction. As a result speed was obtained at the price of efficiency. And it was the speed of the tortoise at that. The first line German army, two million strong, was actually mobilized and taking its prearranged dispositions on all the borders of Germany within four days. Within one week France was mobilized. In one week of hustling, less than 16,000 unmobilized, unorganized, unfit militiamen entrained at their home camps for the Mexican border. A mobile regiment, troop, or battery *means*, anywhere in Europe, that particular unit, at or near war stre ready to move with all the ma accessories of an active campaign. a unit must be ready to take the against an enemy. In that sense no single unit in the whole militia of the ted States was ready to take the within a week; not one single unit ready to take the field within two mo of the date when the President's called into active service organiza which the Military Committees of gress had established as the mainsta our national defense.

SPECIFIC DEFECTS REVEALED

These are general statements and t fore susceptible to the disbelief or tradiction of general statements. It be far more convincing and interesti reach our conclusion inductively specific details which can be proved vouched for.

On the 19th of July, with the colo a regiment composing a part of the Infantry Brigade of the New York sion, I witnessed the first thorougl spection of the command which he had recently taken over. That regiment numerically one of the strongest o border at 1,250 men, 600 short of presc war strength. For their inspection formed by battalions on their camp gr at McAllen, Texas, and marched out a half a mile to an open drill ground, the inspection could be made by the co and his staff without cluttering up company streets in camp. It was day, and four men were obliged to fal before the inspection had begun—h mile of marching and a few minutes o playing kit. About two thirds of the carried the old equipment with which state contingent with the exception of consin arrived on the border. Once man's kit was laid upon the ground an played we found that hardly any tw them were alike. There was every con able combination of old and new. more than 25 per cent. of the regiment all the various articles required, and a many of these men when questioned d know that they were supposed to hav missing articles.

The officers of that regiment were as pleasant and hospitable a group of citizens as one could possibly ask to meet, but there was hardly a real officer among them. For armory or parade duties, for the general functions of our state militia as we have become accustomed through two generations of somewhat inert peace to regard them, these gentlemen would have been more capable. In three or four months' time they, in common with the general run of the officers in more than thirty-two regiments which I saw camped on the border, if they could "stand the gaff," might make efficient officers for a Mexican campaign. In saying this I am not merely advancing my own opinion. I am repeating what the inspecting officers of the Regular Army told me and, better still, I am agreeing with what these honest gentlemen themselves, after a month or six weeks under canvas, admitted with the utmost frankness. There were altogether too many soft, fat men among them. Peace and unpreparedness, for that matter, have bred altogether too many fat men above the rank of major in the Regular Army. A great many of these men were, a good deal of the time, in visible physical distress. You can't swing troops in that state of mind and body. A great many of the mounted officers were obviously not horsemen. They and their mounts were turned out badly and their men laughed openly at the ridiculous figures they made.

THE UNORGANIZED CONTINGENTS

The New York Division, of which these regiments formed constituent parts, was the only organization which came to the border nominally complete. The Pennsylvania Division was next to it. All the other regimental contingents came as unorganized or only partially organized units. All of them had to be consolidated, after they reached the border, into brigades and divisions. But the same military law which made it necessary to use the militia forbade the appointment of general officers by federal or Regular Army authorities to command these brigades and divisions.

It is to this dual control that militia and Regular Army officers alike trace most of the breaks that have occurred and those which will occur. Thus it was necessary to enlist every man who is now in the federal service twice. By the Dick Law as amended in 1908 state troops were to be physically examined, equipped, organized, and trained on the same lines as the Regular Army. But this law has never been complied with. The federal authorities have been in the abject position of having to use moral suasion in order to get the states to endeavor to do what by law they were obliged to do in order to get federal appropriations. There is no authority on earth which carries much weight with the governor of a state. A Governor Blease of South Carolina can, and does, muster out his entire state militia just to spite Secretary Garrison and the War Department. And you can't stop him or any of his colleagues from doing the same thing again. You have got to enlist state recruits twice, examine them twice, equip them twice, reinstruct them, and then, after all this criminally lost motion and time, you may have to encounter, in addition to crass inefficiency, a total misconception as to the duties of the organized militia.

THE CASE OF TEXAS

For example, take the case of Texas. What happened there has never been accurately explained. What happened in Texas also happened in other states, but it so happened that Texas, being immediately upon the border and its militia called out a month ahead of the general call, became a good test case.

It was a natural presumption that the citizen soldiery of Texas would be particularly responsive to the President's call because the depredations of Mexicans had been in a great majority of instances upon their own soil. Yet when the Texas militia was mustered into the federal service, 116 of the men refused to take the oath. To the credit of Texas be it said that with four exceptions every one of those 116 men has now joined the colors. Their unwillingness to take the oath was due, not to lack of patriotism, not to lack of spirit, but to an entire misconception of their duties as members of the National Guard.

Out of the 116 delinquents one company of sixty-eight men came from the two towns

of Lott and Rosebud. That company was formed as a local attempt to beat local option. It was almost entirely guiltless of any military subconsciousness. In their locality there had been some difficulty in acquiring alcohol for drinking purposes until several prominent citizens got together and organized a club which was listed on the books of the adjutant general as a company in the Texas militia. Some uniforms were provided and a few Springfield rifles were cached in the club house, but in all other respects that Lott and Rosebud company had about as much immediate relation to the national or Texas defense as any other country club whose members can legally consume intoxicating liquors drawn from their own lockers on the premises and not otherwise.

THE CLUB SYSTEM OF MILITIA

When it came to mustering in for active service in the arid wastes of Mexican-Texas these gentlemen promptly refused. They were in pretty much the same state of mind as was Mr. Kolehmainen, the Scandinavian long distance champion, who was urged to join the Twenty-second New York regiment in order that he might wear their colors in athletic games. He joined an athletic club just as these leading citizens of Lott and Rosebud joined a social club. In the clear minds of Kolehmainen, Lott, and Rosebud alike, by their own frank admission, there was no thought of Mexican or any other kind of hot and uncomfortable service. That was the job of the Regular Army, for which they could volunteer if they liked as in the time of the Spanish War. Not one of these men knew that they had violated the statute in the Dick Law, by the provisions of which they were promptly arrested to await trial by court martial. When brought up against the mustering-in oath they thought they were being forced to volunteer.

Fortunately for the good name of these men and their states, the tact and good sense of the officers in the Judge Advocate General's Department made it possible for them to take the oath and join the colors.

But that is not all—and remember that we are considering Texas merely as a fair example of what took place in forty-five other states. One hundred and sixteen men would not muster in, but 1,082 carried on the militia rolls of the state of Texas never turned up at all. These men did not exist. They were "paper" men. The requirement of the Division of Militia Affairs makes it necessary for each state to carry so many men on its rolls in order to get its quota of the annual militia appropriation. The adjutant general of the state of Texas, by hook or by crook, mostly by crook, had to make up that number. Any one who would permit the use of his name was good enough. Schoolboys were down, commercial travelers who were out of the state nine months in the year. Some members were also recorded in epitaphs in Texas cemeteries. As a good citizen of Texas on the staff of the governor said to me in San Antonio, "this isn't a National Guard at all, it's a disease." And that disease has been epidemic all over the United States.

Lott and Rosebud and Kolehmainen were, if you like, extreme cases, but I have seen cases closely resembling them coming from seventeen other states. The men who form the subject matter of these cases are the most eloquent witnesses as to the total inadequacy of the system by which they believe they have been victimized.

THE CONFUSION OF DIVIDED CONTROL

Try to grasp some idea of the confusion which this condition of dual control brought about. The War College division of the General Staff at Washington worked out very carefully more than two years ago a comprehensive plan by which the militia of the various states was to be concentrated in definite brigades and divisions at specified points on the Mexican border. That plan was completely ignored in the stress of what the Secretary of War and Congress believed to be the exigencies of the occasion. Consequently troops were concentrated as they became ready to entrain and as they were called for. With the exception of the two divisions already mentioned the constituent portions of other divisions as planned to be assembled by the General Staff were distributed without reference to the original plan for practical organization.

With this brief idea of the confusion in the organization of tactical units, we can

now turn to the condition of the personnel of militia regiments as they reached the theatre of war.

The minimum peace strength of a regiment of infantry is 860 men, of a cavalry regiment 930, and of an artillery regiment 870. The war strength in round numbers of these regiments is: infantry, 1,860; cavalry, 1,250; artillery, 1,150. In order to receive their annual quota of the military appropriations the adjutants general in the various states are obliged by law to maintain their contingents at the minimum peace strength. They get their share of the appropriations regularly, but in a great many cases they do not maintain their regiments at the minimum legal strength. More of this later.

In order to be quite sure of this matter I was able to obtain at headquarters in San Antonio accurate data with regard to the so-called mobilization, transportation, and distribution of the state guards along the border. The outstanding fact is this. The "windy" adjutants general who occupied space in the daily papers during the latter part of June, offering their regiments as immediately ready for border service, were actually unable a month later to get sufficient recruits to reach peace strength. This is not a matter of assertion, it is a matter of recorded and proved fact.

MILITIA NOT UP TO PEACE STRENGTH

With the exception of the contingents of three states nearly every militia regiment which came down through San Antonio and was checked up for tentage and supplies at their respective stations faced the job of taking on something like 1,200 new men. Before the end of July, headquarters and the militia officers alike realized that this was an impossible job. In the first place, in each case 800 or 900 recruits were necessary to make war strength, and from 200 to 400 more sound men had to be found to make up for those thrown out on account of physical disability. By a rough process of subtraction and addition we find, then, that, six weeks after the so-called National Guard's bluff was called, a little more than half of the nominal peace strength of the organized militia had reached the border unmobilized.

But we can dig down much farther in our proof of the entire unpreparedness of the militia for effective field service. Those regiments which were mustered in at minimum peace strength or less had on an average only 60 per cent. of men who had served more than a year with the Guard and this, remember, was militia service—armory drills once a week indoors by electric light during the winter, and a week in camp during the summer. Fifteen per cent. of them had less than three months' service. All mounted organizations were without mounts with the exception, as in the case of Squadron "A," New York, of a handful of horses, many of them privately owned.

Suppose, then, that by every possible expedient a given regiment late in the summer could be brought to something like prescribed war strength, that regiment would have about four or five hundred moderately instructed men and nearly all of them with the exception of their border service would be without previous training in the field. I have spoken before of the impressive sight made by this migration of olive-drab into Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. It was also a pathetic sight, when you stop to think that here were trainloads of men in uniforms carrying arms they knew nothing about, going thirty miles an hour to be introduced to animals they had never seen, and all in the immediate presence of a possible enemy. It was one great vivid moving picture of the public conception of preparedness. The money spent on that spectacular show so prodigally would have made the field artillery of the United States Army first class, and would have put our reserve supplies and munitions on a sound footing.

THE SYSTEM TO BLAME

Ours is an outworn and thoroughly bad system. The men who compose the National Guard are the victims of that system to a far greater extent than is the general public which has been lulled into a kind of twilight sleep by all the verbal massage of misinformation about it. The weakness of the system is not confined to the National Guard itself, it reaches over into the War Department and into the Regular Army itself, which has been

compelled by law into close association with the system. In the matter of supplies, for instance, the Regular Army was at fault partly because of its old-fashioned red tape and restrictions, and partly because of the state cramp imposed upon it.

Every staff officer who has had anything to do with this concentration is in agreement on this one principle of mobilization, i. e., every regiment should have in its armory or in its home city immediately available all the materials necessary to put it upon a war footing. What is the actual idiotic policy? The War Department still clings to the moss-grown idea of keeping all extra equipment centralized in a very few distributing depots. The Eastern Department from Maine to Florida and including twenty-two states had to be equipped from the Department Depot at Philadelphia. The sudden drain upon the supplies revealed a lack of reserve material necessary for the extraordinary demand, but even had there been enough supplies immediately available it was physically impossible to shovel the stuff out of one depot and transport it into twenty-two states in less than two or three weeks. The lack of extra equipment, therefore, must be charged up to the Federal Government. But the lack of peace strength equipment is chargeable to the state organizations themselves.

THE BORDER BRAND OF SOLDIER

When, thus unmobilized, unequipped, and unfit, the various regiments of citizens from forty-eight states finally reached the border, nearly all of them went to work with a will to mobilize, to get equipped, and to make themselves fit. That was the finest sight along the border during the heat and the dust and the tropic rains of a very trying summer. I got a chance to see at work thirty-two regiments representing fourteen different states. During that time, while there were overwhelming proofs turning up every day as to the ineffectiveness of the system, there were many proofs of the spirit and fibre of the men who were doing their best to make good.

A particularly good record was made by the First Illinois Cavalry in the early weeks of its service, Troop "A" from that regiment being the first militia detachment to be chosen for active patrol duty with the Regular Army on the Rio Grande. They actually mustered war strength at Chicago and lost only eighty men out of more than twelve hundred on their physical examination. Their camp is a model of neatness and sanitation. Their buglers extracted music from their instruments instead of the caterwauling which saddened sunrise and sunset for some of the other commands. Their colonel and his majors by the end of July got their command in and out of camp every day and through the regular cavalry exercises by troop and squadron so as to make them look like regulars. They sent a polo team against the regular cavalry and artillery teams, they made entries in the regimental pistol and rifle competitions, and their baseball nine held up its head in Texas. Once a week they publish the best newspaper on the border, *The Illinois Cavalryman* they call it, and under the title they carry this vigorous motto: "First from Chicago, First on the Border, First in Service." And all this manifold military life they very obviously enjoyed.

SENATOR LEWIS'S RESOLUTION

And so it was with peculiar bitterness that the men of the First Illinois Cavalry resented the resolution introduced by Senator J. "Ham" Lewis directing the Secretary of War to take pity upon this regiment "stricken by the dengue fever" and remove them from the pestilential shores of the Rio Grande. I happened to be in camp with the First Illinois the day that Senator Lewis introduced his resolution. Sanitary Officer Bishpam and the colonel had just made an inspection of the regiment. There was not a single man in the entire command who had dengue or any other kind of fever. The correspondent of a leading Chicago newspaper, however, did have a feverish idea about life on the border, and in order to justify his presence at the front he had sent a sensational story of the ravages of disease in the camp of the Chicago militia.

That Chicago "scoop" story was characteristic of a great deal of misinformation circulated during the summer through the channels of the various state newspapers which endeavored to give the folks at home

thrilling news about their relatives at the front. With war there would have been enough genuine thrill. But failing war, they had somehow to keep up interest in what was in reality a very monotonous, uneventful, unthrilling routine of duty.

NEWSPAPER MISINFORMATION

Stories of that kind added to the burdens of every regimental and brigade corps. Stirred by such tales of hardships, relatives and friends, with or without political "pull," deluged their representatives in Congress with protests, and Congress immediately came down on the general staff of every division with inquiries which used up a lot of their time to answer. Loyal and sagacious governors of states also began sending down special representatives to inspect the camps of their state troops and report criticisms and recommendations. These men helped to worry the life out of the officers who were trying to wean their soft commands away from their accustomed home comforts and season them by the legitimate routine work of camp life.

In the matter of food, as this particular colonel pointed out, it was a very essential part of the border duty and experience that the officers should learn to "rustle" for their commands. The Army ration runs at the rate of twenty-three cents per man a day. It consists of beans, fresh beef, potatoes, canned milk, coffee, flour and sometimes fruit. Any healthy normal man can live on that nourishment three times a day.

The trouble was that very few of the militia mess sergeants knew how to use and make the most of the Army rations. Neither did they nor their officers know how to make use of the regular accessories provided by Army regulations. In every post exchange or canteen one third of the enlisted man's pay is allowed as a credit balance with which he can eke out his ration as he sees fit, or as his mess sergeant sees fit. A great many companies run company stores, the profits of which are used for various purposes, one of the most usual being the replenishment of the company mess. Regimental or company pool or billiard tables make from fifty to one hundred dollars a month dividends which are salted back into extra purchases for the company. As a matter of fact, in a semi-permanent camp, like those which the militia is occupying all the way from Yuma to Brownsville, there is actually no such thing as a ration. It exists only on active field service. With the devices available to every good company officer there is no necessity whatever for any assistance from state or any other outside source.

USEFUL BY-PRODUCTS

The overwhelming military conclusion to be gained by this concentration of armed citizens on the Mexican border is that the state militia as any part of a system of adequate national defense, always wrong in theory, has now again proved miserably wrong in practice. If the country is in earnest about national defense the so-called National Guard system has got to go. Congress should no longer divert millions of appropriated dollars to the preservation of a national sham and the menace of gross hardship and injustice to the citizens who pay the millions and suffer by their misapplication in the hands of Congress.

If we can get that idea thoroughly understood it will be many times worth all the money and time and individual hardship it has cost. And it would be quite wrong to say that there had been no other very useful by-product of this olive-drab migration. By the end of September we shall not have an army, but we ought to have four or five thousand men who will be fit to form the nucleus of a reserve corps of officers. Between seventy and a hundred thousand citizens ought to go back home wiser and healthier than they left home. Every one of those citizens ought to become a radiating centre of sound military information and principle. You won't find many of those men disagreeing with the idea that in a democracy the military responsibilities of citizenship ought to be borne by all alike.

THE MATHEMATICS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

THE FACTS AND FIGURES ON WHICH TRAINED OBSERVERS OF POLITICS BASE THEIR CALCULATIONS OF THE COMPARATIVE CHANCES OF SUCCESS OF MR. WILSON AND MR. HUGHES

BY

FRANK E. PERLEY

SIXTEEN million voters, one fifth of whom are women, will choose on Tuesday, November 7th, the next President of the United States.

Who will win—Wilson or Hughes?

The purpose of this article is to give the facts about electoral votes, about "pivotal" states and the current issues in them, and other data from which the reader may arrive at his own answer to that question. It may be argued that 16,000,000 voters, scattered through forty-eight states, are a good many units to be calmly moved about like objects on a chess board. But this difficulty is easy to overcome. Consider the 16,000,000 not as individual units but as represented in the 531 votes which will be cast in the Electoral College. The next step in calculating the chances of election of the candidates is to list the states that are "Sure for Wilson" and those that are "Sure for Hughes." These two elements constitute the time-honored formula by which a Presidential contest may be decided in advance of the election. No pre-election calculation is complete without it.

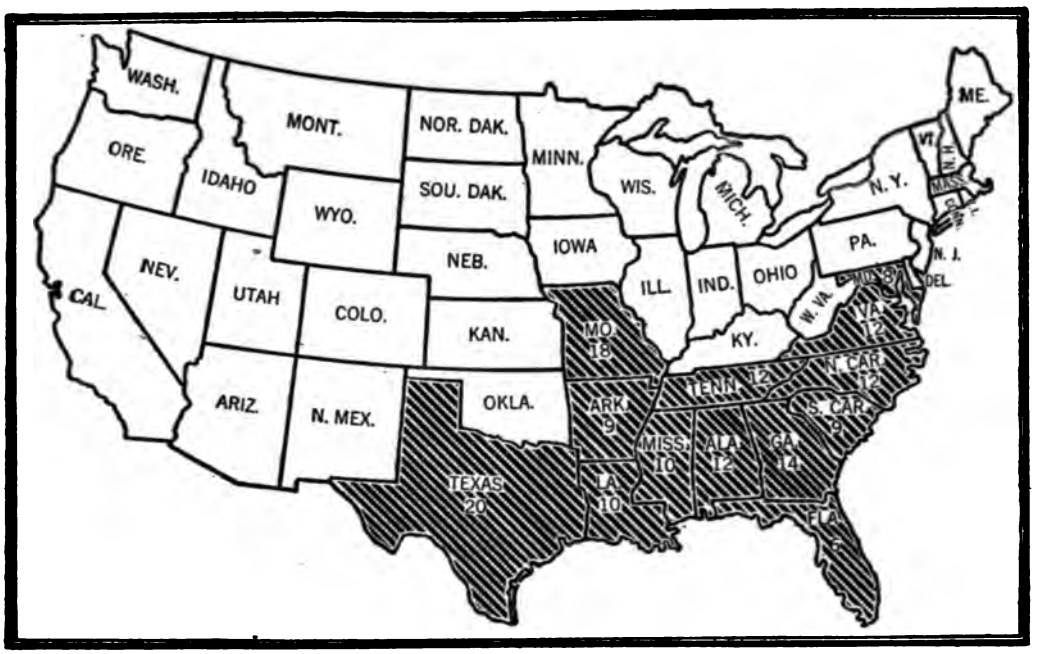
It is, of course, impossible for any observer to compile a map of "Sure for Wilson" states to which a Hughes partisan will sincerely and heartily subscribe. By the same token no map of "Sure for Hughes" states can be made satisfactory to a Wilson partisan. The purpose of this article being to get at the matter without prejudice, the maps on the facing page simply indicate the judgment of one political observer who has studied the problem.

That these maps will be criticised both for some of their contents and for some of their omissions is expected.

Less than half of the forty-eight states are included in the two maps. Some of the other states have Democratic habits that are fairly regular. Others have swung into the Republican column frequently. But all have shown a disposition to shift around once in a while.

The test of political perspicacity comes in extending the "Sure for Wilson" and the "Sure for Hughes" maps sufficiently to include a majority of the Electoral College. There are all sorts of possibilities when the conditions in the other states are taken into consideration. How readily the 152 votes classified as sure for President Wilson can be expanded into a majority of all! For instance, if in addition to the 152 votes credited to the Democratic candidate he should get 45 from New York, 14 from New Jersey, 7 from Connecticut, 15 from Indiana, 13 from Kentucky, 10 from Oklahoma, 7 from Washington, and 8 from West Virginia he would have a grand total of 271, five more than necessary for the election. Mr. Wilson, holding the other states, could get along without Washington's 7 votes and win with Nevada's 3, or Arizona's 3, or New Mexico's 3, or Wyoming's 3, any one of which would elect him with one vote to spare. If he should lose in Connecticut but carry Washington the three votes of Nevada or Arizona or New Mexico or Wyoming would still keep him ahead. Again, if the President should carry New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Indiana along with his 152, his total would be brought up to the necessary 266 by 13 from Kentucky, 10 from Oklahoma, 7 from Washington, and 3 from New Mexico, even if West Virginia returned Republican electors.

Until recent years the political managers have calculated that a Presidential election



THE "SURE FOR WILSON" STATES

The solid South, which has practically always gone Democratic in recent years, plus Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, and Maryland, will almost certainly give Mr. Wilson a total of 152 electoral votes as a nucleus toward the 266 needed for his reëlection

THE "SURE FOR HUGHES" STATES

It is generally conceded that Mr. Hughes will poll the 138 electoral votes from the shaded states. Minnesota, Michigan, and Pennsylvania went for Mr. Roosevelt in 1912; Vermont went for Mr. Taft; the other states in the group are usually Republican

would turn on the result in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Indiana. These were known as the "pivotal" states, and frequently they proved to be such. How would Mr. Wilson make out this year if he should lose all four of these states, with their combined electoral vote of 81? Starting again with the 152 credited to him, he could win by getting from Kentucky 13 votes, Oklahoma 10, Washington 7, West Virginia 8, California 13, Colorado 6, Illinois 29, Michigan 15, Nebraska 8, and Maine 6. This would make his total of electoral votes 267.

If Mr. Wilson should carry his home state, New Jersey, and lose New York, Connecticut, and Indiana, he could still win without Washington and West Virginia, or without Colorado and Nebraska, or without Maine and any one of these four states.

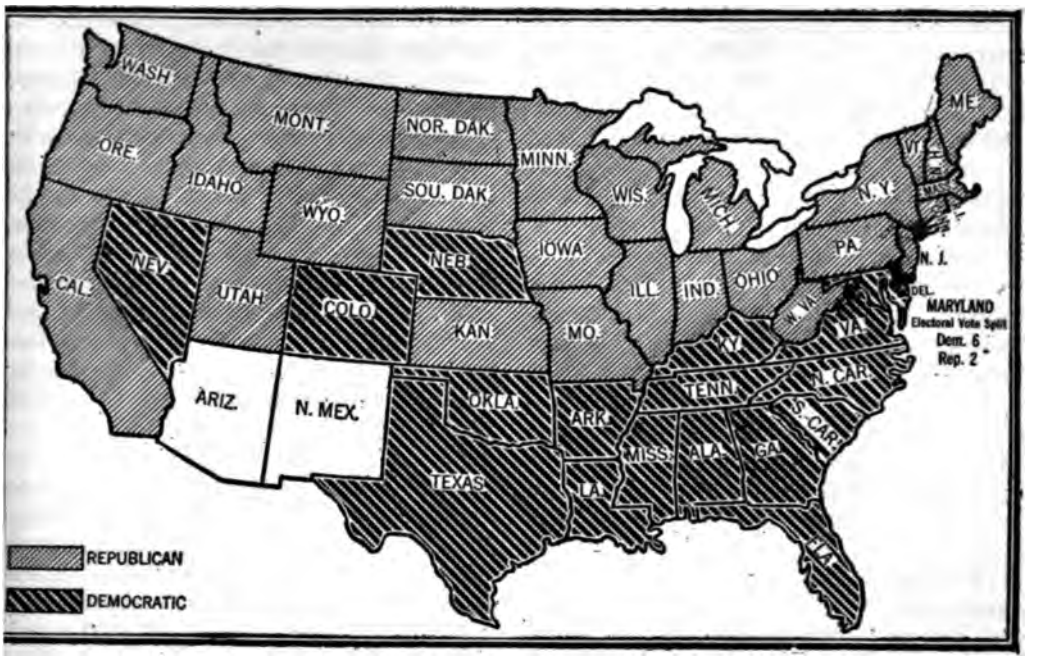
As to the mathematics of Mr. Hughes's situation, the addition of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Indiana to the 138 electoral votes credited as sure for him would bring his total to 219. If he should also carry Illinois, with 29 votes, Kansas, with 10, Maine, with 6, and New Mexico, with 3, his grand total would be 267, just one more than enough to elect. If he should lose New York but carry the other three pivotal states, his total would be brought one above the necessary 266 by the 29 from Illinois, 18 from Missouri, 13 from California, 10 from Kansas, 13 from Wisconsin, 7 from Washington, and 3 from New Mexico.

What would be the possibilities if Mr. Hughes should be defeated in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Indiana? Like his Democratic opponent, the Republican nominee might find himself victorious, even in that situation. Taking again the 138 votes as a basis, the addition of 29 from Illinois, 18 from Missouri, 13 from California, 10 from Kansas, 13 from Wisconsin, 6 from Maine, 7 from Washington, 6 from Colorado, 8 from Nebraska, 4 from Idaho, 4 from Montana, 5 from North Dakota, and 5 from South Dakota would bring Mr. Hughes's total up to 266, and elect him.

It is likely that most of the mathematicians, in undertaking to decide this year's election in advance, will lay little store by the figures of the last Presidential campaign. The candidacy of Colonel Roosevelt on the Progressive ticket four years ago wrought many changes in the political map. Now that the Colonel has declined to run again as the Progressive candidate political students will find difficulty in anticipating this year's result on the basis of the vote in 1912. How many of Roosevelt's votes will Wilson get now? How many will Hughes get? These are puzzling questions. True, they are being answered glibly from the various political headquarters, but who really knows? No canvass has yet been made of the 4,119,507 voters who rallied behind the Colonel for the 1912 Battle of Armageddon. Up to the time Colonel Roosevelt declined the nomination unanimously tendered to him by the recent Progressive convention in Chicago his loyal followers were predicting that he would hold all his 1912 supporters and attract many new ones. But with the Colonel out of the field, the Presidential race has narrowed down to a contest between Mr. Wilson and Mr. Hughes, a Democratic candidate against a Republican—the same sort of political contest as the voters of the country were accustomed to in the years before 1912.

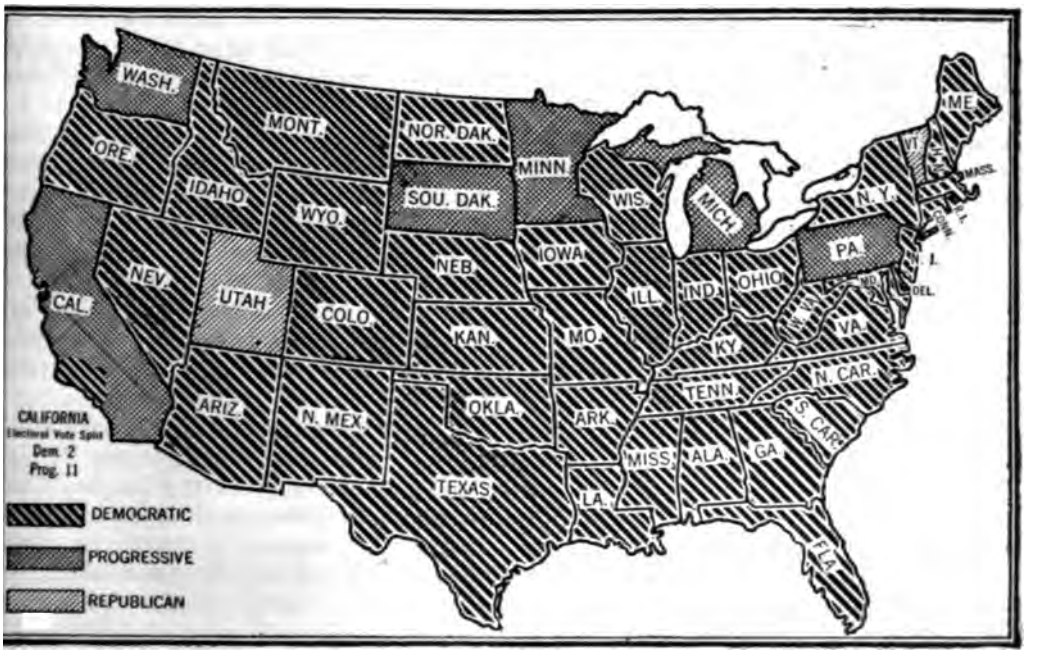
The most recent campaign to which this year's can be likened was that of 1908, when William H. Taft was the Republican nominee and William Jennings Bryan the Democratic. In that campaign Judge Taft carried twenty-nine states, receiving a total vote of 321 in the Electoral College. Mr. Bryan carried sixteen states, his electoral vote being 162, as shown by the map on page 537.

But, though eight years is a comparatively short space in political history, many changes have taken place. It is fair to assume that President Wilson will carry, next November, all the Democratic states which stood by Mr. Bryan in that campaign. But in a score of the states which Judge Taft carried that year political and economic conditions are now vastly changed. Even his political opponents concede that Mr. Wilson will carry some of the states which were lost to the Democratic candidate eight years ago.



THE ELECTION OF 1908

Mr. Taft polled 7,678,908 popular votes and 321 electoral votes, carrying the whole Northern and most f the Western part of the country, as against Mr. Bryan's popular vote of 6,409,104 and electoral vote of 6a. Mr. Bryan carried the solid South and the border states of Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Kentucky, nd six votes in Maryland, and besides these his home state, Nebraska, Colorado, and Nevada



THE ELECTION OF 1912

The voters turned against Mr. Taft in 1912, giving him only two states, Vermont and Utah, with an ectoral vote of 8. Mr. Roosevelt, however, won the electoral vote of five states and most of the votes of alifornia, a total of 88. Mr. Wilson, although getting less than the combined popular vote of Mr. Taft nd Mr. Roosevelt, received 435 electoral votes, the greatest number ever given to one candidate. The opular vote was: Mr. Wilson, 6,293,019; Mr. Roosevelt, 4,119,507; Mr. Taft, 3,484,956

Reference to the 1912 campaign can prove of little help in efforts to foretell this year's result. Mr. Taft, as the Republican nominee four years ago, carried only two states—Utah and Vermont. Colonel Roosevelt carried six states—California, Michigan, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, and Washington, although Mr. Wilson received two electoral votes from California. Forty of the forty-eight states were carried by Mr. Wilson and his electoral vote was 435, the largest ever cast for a Presidential candidate.

Although Mr. Taft carried only two states his popular vote was 3,484,956. Mr. Wilson received 6,293,019 votes. The combined vote of Roosevelt and Taft was 7,604,463. Presumably Mr. Wilson will hold, this year, all the votes cast for him in that campaign, and the Republican managers expect that all of Judge Taft's 1912 vote will go to Mr. Hughes.

There remains the uncertain problem of apportioning between Mr. Wilson and Mr. Hughes the Progressive vote. Friends of the Republican nominee assert that, in view of his indorsement by the Progressive National Committee and Colonel Roosevelt's open declaration in his favor, Mr. Hughes will receive the votes of more than 75 per cent. of the Progressives. These claims are not conceded, however, by Mr. Wilson's friends, who assert that the Democratic nominee, particularly through the progressive laws enacted by his administration, has made a strong appeal to thousands of Roosevelt's former supporters. In the Middle West and in the Far Western states they believe this to be especially true.

It will be interesting to note, on election night, how many of the Presidential mathematicians prove to have classified California, for instance, correctly as between Wilson and Hughes. Four years ago Roosevelt carried that state by a plurality of 174 over Wilson. The Colonel's total vote in the state was 283,610, Mr. Wilson had 283,436, and Mr. Taft, with no official place on the California ballot, was voted for by 3,914. Many California Republicans voted for Mr. Wilson as a protest against the Progressive managers who had deprived the Republican Party of its place on the ballot. How many of these Republicans will return to their party this year, and how many of the Progressives will turn to Mr. Wilson now are the problems the political managers are anxious to solve.

Illinois is another great state where the ascendancy of former Progressives in Republican affairs has led to serious complications. There is no regular Republican on the Hughes Campaign Committee from that state. Mr. Harold L. Ickes, who is sole representative from Illinois in that body, was, until recently, one of the foremost Bull Moose leaders. Mayor Thompson of Chicago, member of the Republican National Committee from Illinois, had expected a place on the committee. The chagrin caused by the preferment of the Progressive leader is not limited to Mayor Thompson's close friends. It is felt by many old-line Illinois Republican leaders, under whose management Illinois was carried for Republican Presidential candidates in seven of the last nine campaigns.

Illinois was one of the states carried by Mr. Wilson four years ago. His vote there was 405,048. Colonel Roosevelt was second, with 386,478, while Mr. Taft's total was 253,593. The combined vote for Roosevelt and Taft was 640,071, exceeding Wilson's winning total by 235,023. Hence, if the Democratic nominee can hold the vote he received four years ago and attract to his support one third of those who voted for Roosevelt in that election, he will carry Illinois. The logical place for it, however, if determined by cold political reasoning, is in the Hughes map.

Amalgamation of the Progressives and the Republicans is described as proceeding more effectively in Ohio, for the reason that Colonel Roosevelt's adherents in the Buckeye State are satisfied with the selection of the Colonel's close friend, James R. Garfield, as a member of the Hughes Campaign Committee. In Ohio, as in Illinois, the regular Republicans have no representative on this important committee, but they seem to have accepted with a show of good grace the preferment of a Progressive.

In the campaign of 1912, Mr. Wilson received 424,834 votes in Ohio. Mr. Taft was supported by 278,168 of his state neighbors. Mr. Roosevelt polled 229,807 votes. Though Wilson carried Ohio in the

-cornered contest of 1912, that is ›nly time in fifty years that Ohio's ›ral vote has been cast for a Demo- : candidate.

e situation in Indiana is complicated ıse both the Democratic candidate for President, Thomas R. Marshall, and Republican opponent, Charles W. anks, live there. Two United States ›ors are to be chosen from the Hoosier at the November election, besides a nor and other state officers. Thus ›pens that there are honors aplenty to ›arded. The Indiana Democrats are ace with their national organization, James A. Hemenway, one of the regular of Indiana Republicans, ›ents his state on the Hughes ›aign Committee.

der these circumstances, the Indiana aign will be a battle royal, conducted ch side with great vigor by politicians who know about all there is worth knowing in political strategy.

Varying opinions are expressed as to this year's result in Missouri. The doubt is attributed to the fact that Missouri possesses a large population of German descent. Republican leaders assert this vote, heretofore largely Democratic, will be cast against President Wilson this year. To which the President's friends reply that for every vote thus lost he will gain two because of the Administration's domestic policies which have won especial favor in the Mississippi Valley.

Mr. Hughes lives in New York, Mr. Wilson in New Jersey. What of these two states? The Republican candidate never has been defeated in his home state, nor has Mr. Wilson in New Jersey. Mr. Hughes, as a candidate for governor, twice carried New York. Mr. Wilson was elected governor of New Jersey the only time he ran

STATE	PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION YEARS								
	1880	1884	1888	1892	1896	1900	1904	1908	1912
NEW YORK	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Rep.	Rep.	Rep.	Dem.
NEW JERSEY	Dem.	Dem.	Dem.	Dem.	Rep.	Rep.	Rep.	Rep.	Dem.
CONNECTICUT	Rep.	Dem.	Dem.	Dem.	Rep.	Rep.	Rep.	Rep.	Dem.
INDIANA	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Rep.	Rep.	Rep.	Dem.

THE "PIVOTAL" STATES

ıe so-called pivotal states, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Indiana, with their total of 81 ıl votes and their almost regular habit of switching these votes to the winning candidate, have caused › receive much attention by the politicians of both parties. These 81 votes added to the conceded Mr. Wilson or 138 of Mr. Hughes would very nearly insure the election of either

for that office. Neither candidate has tasted defeat at the polls. Friends of Mr. Hughes feel that the strong hold he obtained on the people of New York while governor has not been shaken. When he was first chosen governor, in 1906, he received 749,002 votes, defeating William R. Hearst by 57,897 and being the only candidate on the Republican ticket elected that year. Renominated for governor two years later, Mr. Hughes polled 804,651 votes and was reëlected by 69,462 plurality.

dent. New York gave Bryan, as the ocratic nominee, 678,386 votes in Parker 683,981 in 1904, Bryan 667, 1908. Four years ago Taft re 455,487 votes in the Empire State Roosevelt 390,093. Mr. Wilson's wi total was 190,105 less than their com vote, which together was 24,490 votes than Taft alone received in 19

In the last twelve Presidential camp New Jersey has been carried by th publicans five times. McKinley wa

THE WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE STATES

Eleven Western states and Illinois have granted women the privilege of voting at national electio nearly every state the women, if organized, could decide for whom each state's electors should vote. Mr. H in his speech of acceptance advocated woman's suffrage throughout the country because he feared that wise there might come into being a woman's party which would have this ability to decide elections object, to the subservience of the vital needs of the country

In that year Mr. Taft was elected President, receiving in New York State 870,070 votes, and having a plurality of 202,602 over Mr. Bryan. Critics of the Republican nominee this year call attention to the fact that when he ran for reëlection as governor, his last previous appeal to the voters of his home state, he received the smallest plurality of any candidate on the Republican ticket.

Mr. Wilson's only appearance as a candidate in New York State was in 1912, when he received 655,475 votes for Presi-

cessful in that state in 1896 and Roosevelt in 1904, and Taft in General Grant carried it in 1872. O wise President Wilson's home state been in the Democratic column ever the Civil War. The only straigh party contest in which Mr. Wilson figured there was in 1910, when he ra governor and defeated his Republica ponent by 49,056 plurality. In the idential campaign four years ago New sey gave Mr. Wilson 178,289 votes, Co Roosevelt 145,410, and Mr. Taft 88

ew Jersey, as in New York, there is a us division in the Progressive vote as een Wilson and Hughes.

ost Presidential forecasters, in trying ut Connecticut in the column in h it will be found on election night, are ing in mind the industrial situation in state. The European war has de- ed an enormously prosperous mu- ns industry there. The workingmen ll busy and wages are high. The iblicans have won more than one cam- n on the issue of "the empty dinner ' Over in Connecticut there are no y dinner pails this year.

Michigan, on account of her wonder- utomobile industries, in Indiana, and veral other states where labor is em- d at good wages and full time, the is expressed by many observers that cal prosperity will have an important ng on the November election. The stion will influence campaign mathe- cians in their distribution of the elec- votes between Wilson and Hughes. en there is another phase of this cam- n which is receiving earnest considera- namely: What are the women voters to do? This suggests another in- ting map, shown on the facing page. It is estimated that there are, in these twelve states, more than four million women who, if they care to do so, may vote for President at the November election. One third of these live in Illinois. California has more than 800,000, Washington more than 400,000, Kansas nearly half a million, Colorado a quarter of a million, Idaho, Montana, and Utah about 100,000 each, and Oregon more than 200,000. Arizona has probably 45,000, Wyoming 35,000, and Nevada 25,000. True it may be that a considerable percentage of these women do not care to vote, but the great majority, after fighting for years to get the ballot, now exercise this privilege.

Some of the most forceful suffrage leaders intend to make the vote of their sex count in this year's campaign. They realize that the women, if they act in unison, may decide the Presidential election. In several of the suffrage states there are enough women voters to throw those states either to Wilson or to Hughes in the Electoral College. Their efforts are certain to heighten interest in the campaign, and a block of 91 votes is not to be despised, by preëlection mathematicians. Many a Presidential election has turned on a much narrower margin.

FLORA MACDONALD COLLEGE

IE HEART OF THE ANCIENT SETTLEMENT OF THE FAMOUS OLD SCOTTISH CLANSMEN IN NORTH CAROLINA THAT IS THE RECOGNIZED CENTRE OF THE SCOTS IN AMERICA—A LEADER WHO FACED THE ALMOST HOPELESS TASK OF SPREADING A NEW CREED OF EDUCATION AND OF PROGRESS, AND HOW HE SUCCEEDED

BY

RALPH W. PAGE

TO-MORROW the Western Union, the modern Paul Revere, were to sound the call to arms on the waters of the Lumber and Cape Fear rivers in North Carolina, and the roll of the iteers were called in the open squares irthage and Fayetteville, the sergeant use as his list the ancient muster of lans at Cross Hill on February 15, Donald Macdonald and Alexander MacLeod, John MacKenzie and Murdock MacCaskill would answer now as then. Reading the old chronicle of the days when Flora Macdonald of Milton, the heroine of Skye and the savior of Charles Stuart, last crowned king of Scotland, rallied the remnants of the veterans of Preston and Culloden and the great clan Colla to the sound of the pibroch under the famous mulberry tree at Carthage to march in their last tar-

tan array for the glory of King George, a resident of the region has a feeling that he knows every character—every captain and every private. Why, they are his neighbors! Even the houses, and the roads, and the landmarks are the same—are inhabited by the same families.

For until the last decade there has come no change over this ancient Highland settlement. Spreading out from Fayetteville through a country of innumerable streams and great pine forests, the sturdy sons of Scotland's last battle established a frugal and hardy civilization around their churches of Bethel and Bethesda before the American Revolution. They established their cotton fields and their whisky stills, their pioneer cabins and their independence, and there they stayed, as vigorous and as religious and as ignorant and as poor a population as, perhaps, could be found on the Atlantic seaboard.

THE SCOTTISH CENTRE OF AMERICA

With them they brought the splendid traditions and legends of their race, and it is not an exaggeration to say that in many respects they are the strongest and purest element in our population. Their inheritance shows no weakness in the strain. They are tough and they are honest. They are proud and they are fighters, every man of them. Out of their slim means they disburse a Mosaic hospitality and display a rugged contempt of all outside help and opinion. They are the recognized centre and seat of the Scots in America.

But the hand of progress had passed them by. An antiquary taking the old Morgantown road fifteen years ago would have found infinite delight in the Old World courtesy of the elder ladies; the simple pioneer plantation, with the old bucket in the well; the revolutionary smoke house; the wooden churn; the buckskin-seated chairs; the crazy-quilts; the old squirrel rifles. He would have gloried in the beauty of the girls, and the fierce and kindly arrogance of the head of the house. But if he were also alive to the needs of our country, as well as to the needs of these citizens, his heart would have been heavy at the reverse of the picture. As a nation we do not look to the care of our people. If ignorance is a blight, this hardy sto ours was sorely afflicted. Properly s ing, schools there were none. The to-do sent their little Alexanders and coms off to Bingham's and the Unive to be seen no more. The rank an occasionally packed their lovely dau and their bare-legged boys down a s woodland path to a ramshackle one shanty with no windows but unli ventilation, to sit under the hectic ca distracted female whose instruction somewhat better than her pay, and than her training, which was just nothing at all.

An amazing change has come ove region within twenty years. For the ful student it is a complete and satisfa demonstration of three things. Firs obvious proposition that the welfa well as the happiness, of a communit pends upon the education of its chil particularly the girls; secondly, that, ing government agencies, this requi every country neighborhood a Napol leader; and that the benefits derived the political press and our present pol system are precisely none at all. A leader is confronted at the very begi with the stink of a partisan county go ment and the creed of partisan politi This creed is to the effect that the p are the best in the world, the count best in the world, conditions the best i world, of which consummate perfectio the politician, is the source and pinna

THE COMING OF A LEADER

Just twenty years ago there came into this splendid mummified cradle o a leader. The Rev. C. G. Vardell a at Red Springs, in North Carolina. found the "Red Springs Academy burlesque on Uncle Tom's Cabin." neighboring districts of Philadelphu Antioch boasted twin institutions of splendor and learning.

He was depressed with the spec familiar those days in many other pla the South, of the daughters of our p stock growing up in ignorance and est provincialism, alike untrained for a and oblivious of the finer shades o provided by art and music, literatur

·y. Splendid material was wasting on reamy waters of the Cape Fear.

went out among the elders of the ›ytery, stern, God-fearing men, whose : virtue was conservatism, preaching a ine destined to bear great fruit: the most desirable thing in the world a cultured Christian woman; that have the making of civilization, but women have the making of men; the chief elements in any community ts homes and its primary schools; they are made by women; that no which will educate its mothers need fear for its future; that it was the len duty of the people to give the he best there was in the world to offer, hat this must be for a price so small be within the reach of all; that they would behold these same girls the primary schools and the homes of husbands and children. For this purıe called upon them to build a school.

ıCCOMPLISHING THE IMPOSSIBLE

nore hopeless task can hardly be imd. A more necessary one never d in the old North State. And I vento say that the debt owed by the state he Nation to this obscure apostle of will never be even recorded, not to on paid. To tell the grandsons of ansmen who fought and died at Falınd the veterans of Pickett's charge vanguard of individualism and the ırks of the Presbyterian Church—:hey were condemning their progeny ediocrity and their inheritance to on was bad enough. To extract a :t from a turnip were child's play in arison with separating an endowment the savings of the canny Scot. That ı work, the A B C of even a pretence of lern government, should be left to a :e prophet is another count in the inent against states' rights and a bedf authority. But on the other hand, :he leading position in education has taken by this section of the country, ery Mecca and headquarters of the ng of women for all the Scots in ica, is a tribute to the splendid quality sonal leadership at times developed a system of rabid individualism.

For the elders out of their slim funds and grave doubts contributed the lordly sum of four thousand dollars for the establishment of the "Southern Presbyterian College and Conservatory of Music." The faith and steady purpose, the desperate uphill fight, and the difficulties encountered in providing a liberal education, a comprehensive, buoyant, and happy outlook upon life, and a thorough training in the domestic arts to the girls of the region for the nominal cost of $200 a year apiece, including all expenses, with this microscopic nest egg, are apparent. But he set to work in a small wooden structure at Red Springs, in a location healthful and beautiful, in the very centre of the country district, among surroundings familiar to his flock. The results shown to-day are the vindication of the philosophy and the reward for the great effort.

HIS ACHIEVEMENT

The present writer attended the exercises there on May 2d last. The meagre beginnings, the conditions of '96, seemed a myth. The present school house at Philadelphus was passed on the way. No sign of the decrepit little shanty. Standing back from the road against a background of native forestry stood a modern brick building two stories high, a credit to the architects' and builders' art. Four doric columns adorned the portals, and sixty large windows lighted the classrooms, which bore testimony to Dr. Vardell's power of prophecy. If we had gone no further we would have seen enough to justify his creed and his labors. The women of the section, graduated from the modest halls of the college, had revolutionized the school—compelled its proper structure, themselves overhauled the curriculum, and taken charge of the teaching. From outward view this high school at the cross-roads of a purely agricultural community was the equal of any in Boston or under the shades of Columbia. It is the direct result of another tenet of Dr. Vardell's creed—that girls should be trained in the country. In their hands lies the destiny of country children throughout the land, and it is self-evident that they must be trained where they are, and not shipped off to the gritty paving stones to learn a superficial

contempt for their own pastures and homely graces.

The college at Red Springs is not only a school. It is the centre of intellectual life in the section. Assembling from every direction came automobiles, old fashioned buggies, and even wagons drawn by the cotton mules, with grandmother enthroned in state in a rocking-chair surrounded by four generations and the lunch basket. Tethered in the offing was every kind of beast of burden, while gathered for school-breaking was laird and henchman, minister and elder, matron and infant in arms, and the representative of every clan erstwhile in the service of Charles Edward Stuart, hereditary king of Scotland.

FLORA MACDONALD COLLEGE

The college itself was a revelation. It was in holiday garb. Pretty girls in quaint costume and happy laughing groups were busy out under the trees and in the corridors planning a festival. Compared with its beginnings the buildings are magnificent. Compared with their needs they are insignificant. There is a broad and ample veranda and the usual classic entrance; a vestibule, reception room, and library beautifully finished in native pine; a three-story rotunda; comfortable quarters for 250 girls; about twenty-five private music rooms with a captive piano in each; a large gymnasium; complete laboratories for chemistry and physics; a separate dining room and kitchen for the study of cooking; a department equipped to teach the mysteries of dressmaking and designing; a steam laundry and a studio; besides dignified executive offices.

To the visitor one of the greatest beauties of it all was outdoors. A natural bowl had been transformed into an amphitheatre. By four o'clock this was filled to overflowing by guests and parents and country people from thirty miles around. Now ensued a scene as sylvan and classic, as full of fairies and old songs as any to be witnessed at Stratford-on-Avon. It was a Shakespearean pageant, a myriad of elves and flowers and spirits of the air—gorgeous costumes from the rialto and the stately court of the Plantagenets, tunics and coats of mail, gabardines and velvet hose, Lincoln green and the gray goose feather. was the whole cast of the *Merch Venice*, heralded by "Ariel," winding the real greenwood, to the soft music stringed quartette.

The significance of this stately an tistic performance lies in the fact that start to finish it was the work of the themselves. The gorgeous costumes nothing. On closer view magnificent necklaces turned out to be cow c gilded; the cloth of gold was essenti gunny-sack; the most magnificent b a bedroom fantasy. There were si country girls come from the humble tages and the hillside pastures. The casual observer could see that the very of our traditional classical education been provided them. They were mo them proficient performers, as well a preciative critics of the musical maste

A COLLEGE FOR COUNTRY GIRLS

But the principal value of this cou college for country girls is in the thor and practical training they receive i essentials of home life. One of the gre banes of the cotton belt is hog and ho —is the everlasting enervating succe of fried pork and fried chicken, of bread and fried potatoes. Here cooki taught as an elementary and ob primary lesson. Food values and c preparation and service, proteins, calories are learned as a matter of co These girls make their own clothes modern patterns and durable mate with an eye to beauty and economy. do not dabble in, they master, the h hold arts, and, with their songs and la ter, carry back home a practical knowl of how to live.

I was moved to write the story of th markable school because of the two standing and striking facts. It not educates, it trains country girls. It t them to live and it trains them to ma living. Graduates of the college are i mand all over the South as teachers. are not only teachers of children—the builders of schools, and the leading for many a forgotten community. And so, it would be of no avail to the rank file of the country girls if it were expen

But Dr. Vardell has kept the total cost of a girl's year there down to $200. This is the crux of the whole business. The other fact is the remarkable hold it has taken upon the Scots in America. It has become a monument to the purpose and the ideals of the sons of the Highlands.

THE SCOTS, REAL AMERICANS

In these days when we are looking to our defenses and calling the roll of the patriots in our stronghold, to find which of the races of men making up this Republic can be depended upon in time of stress, it is best to turn first of all to those silent in the controversies. It is axiomatic that the silent man is the dangerous man, and that in the last ditch the bridge is held by those long of arm and short of speech.

The United States has come to a cross section in history when it is obliged to take stock of the origin and the affiliations of its citizens. The acid test of World War has brought out the true colors of every European group making up our population. And the highest premium has been placed upon those revealing the white badge of loyalty and courage, undivided faith and readiness to serve.

In calling such a roll the sturdiest and most reliable of all might almost be forgotten in the muster, so modest are they and so inarticulate. The Highland clansman is the most formidable warrior in the world, the most devoted follower, proudest of his traditions, his family record, and his country. A fair half of this Spartan race are this day citizens of the United States. For centuries the other half has fought the battles of the world. No legion of Cæsar or band of Knights Templars has such a record as these who broke the old guard of Napoleon and whose tartan is familiar in every corner of the world, making history in Africa, India, China, Crimea, Sudan.

It is not only fair but of inestimable value to every true American that the stirring chain of romantic adventure marking the path of the great houses of Macdonald and MacLeod, MacIntosh and MacGregor from Inverness to the heart of America should be inscribed and placed beside the records of the Pilgrims and the Old Dominion. And that while men with anxiety and concern observe such national groups as the German-American and the Irish-American and the illiterate South European burst forth in activities of doubtful benefit to the country, it may be well to lay emphasis upon the movement of the most closely knit of all the races in the country and inquire what Clanranald is doing.

The Highlanders are not a nation. They are forty-five great families, hardly more numerous than the Myrmidons and somewhat more potent. They do not look back upon the general traditions of a mother country to be lost by time, but from generation to generation of personal family achievement and custom; and they are at this moment banding together under the ancient colors of their clans in common purpose to keep alive the warlike memories of their race and to make an everlasting monument to their great heroine.

Their memories are of Flora Macdonald, and their monument is this school to teach the daughters of Albyn to be leaders in the land their fathers have given them. These men who will hold the first line when diplomacy fails are not assembling to blow up bridges, to advise the President, to invade Ireland, or to intimidate Congress, but to build America and to add a monument to the treasured legends of Colonial days. Flora Macdonald is the heroine and darling of Scotland. All men know the story of that last and greatest adventure of the Highlands, "that lawless land of romance where deeds of wonderful enterprise were things of daily occurrence and little consequence." How Charles Edward Stuart, hereditary king of Scotland and soldier of fortune, sent the fiery cross through the hills and led the Camerons and the great clan Colla, the Grants of Glenmorriston and the Stuarts of Appin under the meteor flag, wearing the white cockade, against the British Empire.

It is not so well known that this remarkable woman lived four eventful years of her life at Killegray, an estate owned by her husband Allen on the waters of Mountain Creek, not far from Fayetteville, and led the clans in their last great gathering during the Revolution.

But every Scotsman knows it. From that day to this, the sons and daughters of

these Highland tribes, scattered over the Union and Canada, taking high place in business and government, have held Fayetteville as their headquarters, and the traditions and memories of Flora Macdonald as their ideal. The whole country surrounding the scene of this dramatic exodus and the last fight is inhabited by the descendants of her followers. Now, one hundred and twenty-six years after their heroine has departed and their claymores sheathed forever, the spirit of their fathers has called them together again, to revive the old spirit. They determined to build an everlasting monument to their great heroine, and establish a common purpose and ideal to rally around and fight for. The leading members of all the clans and societies in the country heralding from the Highlands have joined the movement. Their name is legion. It was fitting that it should have been first inaugurated by the most eminent member of the great Macdonald clan now in America, Dr. James A. Macdonald of Toronto, at a gathering of the clans at the old headquarters in Fayetteville. The Scottish Society of America there held session in May, 1914. And there, in this one-time backward hinge of the new world, they discovered, already established, a goal and purpose worthy of their cause and their ideals. On that day Dr. Vardell's crusade enlisted the full array of the clans, and his college was formally constituted the monument to Flora Macdonald and the contribution of the Scots to the civilization of America. The name was changed to Flora Macdonald College, an endowment of $1,000,000 was started, and the spirit of the school and the occasion expressed by the president of the Society, Dr. Macdonald, standing at the stump of the veteran oak under whose branches long since the famous heroine reviewed her countrymen in battle array:

The most worthy memorial of Flora Macdonald would be an educational institution bearing her name, that would offer to hundreds of girls and young women in these Scottish communities the advantage of a college education, which Sir Alexander Macdonald, the chieftain of Skye, gave to Flora herself when he sent her for three years to a ladies' college in Edinburgh. Like very many Scottish girls in the Carolinas and Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama, she inherited good blood, good character, and good ability, but not even a competent portion of worldly wealth. War and the reverses of history have made for these Southern States what similar influences did for our forefathers in the shires and islands of Scotland. And what Macdonald of Skye did for his young kinswoman, our Scottish-American democracy might surely do for generation after generation of our young women, who, like her, have high ambitions and a worthy desire to fit themselves for useful lives and helpful service. Therefor, it is, I propose a Flora Macdonald College.

During the last year I ventured to suggest to the authorities of the Southern Presbyterian College and Conservatory of Music at Red Springs that the name of that excellent institution be changed, that the college be adequately endowed, and that its scope be broadened so as worthily to bear the name of the Scottish heroine, herself a Presbyterian, a college graduate, and a noble example of Christian womanhood. I find that already the executive authorities have taken action. They are planning for a fund to clear off a small debt and to yield an endowment of $100,000. They are resolved that the present enrolment of nearly three hundred students shall be increased, that the high educational standard be maintained, and that the doors shall be closed to no worthy girl whose only bar is poverty.

The Red Springs College, with its fine buildings and fine surroundings, is chosen because it is in the very heart of the Flora Macdonald settlement, because 80 per cent. of its students are of Scottish ancestry, because its spirit and ideals are worthy, and because its endowment would go, not into unnecessary bricks and mortar, but into personality and training and the upbuilding of character. To express my faith in this undertaking, and in the Scottish people of these states, and in you of the Scottish Society of America, I am prepared, as your president, to add to the endowment, when it reaches $100,000, a contribution of $10,000 and still further to seek its assistance until the endowment shall be worthy of the cause, worthy of the Scottish traditions, and worthy of the Flora Macdonald College.

LOUIS W. HILL

THE SUCCESSOR TO THE EMPIRE BUILDER OF THE NORTHWEST—HIS TRAINING, HIS ACHIEVEMENTS, AND HIS FUTURE TASK

BY

FRENCH STROTHER

WHAT manner of man has succeeded to the sceptre of railroad empire laid down by James J. Hill? Is he competent to wield that symbol of power which was, in the elder man's hands, sometimes a divining rod revealing the unknown treasures of the Northwest, and sometimes a sword that hewed a path straight through the opposing wills of other men to reach a far-visioned goal? Who, and what, is Louis W. Hill?

Most significantly, he is his father's choice of a successor. "Jim" Hill left few things, big or little, to chance. He personally saw to it that the station agent at Mondak did not spend more than he should for window glass, just as he personally saw to it that the financing of the operations of the Great Northern Railway system for the next fifty years should be provided for by a blanket refunding mortgage of 600 million dollars. And so, though he died leaving no written will, neither the family nor the public had any doubts that he intended that his successor should be his second son. He had put in twenty-three years in training that son for that job—and he was not a man to waste that much time on a task which was not worth the trouble nor on material which he did not believe to be fit.

"L. W.", in turn, did much to justify the father's faith. As a boy under tutors, as a student at Exeter and at Yale, he was a steady worker. In those undergraduate days he made friends who, oddly enough, ultimately rose to partnership in the banking house that was to become his father's chief financial ally, the House of Morgan—"Tommy" Lamont, a fellow student at Exeter, and William H. Porter, a banker in New York when L. W. was at Yale.

His exit from college was his entrance into practical railroad work—at the bottom. The first few months he spent in the accounting department, then a winter as a mechanic in the Great Northern shops. Then followed half years or better as clerk, now under a section foreman, now under a master carpenter, then in the general offices in St. Paul, learning how track was laid, how supplies were bought, how freight was routed and handled.

His first opportunity to do things on a bigger scale and on his own responsibility came when he reached the exalted position of billing clerk at Duluth in 1895. In those days the Great Northern was hauling iron ore from two or three mines in the Mesabi country—a mere few thousand tons a year, but even then more than the raw clerk on the job could bill. Old timers in St. Paul tell the story of a letter L. W. wrote to his father, which ran to this general effect: "There is more freight coming out of those ore beds now than I can handle, and if there are any more mines to be had like these, why shouldn't we control them and so assure a hauling business for the Great Northern in this section for years to come?"

To which the father's reply was that the Great Northern was a railroad and not a mining speculator, and would the young man please use all his energies in working on his own job.

Nevertheless, young Louis devoted his time to studying the Mesabi country. He got the Government's geologic maps and learned that the formation bearing ore lay in a long narrow strip of land, roughly two miles south of, and paralleling, the Granite Line where the underlying shelf of rock had heaved its upper edge to the surface of the earth. He drove a team back and forth along this strip in the

winter, studying the country, examining samples of ore, getting acquainted with the owners of the lands. A prospector offered to sell him one of the most promising areas for $2,500.

"I want some money quick for a timber deal, so I'll sell cheap," he said.

"I will have to see the Company first," said Hill, "but I think they will take you up."

"You'll have to hurry," was the reply.

A letter would not do this time, so young Hill hastened to St. Paul. The elder Hill was a trifle more emphatic than before. Substantially, his answer was:

"You go back and keep your part of the railroad tracks of the Great Northern in running order and I will attend to the freight."

So back he went to Duluth. The prospector called and announced that the delay would cost the buyer $1,000—his price was now $3,500.

"All right, I will give you my personal check for it," said young Hill; and he did, at the expense of about all the money he had in the world.

A few months later he was in St. Paul again, and reminded his father of the prospector's offer.

"You know that mine we turned down? Well, it was prospected with a diamond drill the other day and it showed thirty million tons of high grade ore."

"Don't take my time telling me about water that's flowed over the dam," was the father's answer. "If it looked anything like as good as that, why didn't you use your own judgment and buy it?"

"I did."

"Where did you get the money?"

"I used my own."

"Young man, you run right upstairs to the treasurer and get your check back, and hereafter keep your money out of the affairs of this railroad. And you keep right on using your own judgment."

BUYING ORE BY THE MILLION TONS

The outcome of this and similar incidents was that James J. Hill took two million dollars of his own money and borrowed two millions more on his personal credit and bought from the Wright-Davis Company of Saginaw, Mich., the eighty-mile Duluth, Mississippi & Northern Railroad, and the twenty-odd thousand acres of iron ore beds that were the beginnings of the gigantic ore properties which he later turned over absolutely to the Great Northern Railway stockholders, thereby guaranteeing to them profits on ore and on the carrying of ore that have already amounted to tens of millions of dollars.

The consummation of this ore deal was Louis Hill's. He was in active charge of the acquisition and development of these properties. He bought mines, leased mines, sold mines—but whenever he subleased them or sold them, the lease or deed carried a clause that guaranteed the freighting of the ore over the lines of the Great Northern Railway. Some idea of the future of the business thus guaranteed to the railroad is conveyed by the facts that 300 million tons of controlled ore are now known to be awaiting shipment, that the Great Northern carries about 12 million tons of it every year, and that the railroad gets fifty-five cents a ton in freight revenue alone on this ore, in addition to mining royalties on a large proportion of it.

HIS LIKENESS TO "JIM" HILL

After five years of diversified training in all branches of the railroad business, Louis Hill went into the general offices at St. Paul as assistant to the president. Here he has had eighteen years of experience as an executive, during the last nine years of these being either president or chairman of the board, or, as at present, both. Until James J. Hill's death, Louis Hill was his most trusted and constant companion, not only in business, but in an exceptionally close and affectionate family relationship; and many of the older man's qualities that the son did not inherit were doubtless absorbed by contact in this long intimacy.

Some parts of the inheritance are obvious enough—L. W. has the thick, powerful body and short legs of James J., the same red beard, the same gift for enthusiasms and the same vehement loquacity in talking about them, the same instinct for friendship with the workers and builders of the country rather than with the show

people of the cities, the same talent for anecdote and homely phrase. The son's face has not the massive features and the lines of relentless resolution that made the father's at once benign and terrible. Instead, energy and pugnacity are chiefly written on it, at the age (forty-four) his father was when his most searching battles had just begun.

L. W.'s next enthusiasm was Montana. Not the Montana of copper and gold and lumber and range-fed cattle, but a Montana which he visioned as a land of farms—first of wheat and oats and rye on a big scale, another "bread basket of the world" as James J. Hill had called North Dakota; a Montana that later should be a land of diversified farming, of fattened cattle and dairy products as well as of grains. For a Hill to be enthusiastic is for a Hill to talk, and L. W. began to talk Montana. He talked it to farmers, to grain dealers, to his railroad associates, to Montana itself.

"ANOTHER IOWA, GOING TO WASTE"

"Look at the map. Montana has ninety-three million acres of land, and more than a third of it is arable. Thirty-three million acres—that's another Iowa, unsettled and going to waste."

Everybody smiled. Of course the land was there, but, also of course, it was "arid" or "semi-arid." L. W.'s retort was to point out the "arid" lands that Hardy W. Campbell had brought under cultivation by his misnamed system of "dry-farming" in Colorado. Well, they admitted, maybe some grain could be grown on some Montana land.

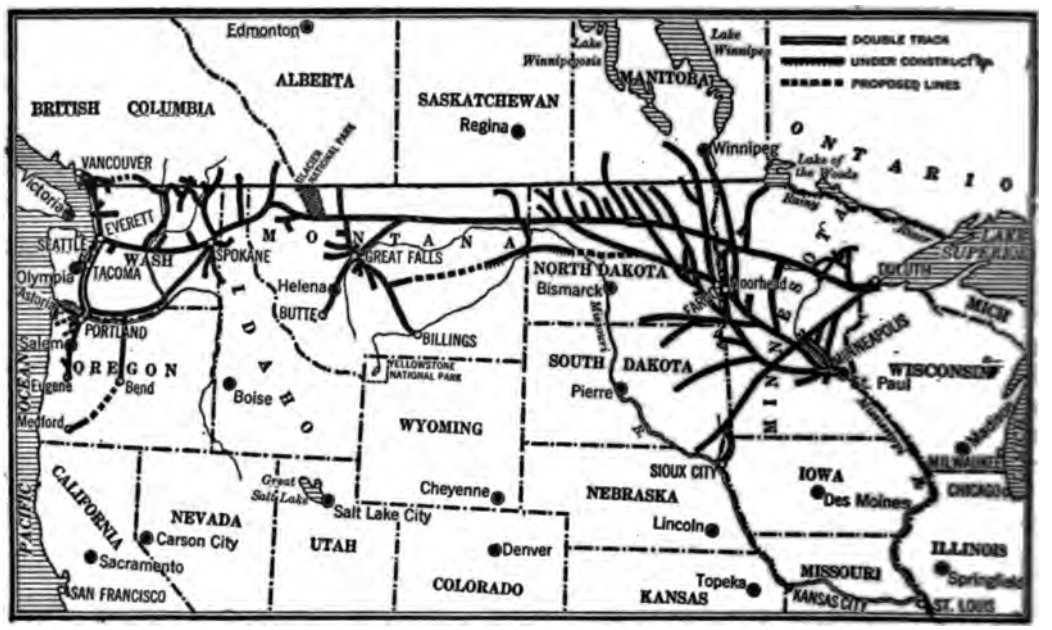
That was only seven years ago. To-day, of the 33 million acres of arable land then not settled, 29 million acres have been taken up. Whereas Montana five years ago shipped only 2½ million bushels of grain over the Great Northern Railway, last year it shipped just ten times as much, or 25 million bushels. Louis Hill is not responsible for all that change, but Montana credits him with a handsome share of the responsibility.

And the task of development has only just begun. To see what lies ahead, one should look at the accompanying map of the Great Northern Railway, which, rightly seen, is at once a picture of James J. Hill's achievement and a forecast of Louis W. Hill's ambition. What the father did was to paint in upon an empty map that massive arch of steel, anchored at either end in the bed of navigable waters, a transcontinental highway with free passage to all the world by water east and west. At either end he drew upon the map those supporting spans—branch lines that gathered the strength of the country to the upbuilding and steadying of the arch. When he died, he left undone only the details in the centre of the picture, the network of branches like that cobweb which darkens the map of northern North Dakota. To complete the picture was the task he left his son, and it is perhaps the son's chief ambition to do that task.

HIS FAMILIARITY WITH THE COUNTRY

The son's method of doing it and his equipment for doing it are the same the father had: constant personal study of the country, constant enthusiasm for settlers and better farming, the building of branch lines—first to open the country to development and then to make profits for the railroad by hauling the newly created freight. The personal contact is the important thing. Louis Hill has traveled by wagon, on horseback, and by automobile through practically every part of the territory tributary or potentially tributary to the railroad, over much of it many times, sleeping in ranch houses, talking to farmers and stockmen, studying the land and the people. Railroads follow the floor of the valleys: what can be seen from trains is only the land to the rim on either side above. The thing a railroad builder needs to know is "the other side of the mountain," and there is where Louis Hill has made it a practice to travel often.

As a consequence, probably few other men know as many people of so many kinds west of the Mississippi River, or are so well known to so many. For he has traveled his railroad lines as much and as intensively as he has the back country. His methods and personality are Western: for example, when complaints pile up in towns along the line, his habit has been to go in person to the towns, gather the com-



THE GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY SYSTEM

James J. Hill's achievement which he passed on to his son. "He painted upon an empty map a massive arch of steel, anchored at either end in the bed of navigable waters. At either end he drew upon the map those supporting spans—branch lines that gathered the strength of the country to the upbuilding and steadying of the arch. . . . He left undone only the details in the centre of the picture." To complete the task he left is perhaps Louis W. Hill's chief ambition

plainants together, hold a long "pow-wow" after the manner of his tribe (he is an adopted Blackfeet Indian in good standing), and settle the trouble on the spot.

The Hill conception of a railroad has always been that its business is primarily to haul freight. Local passenger service is a useful if less important function, because local travel is usually on business, and anything that helps local business in the Northwest ultimately means the creation of more freight for the Great Northern Railway to haul. But transcontinental passenger travel is largely for pleasure, and even where it is on business it is a long, expensive haul for a relatively low fare. Hence, though the Hills have maintained good through trains of the "limited" type, they have never specialized on that class of railroad service.

But with his mind full of Montana, Louis Hill hit on a scheme for helping along its development by calling it to the attention of the country at large in a big and dramatic way. Hence his active help in bringing about the creation of *Glacier National* Park, and its exploitation as a great playground of the people. Here, in a group of mighty peaks, sixty miles square, where lakes, glaciers, icebergs, forested slopes, and flowery meadows combine to make a choice summer pleasure-ground, he has built hotels, camps, and trails, and has succeeded in making Glacier well known to the world. The tourists it has brought have carried back home with them not only a memory of the park but a new conception of "arid" Montana—for the trip in from the East carries them more than half way across the state.

This instinct for creative publicity is characteristic. For example, last winter St. Paul was the scene of a Winter Carnival. For ten days business in the city stood still and waited upon pleasure. Mile-long toboggan slides were built, ice palaces erected, the citizens appeared in a gay, strange garb made up from Indian blankets, and, in temperatures ranging from zero to thirty-two degrees below, the whole population played joyfully and safely in the open air. So strange a spectacle as this attracted the attention of the whole country; and newspapers and magazines

gave endless space to records of it. Exactly this was its purpose. For L. W. Hill, who engineered the preparations and who gave his time to act as master of ceremonies during the carnival, was determined that his native town should tell the world, in language it could not escape or forget, that its reputation as a city too cold for winter comfort was a libel—that, indeed, so joyous could its visitors find it at its coldest that St. Paul should become a winter vacation ground, the Quebec of the Northwest. And doubtless Mr. Hill did not overlook the fact that visitors ride on railroad trains, and that in St. Paul they hear news about Montana and Washington and the rest of the country he is eager to build.

Two incidents of the carnival time exemplified two traits in Mr. Hill's character—helpfulness and common sense. The former appeared in his choice of men to handle the multitudinous details of preparation. Instead of calling on the tried business men, he sought out young fellows struggling for a start in life—men who needed only a chance to get acquainted and a chance to demonstrate their young abilities. These men were placed on the committees; their duties in connection with the carnival put them in touch with the whole membership of the commercial bodies of St. Paul, and gave them at once a standing that otherwise they might have waited years to attain.

SMALLER GROSS, BIGGER NET

For the last five years the story of the Great Northern Railway has been what Louis Hill has made it. He has been its active head. In his annual report to the stockholders for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1915 (the year in which, because of the business depression resulting from the opening of the Great War, all railroads suffered greatly), Mr. Hill wrote a sentence, which is borne out by the actual figures, that unconsciously reveals the man on his business side:

"Notwithstanding the large reduction in gross operating revenues, there was an increase of one and a quarter million dollars in the net."

A little impulsive in many ways he is, but far-sighted enough and forehanded enough to sense trouble ahead and more than discount its menace. The same report reveals how he did it. For example:

"The eating houses, restaurants, and train news service, formerly handled by outside parties, under contract, have this year been operated by the company. The net revenue from these sources was $44,870."

In other words, Mr. Hill reasoned, if there is a profit for somebody else in the operation of a side issue in conjunction with the railroad, why should the railroad itself not take that profit?

Another example: in 1915 the average tractive power of Great Northern Railway locomotives was increased eighty-two pounds, and the average loading capacity of freight cars was increased eighty pounds—small figures until multiplied by the 267 million loaded-freight-car miles that were hauled that year on the system. Thus multiplied they amount to significant economies in coal and labor. Similarly, the increase in 1915 over 1914 of four cents in the freight revenue per train mile bulks larger when it is multiplied by the nearly 8 million freight-train miles that were hauled last year.

POLICIES OF EXPANSION

In other words, Louis Hill was repeating in practice the lesson the Hills taught other railroad men—that successful railroading means big trains, powerful locomotives, big cars, long hauls, low grades—in short, economy of operation and elimination of waste. That is not only the Hill message to the railroad business: it is the thing that has made American railroads the model for the world.

These refinements of economy are characteristic, but it is equally characteristic that they are not made at the expense of the broader vision which sees the possibilities that lie in large expenditures for investment in extensions of the system that will earn profits in the future. Thus, in June, Mr. Hill bought the hundred miles of the South Dakota Central Railway for approximately a million dollars. Thus, too, he recently carried the Great Northern into San Francisco: finding the problem of

getting there by land not feasible, he took it there by water, running boats from Portland that make the trip more quickly than the passenger trains on land. Thus, still again, though defeated in the operation of a Pacific merchant fleet, he has developed an enormous freight business originating in China and carried by private shipping concerns to Seattle, where the cargoes become revenue-producing freight for transshipment over his railroad.

In other words, his management of the Hill properties is not merely a policy of timid conservation of what is already owned, but is a thrifty working of its riches plus a bold and vigorous growth apace with the development of the country, or ahead of that development.

HIS TRAINING IN FINANCE

So largely has Mr. Hill's life been devoted to the railroad business in the West that the natural inquiry arises: what about the financial side of the properties, their relations with the money markets of New York? It is quite true that, in his later years, James J. Hill took this side of the business on his shoulders while Louis W. Hill ran the road. The older man took care of the finances for many years yet to come by floating a blanket mortgage which not only converts all the liabilities of the company into one standard form of bond, but also creates a reservoir of unexpended capital on which to draw for all conceivable necessities of the road for a generation into the future. But as Louis Hill was a party to all the discussions and all the acts in this and the other financial operations of the properties for many years past, he has had a training in finance such as few men have an opportunity to undergo.

But Louis Hill independently is not unacquainted with finance. Three years ago James J. Hill bought and consolidated two banks in St. Paul and started business under the name of the First National Bank, with Louis W. Hill in active charge. In the three years, chiefly through his acquaintanceship in the West, the latter has increased its deposits from 14 million dollars to 48 million dollars, making it the second largest bank west of the Mississippi River. And though in the East the public knows little of Mr. Hill, the big men of business there know him better. A surprisingly large proportion of the railroad presidents of the Eastern roads got their training in the Great Northern school, or under its immediate influence—such men as Mr. F. D. Underwood of the Erie, Mr. Daniel Willard of the Baltimore & Ohio, and Mr. Howard Elliott of the New Haven—and these men, and dozens of their like, are of course long-time associates of Mr. Hill. And through friendships formed in early life, through acquaintanceships of later years, he has a personal relationship in Wall Street.

Sometimes the odds and ends of a man's activities reveal him as much as does his day's work. Outside the office, Mr. Hill's first interest is his family, then his hunting and fishing, then his paint brushes and canvas. He is a good amateur painter of landscapes; and the country home at Pleasant Lake, near St. Paul, is full of his handiwork.

He drives his own automobiles, and ten years ago was a good enough mechanic to extemporize, out of the wire off a broom handle, a carburetor adjustment to make a mixture of gas and air suitable to the altitude of Helena, Mont., when his car bucked on a grade in that rare atmosphere. Few men know the Indians of the Northwest as he knows them, nor the history of the country so well through a study of pioneer memoirs and of formal textbooks on economics and on the flora and fauna of that region.

To-day, at forty-four years of age, master of 10,500 miles of railroad, director of properties worth at least one and one half billions of dollars, Mr. Hill confronts the best working years of a man's life with a long training behind him and a vision of the future that challenges the highest powers of a strong man. For his task is not merely to develop and strengthen and expand the Hill properties: it is to maintain a leadership in the economic life of one fifth of a continent and to preserve inviolate an almost unprecedented public trust in one man's integrity.

THE FRONTIERS OF AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY

THE VALUE OF THE NON-CONTIGUOUS POSSESSIONS AND AFFILIATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC OCEANS — THEIR STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE — THE NEED OF STRONGLY FORTIFIED NAVAL BASES AND OF A NAVY SECOND TO NONE — EXTENDING THE MONROE DOCTRINE INTO THE PACIFIC — HOW THE UNITED STATES CAME TO ACQUIRE ITS INTEREST IN THESE OUTLYING LANDS

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THE PANAMA CANAL, MAIN ARTERY OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Of great assistance to the United States by making our fleets available in both the Pacific and the Atlantic oceans. Unlike the Suez Canal, which was fortified only on the outbreak of the present war, the Panama waterway is already protected by the most powerful of our coast defense guns, mounted so as to control its approaches. Great Britain has strong naval bases at Gibraltar and Malta, protecting the Mediterranean approach to the Suez Canal, and on the southern end has two other strong protective bases at Aden and Perim. Our nearest base to the Caribbean entrance to the Panama Canal is at Guantánamo in Cuba; on the Pacific side we have recently acquired on lease from Nicaragua the site for a naval base in Fonseca Bay. The possession of a naval base on the Galápagos Islands, off Ecuador, would greatly strengthen the defense of the Canal

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ON THE COAST OF SANTO DOMINGO

This West Indian republic, which occupies the eastern end of the Island of Haiti, lying about midway between Cuba and Porto Rico, is now specifically under the protection of the United States. In 1905, our Government took over control of the customs, which it has administered ever since in paying off the interest and sinking fund of the national debt. Until within the last few months, the customs authorities had performed their duties in peace and good order, and prosperity had prevailed. But recently fresh disturbances have arisen, necessitating the sending of marines to guard, as in neighboring Haiti, the customs houses and to assure safety to American officials

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PORT AU PRINCE, THE CAPITAL OF HAITI

Haiti is known as the Black Republic because the majority of its population of 2,500,000 are Negroes. In July, 1915, after a series of revolutions and assassinations leading to a state of anarchy, the United States landed a small force of marines to preserve order and protect its own citizens. Since that time, by treaty between the two countries, the United States has assumed control of Haiti's revenues and the disbursement of its annual budget in the interest of its foreign creditors, the maintenance of its government, and the development of its rich resources. A body of marines, stationed in different parts of the republic, controls the customs houses and maintains peace and good order

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SAN JUAN, PORTO RICO

The island of Porto Rico, containing approximately 3,600 square miles and with a population of 1,118,012, was ceded to the United States by Spain in 1898. In addition to the great commercial value of its sugar, tobacco, and coffee crops, it might become, with its tributary isles of Culebra and Vieques, of great strategic importance to the United States. At present, however, there are in Porto Rican waters only two anchorages suitable for fleet manœuvres and no fortifications have as yet been begun. A force of 37 officers and 670 native troops is maintained on the island

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THE ISLAND OF ST. THOMAS

A coaling station in the Danish West Indies for ships plying to and from the West Indies. In 1867 the United States executive agreed to buy the Danish islands for $7,500,000, but the Senate refused to sanction the purchase. In 1905, another treaty was signed whereby the United States agreed to pay $5,000,000, but this time the Danish Parliament refused to ratify. The treaty recently negotiated provides for the payment by the United States of $25,000,000 and the relinquishment of its "claims of discovery" in Greenland. Before the Great War it was rumored that Germany was anxious to purchase the islands

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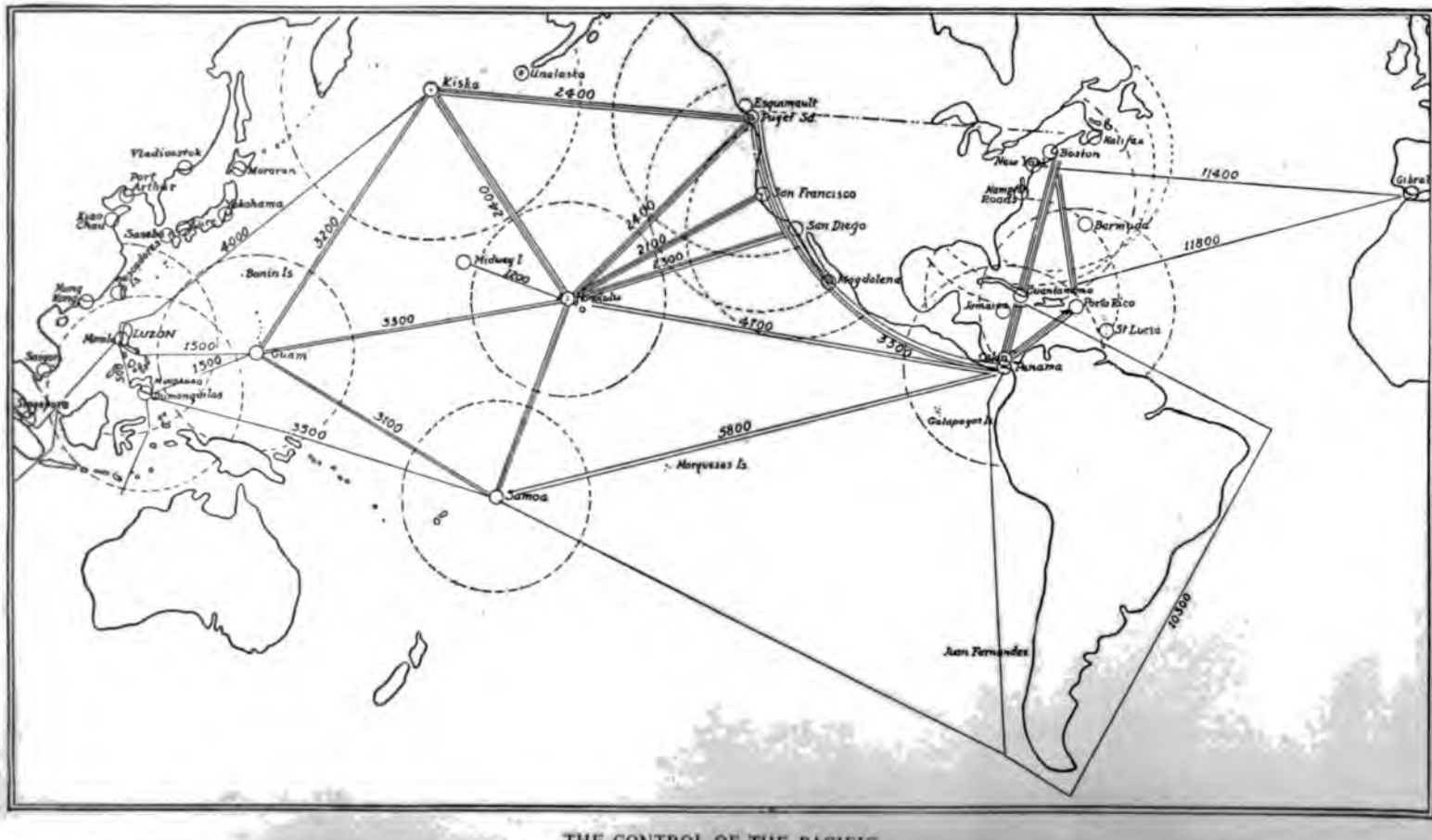
THE HARBOR OF HAVANA, CUBA

In Cuba one of the most important applications of the Monroe Doctrine occurred in the war between Spain and the United States, in 1898, over the question of Cuban independence. As a result of this war the United States obtained an intimate association with the Republic of Cuba, the ownership of Porto Rico, and, at the same time, extended its influence into the Pacific, assuming new and grave responsibilities by the acquisition of the Philippine Islands

THE NAVAL BASE AT GUANTÁNAMO

By a treaty with Cuba that was signed in 1903, the United States secured a naval base with a fine land-locked harbor at Guantánamo, on the southern end of the island, forty miles east of Santiago, for which it pays $2,000 annually. Here throughout the winter months the Atlantic Fleet is concentrated, engaged in fleet manœuvres and target practice. This is the nearest naval base to the Panama Canal on the Atlantic side, but is not an ideal location as it is open to attack by land. Admiral Knight urges a main base at Culebra, with Guantánamo as a secondary base

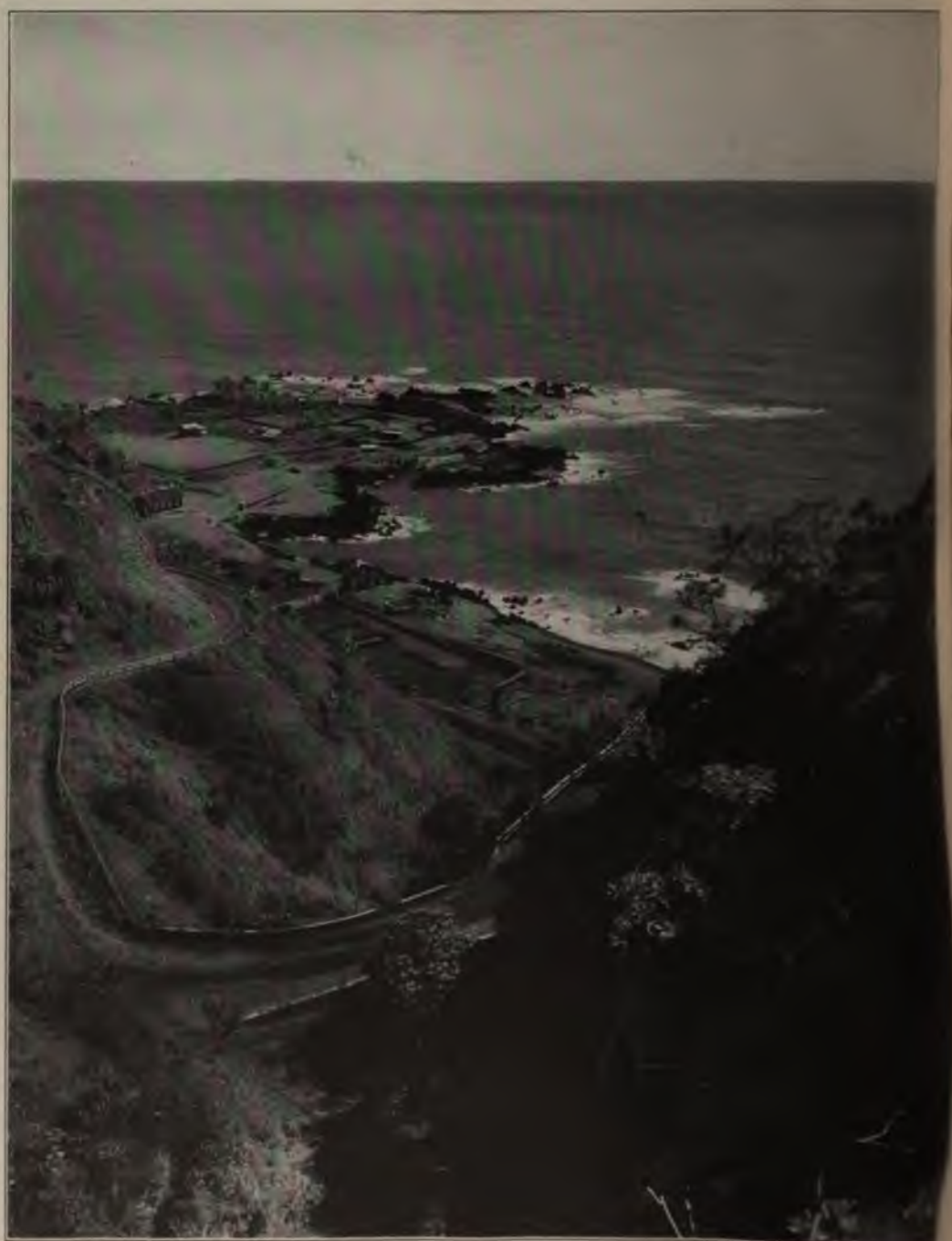


THE CONTROL OF THE PACIFIC

The most impregnable naval bases are small islands containing good harbors which can be strongly fortified and defended by relatively small garrisons against attack from seaward by superior forces. The United States is very fortunate in the possession of Guam, Kiska, Tutuila in the Samoan group, and Oahu, the island on which Honolulu, capital city of the Hawaiian group, is situated. These bases, as the chart will show, are all within the possible steaming radius of modern battleships without a resupply of fuel, and altogether they constitute a series of strategic stepping-stones across the Pacific. When these places have once been strongly fortified and coördinated by a powerful fleet, no foreign enemy could, without first taking them, hope to invade the United States from the west

THE KEY TO THE PACIFIC

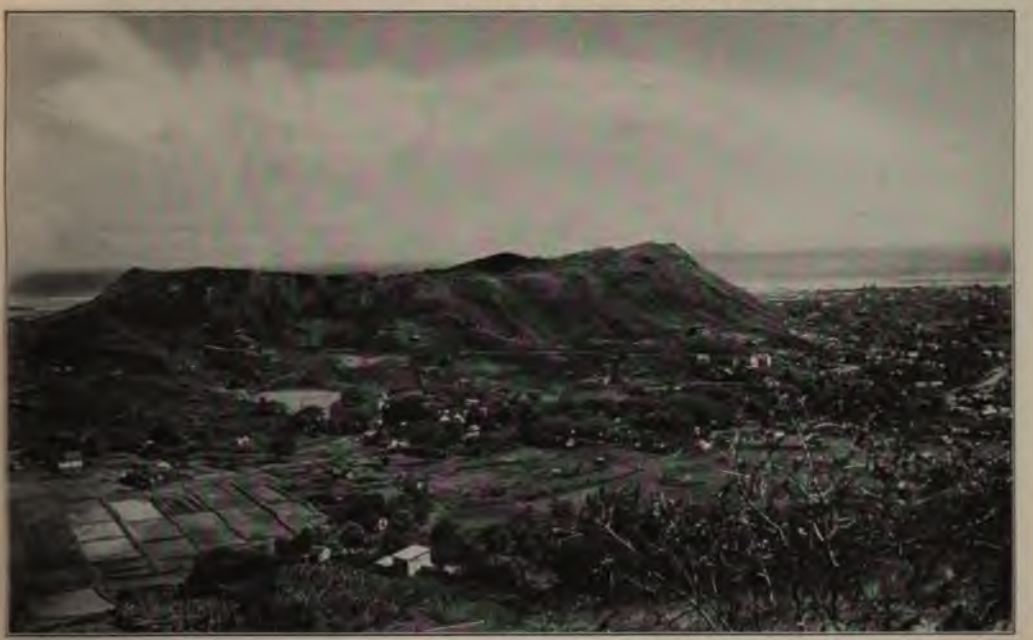
The city of Agaña, the capital of Guam (top), a street in Agaña (centre), and the Governor's house Agaña (below). The little island of Guam, only thirty-two miles long, has a population of 13,400 and the strategic key to the control of the Pacific, and, being so small, could be easily defended. Only 1,500 iles from the Philippines, it would also, if strongly fortified, be the main base for the defense of these ands. Since its acquisition by the United States from Spain, in 1898, it has been a closed port with a ore naval force and a force of marines. Permission to visit the island must be obtained from the ecretary of the Navy



Photographed by Bonin

ON THE ISLAND OF HAWAII

The Hawaiian Islands, by reason of their position in mid-Pacific, constitute a central base between the United States and our other insular possessions in the Pacific Ocean. The islands were annexed to the United States by a joint resolution of Congress in 1898. The total area of the islands, of which Hawaii is the largest and Oahu the most important strategically, is 6,449 square miles, with a total population of approximately 208,000



Photographed by Perkins

DIAMOND HEAD AND THE CITY OF HONOLULU

The United States has erected at Pearl Harbor, about seven miles from Honolulu, strong defenses and established a naval base with a dry-dock there. In the event of war in the Pacific, Pearl Harbor would probably be the main base for our fleet both for offensive movements and for defense—by attacking any enemy fleet carrying a hostile army for the invasion of the United States

Photographed by Williams

THE NATIONAL GUARD OF HAWAII

A force of about 320 officers and 9,200 men of the Regular Army is stationed at Hawaii, and the island maintains a National Guard of about a thousand men. The Hawaiians have shown themselves patriotic to a degree in aiding the Government to provide an adequate defense for the islands

UNITED STATES CAVALRY IN THE PHILIPPINES

Of the total population of the Philippine Archipelago, estimated at about 9,000,000 persons, o 20,000 are Americans and Europeans. The War Department maintains a force of 585 officers and 13,026 m there, in addition to nine battalions of native Philippine scouts, numbering 182 officers and 5,733 men

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THE CITY OF MANILA

We paid Spain $20,000,000 in 1898, and $100,000 in 1900, for relinquishing all claims to Porto Ri Guam, and the Philippines. In taking over the Philippine Islands the United States assumed new respo sibilities which may develop at any time into grave crises calling for an adequate naval force to maint our possessions in both the Atlantic and Pacific oceans

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CORREGIDOR ISLAND

Here, in the entrance to Manila Bay, the United States has constructed military defenses, but Corregidor is not sufficiently isolated to be secure from land attacks. The Philippine Islands contain no place with natural advantages for perfect defense. Admiral Knight is on record as saying that "we should have a fleet which would give us an excess over any fleet in existence and that when we have that we would . . . divide that fleet and have a fleet in the Atlantic large enough to deal with any probable enemy in the Atlantic and we would have at the same time in the Pacific a fleet large enough to deal with any possible enemy there"

UNITED STATES SAILORS AND MARINES IN ALASKA

The United States maintains regularly in all the 590,884 square miles of Alaska a military force of only 23 officers and 788 men. This number includes signal corps and units of cavalry and infantry which are used, like the Canadian Northwest Mounted Police, on constabulary duty

THE ISLAND OF KISKA

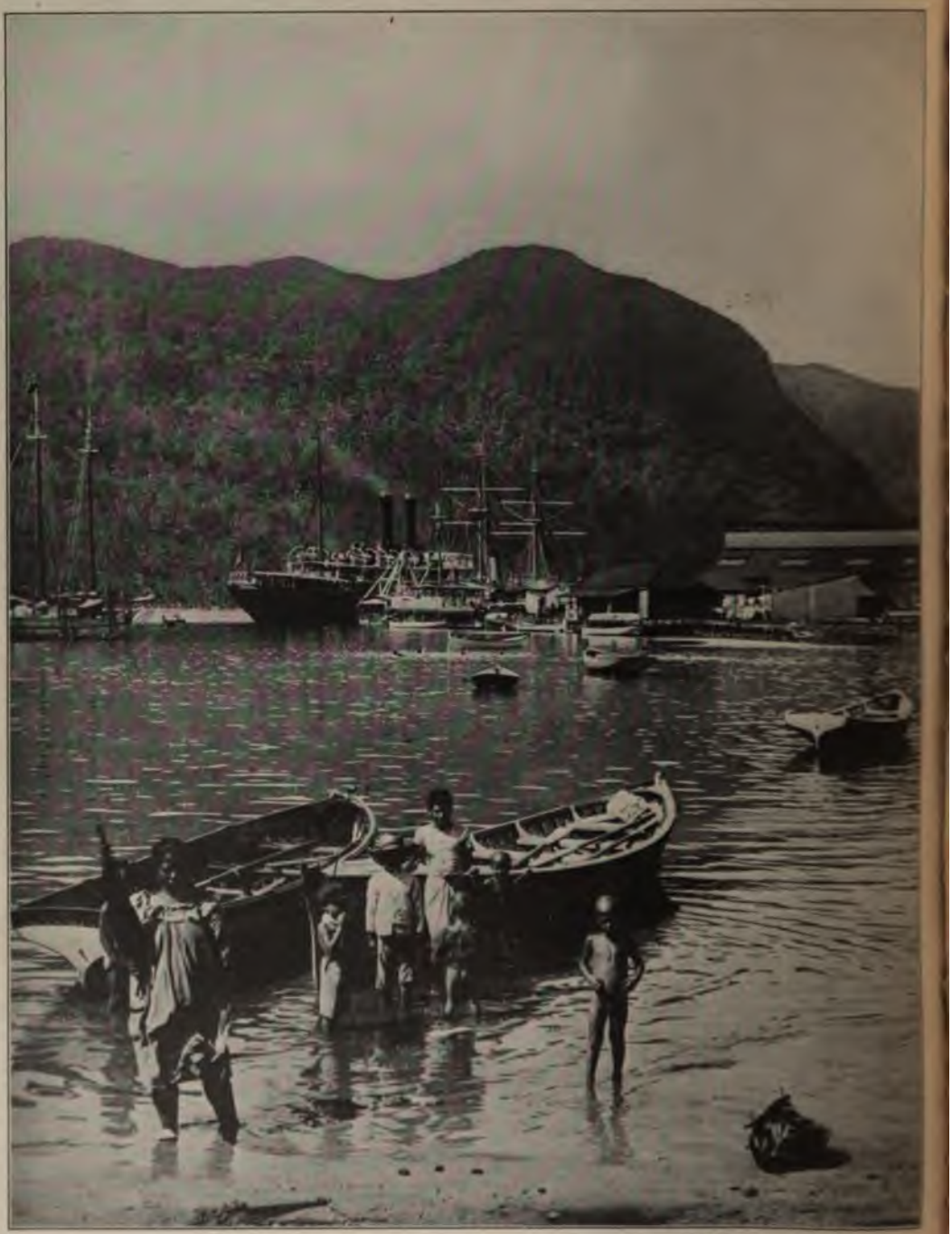
On account of its numerous bays as well as its rugged mountain character, Kiska could easily be defended by a small force and is admirably fitted for a naval base. Being within steaming distance of Guam and Honolulu, it would, with Samoa and the Midway Islands, form an auxiliary centre of supply and security, or a centre of scouting and offensive movements for a fleet

LASKAN-CANA-
BOUNDARY
LINE

a matter of dis-
etween Great
and the United
which centred
n the interpreta-
certain words in
-Russian treaties
nd 1867, defining
ctive boundaries
a and Canada.
ndary was finally
a board of ar-
in 1903

THE ISLAND OF UNALASKA

n the United States Government purchased Alaska from the Imperial Russian Government in 1867
,000, it acquired sites for several good naval bases in the Aleutian Islands. The Island of Unalaska,
deep bays, free from ice throughout the year, offers a site of great strategic importance but is not
uitable as Kiska and would entail more expense to fortify adequately



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THE ISLAND OF TUTUILA

By an agreement signed in 1900 by Germany, Great Britain, and the United States the latter obtained control over the Island of Tutuila and some other small islands of the Samoan group. The land-locked bay at Pagopago, on the Island of Tutuila, is the only first-class harbor for naval purposes in Samoa. It was ceded to the United States in 1872 as a coaling station but has at present no other strategic value. Not a gun is now in position there, but once thoroughly fortified it would become one of the strongest naval bases in the world

THE BUSINESS MAN WITH "NERVES"

DESPAIR THE DISEASE AND COURAGE THE CURE—HOW THE WILL TO BE BRAVE CAN BE CULTIVATED—THE RESTORING POWER OF GOOD BOOKS, GOOD COMPANY, AND GOOD THOUGHTS—THE NEW KNOWLEDGE OF A COMPLEX DISEASE

BY

CHARLES PHELPS CUSHING

TO MAKE sure that this series of articles shall be authoritative, the WORLD'S WORK has arranged to have them reviewed and approved by the Life Extension Institute before they are published.

The Life Extension Institute was organized by well known scientists, publicists, and business men, as a semi-philanthropic enterprise to disseminate the knowledge of healthful living among the people. Ex-President Taft is president of the Board of Directors, and its professional advisers include some of America's most distinguished physicians and surgeons, as well as the most prominent educators. The Institute's approval of these articles assures their scientific character.

"THERE is nothing so monstrous," wrote Robert Louis Stevenson, "but we can believe it of ourselves. About ourselves, about our aspirations and delinquencies, we have dwelt by choice in a delicious vagueness from our boyhood up."

It would not be fair to wrench this passage from its context and fail to record that the author was speaking of the promptings of hope. Yet it would be equally true if we should put a "reverse English" on it and apply it to the promptings of gloom. Ask any doctor. He will tell you that the man who is popularly described as a "grouch" dwells by choice in a fog of ignorance about himself, and is deluded into monstrously pessimistic beliefs.

If he suspected that something was wrong with his motor car a business man would not wait until it went to wreck before he took it to a mechanician to have it inspected; but physicians observe that he is much less likely to show an equal amount of common sense in caring for that vastly more complex machine, his body. How many business men, for example, when they find themselves suffering with "nerves" or the "blues"—find themselves becoming more and more restless, irritable, and depressed—betake their machinery to an expert to discover the cause? They say they are "nervous" and let it go at that unless they get a scare. Likely enough a competent examiner would find that "nerves really have little to do with such a condition." Not their nerves but their fretting habits of mind, their overstrained eyes, their digestions, sluggish intestines, or an infection of the tooth sockets may be to blame.

When the "nervous man," the "grouch," and his kindred ask a competent physician what they ought to do, they rarely are treated to a dissertation on the nervous system. They are, somewhat after the custom in a machine shop, thoroughly inspected and overhauled in both their mental machinery and their physical. Few confirmed "grouches," say the physicians, have healthy bodies; but the body and the brain of a man who is confirmed in feeling depressed often work in a "vicious circle." It is no easy task to tell whether the brain was the first to disturb the peace or whether the trouble started in an ill of the body. The ill that the patient suspects is in his mentality and is the cause of his timidity, crankiness, diminishing efficiency in work, may have its source in some easily remediable physical ailment. Or there may be nothing at all to begin on but an ingrowing delusion—a fancied inferiority of the faculties or of his physical resources. An imagined deficiency of the social instinct, or of courage or initiative, of mathematical ability or of sexual power, a fear that he cannot make his living or unfounded dread that he is about to lose his job may begin to worry him. If he frets about it long

enough he can create thus "a succession of fear states." Of course, the more self-centred he is, the worse he will feel. What he ought to be realizing is that likely enough he is pretty much like the rest of us in what he thinks and feels and dreams; but the more he hugs his worry and dwells on his delinquencies instead of on his possible capabilities, the more he will suffer.

Medical examiners declare that in a great majority of cases the physical ill may be one which can be remedied without much difficulty and the deficiency (even up to and including lack of courage) can be corrected. Or maybe it never existed at all! There may be nothing the matter with the fellow who thinks he is afflicted with nerves but a childish sentimentality. There may be nothing the matter with him that a little more fresh air and play, a little more sleep, a better balanced diet and some common sense about smoking and drinking, or ten minutes of exercise every morning could not correct. Sometimes all that an applicant to the examiner needs to know to lift a great weight off his mind is to be told that he is a good deal like other men. Doctors say that an amazingly large number of normal or nearly normal men harbor groundless fears that they are incurably abnormal in some important quality of body or mind. They delude themselves into believing that they think and dream and feel different things than the rest of us, that they have committed mistakes that the rest of us have not. They make themselves miserable, live under a pall, dwelling by choice in vagueness about themselves, and believe the most monstrous things—though a competent examiner might set them right in a jiffy.

"WORRY IS MENTAL WORK"

Some of the hints above about stepping up to look facts in the face, cultivating courage, and dodging worry and fear and morbidity and petulance may sound like mere preaching, but in reality they are sound hygiene. This article is as much a piece of reporting as the two that have preceded it (on what the fat man can do and what the thin man can do). It was not a preacher but a board of scientists that set approval on the epigram that "Worry is mental work." "The man who worries a great deal either neglects his regular work or works overtime." Why? "There is reason to believe that fear or chronic worry causes a relaxed and dilated condition of the bowels and the abdominal (splanchnic) blood vessels similar to the condition of surgical shock. This condition (of chronic fear) favors stagnation of the bowels and absorption or infection from the intestinal tract. Thus courage is a foe of constipation." Thus, also, is the "rookie" soldier put on the right trail to health when the drill sergeant makes him jump with a snap like a West Point cadet to the position of attention: "upstanding, with chest arched forward and abdomen taut," for "the physical attitude of courage is also the attitude of health."

Men of science know what influence the "unpleasant" emotions have on the body, for they have tested them by laboratory methods. They know that the business man who allows himself to become petulant, excitable, timid, and pusillanimous pays quite as dearly himself for his lack of self-control as the unhappy folks upon whom he vents his crankiness.

THE RELATION OF FEELINGS TO DIGESTION

Some scientists at Harvard University worked for four years investigating bodily changes in pain, hunger, fear, and rage; and Prof. Walter B. Cannon has recorded a fat bookful of results of the experiments.

"Among the organs that are affected to an important degree by feelings," he writes, "are those concerned with digestion. And the relations of feelings to the activities of the alimentary canal are of particular interest, because recent investigations have shown that not only are the first stages of the digestive process normally started by the pleasurable taste and smell and sight of food, but also that pain and great emotional excitement can seriously interfere with the starting of the process or its continuation after it has been started." He puts himself on record as saying that "Macbeth's advice that 'good digestion wait on appetite and health on both,' is now well founded physiology." He even suggests that "the degree of daintiness with which nourish-

is served, the little attentions to
:c details—the arrangement of the
the small portions of food, the
beside the plate—all may help to
food pleasing to the eye and savory
nostril and may be the deciding
ıts [when, through illness, the appe-
fickle] in determining whether the
ıtion of strength is to begin or not."
thy and thoroughly "fit" man should
ıf course, be dependent on such
al aid.

ttle further on in his remarks on
:ions and Digestion" he observes:
ɔd, the opinion has been expressed
great majority of the cases of gastric
ɜtion that come for treatment are
ɔnal in character and of nervous
It is the emotional element that
most characteristic of these cases.
great an extent is this true that
bach has suggested that, as a term to
terize the cause of the disturbances,
onal' dyspepsia is better than 'ner-
lyspepsia."

IL EFFECTS OF STRONG EMOTIONS

found that strong emotions such as
fear and rage accelerated the heart,
ed the movements of the stomach
testines, contracted the blood vessels,
shortened the coagulation time
blood, and increased the production
ɔd sugar. In the presence of strong
nent the "secretion of saliva, gastric
ɔancreatic juice, and bile is stopped,
e motions of the intestines cease at
There is reason for this when in
esence of real emergencies: "Just
war between nations the arts and
ries which have brought wealth and
tment must suffer serious neglect
vholly set aside both by the attacker
e attacked, and all the supplies and
ɜs developed in the period of peace
be devoted to the present conflict,
ɜwise, the functions which in quiet
establish and support the bodily
ɜs are, in times of stress, instantly
d or completely stopped, and these
ɜs lavishly drawn upon to increase
in the attack and in the defense or
So—"One who permits fears,
ı, and anxieties to disturb the diges-
tive processes, when there is nothing to be done, is evidently allowing the body to go onto what we may regard as a 'war footing,' when there is no 'war' to be waged, no fighting or struggle to be engaged in."

What could better describe your "nervous man" than that last sentence? He keeps himself under strain as for a perpetual crisis, he is "up in arms" about mere trifles, he is excitable, petulant, cranky. A doctor who can speak from his own experience and the experience of a number of other experts scribbled a long word on a piece of paper when I asked him for information about the "nervous man" or "neurasthenic." The word was *pusillanimous.*

"We all have our moods of depression," he said, "but your 'nervous' subject has them more and more often and until fear becomes a habit with him, until he is truly in a distressing state of mind and body. 'Pusillanimous' is a hard word, but it justly describes him. He allows fears, a sense of physical inferiority, a dread of the future to ride him, for he becomes so self-centred that he loses perspective on life. All too often he babies himself and gives in without a fight. One of the things that ails a lot of our nervous business men is that they are too tender to themselves. They allow their minds to dwell on ailments and worries that, likely, are remediable and, sometimes, even a joke. The 'tired business man' is a byword; and a well known adjunct of his establishment is his employee, the whining clerk, who can see nothing ahead but failure and distress. One of the things that ails too many of us is self-coddling and something akin to effeminacy."

The speaker was Dr. Eugene L. Fisk, who is director of hygiene of the Life Extension Institute:

"You know the office where the boss comes down to work and is tired before he begins, where the clerks always wear a worried look and everybody gets tremendously wrought up over trifles? Where every one is miserable without much cause? The common trouble there is not, as they think, their 'nerves,' but the way they think and live."

I asked if he was describing a distinctively American trait.

"Not at all," he answered. "I have found the same sort of thing in East Side clinics where the patients were new from Ellis Island."

I suggested that I had heard young internes describe patients of this class by saying: "There is nothing the matter with them. They are just plain d—— fools."

FEAR, A SOURCE OF PHYSICAL DISASTER

"That isn't the way to look at the matter," Dr. Fisk returned. "Often there isn't much the matter but fear. But fear is a source of physical disaster and ought to be treated with a sort of mental purgative. It is worth while to know that courage can be cultivated just as physical strength can be. A little talk straight from the shoulder is sometimes the best part of a prescription. The rest may be merely a dose of colored water. The pendulum has swung lately toward a careful search for physical defects, but there is no one general cause of 'nerves.' And it would be a great mistake to attempt to discredit the work that scientists have done to discover psychic ills and the uses of mental therapeutics. It may do a patient as much good to get the mental habit of pusillanimity out of his system as to cure one of his physical ills."

I suggested that he had made no mention of heredity. "Heredity imposes certain definite limitations on a man, but he seldom knows what they are. As a rule the latent capabilities of those with defective heredity are far above what is brought out in their daily lives, chiefly because they lack proper guidance and the right kind of suggestion.

"The first thing that a man who suspects he has something wrong with his blood or his mental machinery or the like should do is, of course, to be examined so that science can set about remedying him if such a state exists. Then, the less he dwells upon his deficiency the better off he will be. His business is to see what he can develop in the way of capabilities, not what he can mope about. He should be mighty slow about setting himself down as a marked man, for he may be only a little scratched. Thousands of brave men live down their hereditary handicaps. One should be finding out what he can do, not worrying about what he can't do. One should investigate the stories of men who succeeded in spite of odds, who developed unsuspected capabilities."

"Would you say, then," I asked, "that one of the worst things a neurotic could do would be to delve into Ibsen?"

Dr. Fisk didn't for a moment hesitate.

"Yes!—and all other literature that analyzes the essentially pathological or diseased types. He'd better, for example, be finding out how Grant, who was rated a failure up to middle age, became a great figure in history. If the neurotic can get hold of literature that is 'strong' because it is virile and not because it is vile, he will be giving his mind a first class medicine. The poison that emanates from the printed page or the spoken word is not solely a moral poison. It menaces health as well as character. The moral dangers from evil literature or debased drama are so generally treated in a cynical spirit that it is not at all strange that the dangers to health from such sources are completely ignored, likewise the tremendous value of sound literature and plays that are brimful of sweetness, sanity, and courage in strengthening an unstable nervous organism or even making stronger and finer an already sound and stable nervous system.

"It may be argued that strong meat is not for babes and weaklings, and that the world should not be adjusted to the requirements of weaklings. We might advance similar arguments regarding typhoid and plague. Why destroy the sources of such infection inasmuch as the healthy and strong are immune? As a matter of fact there are few people who are continuously immune to any evil influence.

"From the standpoint of health and hygiene, therefore, I feel quite as keenly about the responsible human who carries mind poison on his pen as I do about the irresponsible housefly that carries typhoid poison on its feet. Rotten plays and rotten literature have many defenders, with familiar clap-trap arguments about "the liberty of art." Art that is poisonous has no right to exist, but I suppose the suggestion that such art be brought under the

on of health authorities would ;reat commotion among a certain people who are more concerned : liberty to do evil than the power xd.

AWAY FROM OTHER NEUROTICS

over, the nervous man should as much as possible with other) have courage and ginger, and other neurotics. A man with : is a tonic, and courage is con- Let your patient associate with minds and absorb from them; , keep away from the wild-eyed, ed, frantic radicals—nine out of iem are neurotics and the thing ık is the matter with the world can be traced to the fact that ı engines are 'missing'."

.something about military train- ɔs be pertinent?

ıld, he answered. First of all, ıt in business men's camps in- ı physical examination. After tands for open air, simple food, abits of life, a good carriage of the tivity, and some highly beneficial :—Uncle Sam doesn't go in for :y and coddling. Furthermore, training is a good avocation; and vocation one of the Institute's :s remarks:

HAVE A HOBBY

e all things, have an avocation as ı vocation. Have an interest in 'k, but also in something that is ıile outside of the work that you living, lest your brain become "

s rest cures are sometimes the licine for "nervous patients," there work cures, and sometimes a ı is perplexed to determine which ght course to prescribe. I inter- he director of a large gymnasium is. He told me that among his wracked men there was a well erve specialist, who declared:

ık I know about all there is to out this business. If you can't hing for me I'm lost."

mnasium director told him that he must give up his practice for a while and spend more than half the summer on a farm—fishing, chopping wood, walking, and riding. It worked a cure!

Many so called sanitariums for "nerves" are little more than country hotels. A proper balance of rest and activity, with fresh air, simple food, and surroundings that suggest little of the laboratory furnish the important part of their treatment.

The environment is, indeed, no small matter with "nervous" patients. Percy Goldthwait Stiles, instructor in physiology at Harvard University, in discussing what can be charged to neurotic inheritance, writes, in his book, "The Nervous System and Its Conservation:"

"Every one can think of families in which nervous instability is exemplified in various forms by the different members. These are the families which are given to quarreling and recrimination at home, but unite with even greater pugnacity against the outsider who has incurred their displeasure. They make themselves miserable, but seem unable to help it. Where the taint is graver, there is downright neurasthenia. From such stock come certain individuals with marked talent, but hampered by self-consciousness and excessive sensitiveness."

NOT MUCH DANGER IN WORK

After listing a number of physical causes of nervous impairment affecting the individual—malnutrition, eye strain, lesions, and the like—he returns to the influence of occupation, surroundings, mental life:

"Nervous breakdowns are most frequently attributed to overwork. But according to the judgment of the ablest specialists, work in itself is not often the sole cause of these disasters. Work may be hard and fatiguing, but if it is congenial and at all successful, if it does not encroach upon the hours of sleep, and if it is not a subject of anxiety which the worker cannot dismiss, it is not likely to do him harm."

Remember that the writer is a physiologist and then consider what follows, not as preaching, but as the result of observations in his trade:

"The clash of antipathetic personalities is a most serious element among the causes

of nerve-fag. It is one which becomes steadily more potent for injury when a certain measure of fatigue has arrived, for added irritability means more and more grievous friction. It is a rare family in which the atmosphere is not improved by temporary separation of the house-mates. The entertaining of visitors serves a good purpose when the guests absorb attention that otherwise would be bestowed exclusively upon members of the home circle and in a critical spirit. It is a lamentable fact that in most families there is more restraint in speech and more consideration in conduct when outsiders are present; this suggests another valuable service rendered by company. Neurasthenia is, in a certain sense, a contagious disease: one case fully developed may give rise to others, though the secondary ones are ordinarily less severe."

THE VALUE OF MINDING ONE'S BUSINESS

"Some one has shrewdly pointed out that one fruitful source of mischief in the nervous system consists in what may succinctly be described as not minding one's own business. People easily fall into the habit of fretting over the beliefs and the behavior of their associates in matters in which individual liberty ought to be respected. Why should a man distress himself because a fellow-being is fond of cheese, which he does not like?—or goes to church, which he does not wish to do? It is sound hygiene to live and let live."

Sabbath Day, he holds, is of inestimable value for the preservation of the nervous system. "The deepest degradation to which the Sabbath can be subjected is to fill it with odd jobs left over from the week's routine. The compulsions of Sunday should be from within, not from without. So far as possible the day should bring complete release from petty habitual cares and scope for the idealistic life."

He recognizes the harm that monotony in occupation and association threatens to the nervous system and so to the general health, but says that the trained mind should find it possible to meet the exigency:

"A store of happy memories and generous affections should be competent to provide a foil to the depressing influence of monotonous circumstances for a time at least. Books have been one of the chief resources of those who have contended without degenerating against the tedium and pettiness of their lot. Memorized portions of the best literature may have a share in saving intellect and character from degeneration. The silent or audible rehearsal of such passages may be more beneficial than a concert or a play. No one can estimate the steadying power that has been operative in the minds of our ancestors as they have pondered the words of the Bible, 'the ever-open Thesaurus' of immortal truth immortally phrased."

To reformers he recommends as a saving grace the sense of humor; and suggests that "those who have carried the most crushing responsibilities for long periods and rendered the greatest services to mankind have frequently been those in whom the power of detachment from their cares was remarkable." For an example, he points to Lincoln: "Those who were near him were puzzled and sometimes offended by the abandon with which he put aside perplexing problems to enjoy humorous books or amusing plays. It was not so plain to them as it appears to us now that this relaxation was the physical and mental salvation of the heavy-laden President."

What does all the advice to the "nervous man" simmer down to? Something like this—first get a physical examination and at the same time unburden whatever worries are on your mind. Then live right, under the rules of sound hygiene, mental and physical. Poise of body and poise of what we popularly call "nerves" go together. A certain world's champion who knows this well may be seen sometimes jogging at a dog trot, like a prize fighter, around Central Park, New York City. You might guess that he was a lightweight pugilist or a "distance man," but the match for which he is training is a test of nerves more than of strength, for all he wields is a fifteen-ounce cue. His name is Willie Hoppe, the champion billiard player of the world. He knows well what he is about; steady nerves and confidence keep company with good health; and one of the best ways to win such boons, the experts say, is to peel off your coat and go after them.

E GOVERNMENT AN EMPLOYMENT AGENCY

THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, AND THE POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT COÖPERATE TO BRING THE JOBLESS MAN TO THE MANLESS JOB

BY

SELENE ARMSTRONG HARMON

JNCLE Jimmy and Aunt Louisa Pankhurst live on a farm near Amboy, in Illinois. Though life has held for them health, prosperity, and friends they ›een denied the greatest gift of all: ave no children. One day not long ncle Jimmy saw displayed in the ffice at Amboy a circular addressed ıstrial establishments, farmers, and employers of labor. This circular ıced that the Department of Labor United States was now prepared to : applications for help, skilled and ed, and to effect a distribution of arners in all parts of the country. Jimmy's patriotism rose as he his opportunity.

e United States is the most glorious in the world," he remarked to the ıster. "I loved it so much that ›d my life for it in the Civil War. why I think the Government owes me to furnish me with a girl—a :er that Louisa and I can love. me that application blank, will

ı and there the old man applied to ›vernment of the United States for :ic help. He asked for a girl who be competent to help Aunt Louisa l the house. The wages named hree dollars a week. In answer to inted question on the application "Are quarters provided (for the if so, under what conditions?" Jimmy wrote that the girl who came n would be loved by him and Aunt as their own daughter, and that home would be her home. He in firm, clear handwriting, that upon his death she would receive a ten-thousand-dollar legacy in return for love and affection and services rendered.

The Amboy postmaster put Uncle Jimmy's application in a franked envelope and forwarded it to the United States Department of Labor. employment agent at Chicago. This official sent the application, along with others received the same day from various towns throughout his zone, to the Chicago papers that publish daily a list of opportunities offered by the Federal Government's employment agency to local wage-earners. After a few days of investigation the federal agent selected the girl whom, out of more than two thousand applicants for the job, he considered best fitted to be the solace of Uncle Jimmy's and Aunt Louisa's declining years. She was an orphan with the good Anglo-Saxon name of Mary Smith.

This is, perhaps, a spectacular instance. Yet Uncle Jimmy Pankhurst is only one out of approximately 25,000 employers, representing trades and industries of every degree of importance and also some of the professions, who can bear witness to the efficiency of the recently established federal employment bureau. Mary Smith is but one wage-earner out of about 75,000 skilled and unskilled laborers, men and women, who can testify to the benevolence of Uncle Sam. The tendency of the Government at Washington to-day is to become paternalistic, and in no instance is this fact more strikingly shown than in the efforts of the Department of Labor to find a job for every willing worker, and thus to solve for the most part our now recognized national problem of unemployment.

The federal employment agency now being developed by the United States Department of Labor had its inception, in 1907, in an act of Congress directed primarily toward the immigrant. By this act a Division of Information was created, as part of the Bureau of Immigration, to promote a beneficial distribution of aliens in the states and territories desiring immigration. The Division was to gather and distribute to aliens, and to any other persons desiring it, information regarding the climate, resources, and products of these states and territories. The debates that attended the passage of this bill through Congress are of particular interest when studied in connection with the efforts of the Department of Labor to relieve unemployment to-day. They reveal in the minds of the men who passed the bill a clearly defined intent to relieve our big cities of their oversupply of laborers by providing these laborers, including admitted aliens, with information regarding opportunities for work in less congested portions of the country.

In 1913, the scope of the Division of Information was immeasurably broadened under the terms of the organic act creating the new Department of Labor, of which the Division was henceforth to be a part. This act provides that "the purpose of the Department of Labor shall be to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of wage-earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment." At first, the employment work of the Labor Department was confined to its New York office. It was not until 1914, after a year's work and planning by the Department's officers, that federal extension of activity in behalf of all wage-earners really began.

HARVEST WORK FOR 75,000 LABORERS

In May of that year the Department of Labor received a telegram from the State Labor Commissioner of Oklahoma. "We will need," the Commissioner wired, "from 12,000 to 15,000 men at from $2 to $2.50 a day, with board, to help harvest and thresh our wheat; and 85 per cent. of the men so employed will be given employment in this state by the farmers in ha the various forage crops, which pre big yield at this time, thereby gua ing from four to six months' steady

The Commissioner added that the would maintain in several cities fre ployment agencies to aid in the dis tion of the men.

The Department of Labor, throu Division of Information, promptly publicity in the newspapers of the co to the need of Oklahoma farme harvest hands. It had bulletins t effect, which also instructed men de harvest work how to apply to the homa state employment offices, disp in all post offices. Immediately came to the Secretary of Labor a re for harvesters for the states of Mis Kansas, and South Dakota. Whe needed number of laborers had resp to the calls of the Western farme help, the Department of Labor country-wide publicity to the fact no more men were wanted.

The result of this experiment was approximately 75,000 men secured and of this number a great many f permanent homes, in those states had appealed to the Department of L for workers. That year no grain r on the ground in Oklahoma, Mis Kansas, or South Dakota, as had happ in other years, for want of harve On the other hand, there was no se oversupply of laborers in any one loc While the placing of this great arm workers in the harvest fields of the was accompanied by some misadven due to the newness of the system, it accomplished without fees of any from the working man, and without cruel exploitation which in years pa had suffered, in greater or less degre the hands of corrupt private labor ag

The harvest help experiment had b reached its successful termination b the need of a national labor-distrib agency was again impressed upon Department of Labor. A fire in S Mass., destroyed twenty factory pl and about 3,000 homes of factory wo The local relief committee asked coöperation of the Labor Departme

ing work and homes for the men and en thus thrown out of employment made homeless. Through the Divi- of Information, the Secretary of r communicated by telegraph in a e day with 313 manufacturers of s, shoes, and textile fabrics in various ern states, asking employment for workers of Salem. He obtained the eration of the railroads, many of h gave free transportation to the fac- hands for whom these manufacturers d work. In a short time 1,500 men women had secured employment in r cities than Salem.

om these not insignificant beginnings has grown a national employment cy with branches and sub-branches ring the entire United States. To it, men and women workers, skilled unskilled, may apply for work. From nployers in every trade, industry, and ssion may ask help. In the first seven- months from January, 1915, when Department of Labor definitely inaug- d its plans to assist the unemployed -earners of the country to find work, agency received 241,711 applica- for employment. Within this time, 12 employers applied to it for help. number of persons for whom it actu- secured work was 74,112. These es do not include the harvest help 1 the Western states in 1914 and again 15.

IE ORGANIZATION OF THE BUREAU

ie federal employment bureau is nized by zones. There are eighteen ese employment zones, each covering rritory of two or more states, and ng its headquarters in a large city, branches and sub-branches in the ler cities and towns. At each of these headquarters the Government's em- ment agency is in charge of some ex- nced officer of the immigration ser- and an assistant.

the 40,000,000 wage-earners in the ed States, 8,000,000 are women, and en wage-earners are making use of the al employment agency in increasingly numbers. To meet their needs, missioner General of Immigration Caminetti, who is perfecting the details of organization of the bureau for Secretary of Labor Wilson, will place in each em- ployment zone a woman superintendent. These women officers will invite the coöperation of women's clubs and other women's organizations, and will work in many ways for the welfare of the woman wage-earner.

HOW THE POSTMASTERS HELP

The Department of Labor has been able to bring to the task of organizing its em- ployment bureau the vast machinery of other departments of the Government. Coöperating with it are 60,000 postmasters of the Post Office Department. The em- ployer or the wage-earner may obtain at any post office in the United States an application blank for help or for employ- ment which he or she may fill out and deposit in the mails free of postage. It often happens that the postmaster is familiar with the opportunities for help and work which his district offers, and that he brings employer and wage-earner together without forwarding their applica- tion blanks. Otherwise he forwards all blanks to the nearest station or substation of the Department of Labor. Those applications which cannot be matched at their respective stations or substations are copied by the local agent for future reference, and then forwarded to Wash- ington, where they are compared with all unmatched applications from the country at large. Such of these which still remain unmatched are then bulletined to all stations and substations for future use by the local agents.

Since the establishment of the federal employment system, the Labor Depart- ment has also received valuable aid from the Department of Agriculture. When it is remembered that in the counties of the various states this latter Department has agents, field officers, and corres- pondents to the number of 170,000, all of them representative men in agricultural pursuits, it becomes apparent that these can be instrumental in acquainting the rural population with the work of the employment bureau as no other agency could. They have already accomplished

much by distributing to farmers the bureau's printed blanks. In addition, they have made valuable reports to the Labor Department on labor conditions throughout the country, on the character of the work done by wage-earners supplied by the Labor Department to farmers, and on the treatment accorded these wage-earners by their employers. Plans for the further development of the national employment bureau contemplate a similar coöperation between the Labor Department and the Interior and Commerce Departments.

NO EXPENSE FOR THE WORKER

The franking privilege possessed by the Government's departments is also of great assistance. This enables the man out of a job, no matter in what section of the country he happens to be, to communicate his needs to the federal employment bureau without the expenditure even of two cents for a postage stamp.

Still another element in the success of the bureau is the coöperation of the press of the country, including the newspapers printed in foreign languages. By giving publicity to the opportunities for work which the governmental agency offers, the latter newspapers are instrumental in securing jobs for many foreign-born wage-earners before these have learned to speak or read the English language.

A few examples will serve to illustrate the character and variety of the benevolent offices which the national employment agency performs for both wage-earners and employers. For instance, there was published in a German newspaper in New York City a list of opportunities for agricultural work offered by the agency. This resulted in the distribution, throughout twenty-three states, of 630 German men and women. The aggregate monthly wage of these workers is $14,634.90, not including board and lodging.

In San Francisco recently the head of a great industry applied to the Government's employment agency in that city for a chemist with a knowledge of mechanical and electrical engineering. The employer, in filling out the application blank, stated that he had a fine opportunity for a man with plenty of organizing ability as well as high technical training, and added, "He must be a college man, necessarily." The salary offered to begin on was $3,000 a year. Within eight days the Government's agent to whom the employer had applied had satisfactorily filled the position.

A CRIPPLE WHO MADE GOOD

An interesting case is that of a cripple who applied at the New York office for a position as barn man on a dairy farm. The Government's labor agent sent him to a dairy farmer who had applied for help. When the cripple arrived at the dairy farm, the farmer, greatly incensed at the man's infirmity, refused to let him go to work, and immediately communicated to the agent his indignation at being supplied with "a poor excuse for a man." The agent insisted that the farmer give the cripple a chance to show his ability. Also, he made the proposition that instead of the twenty-five dollars a month named as wages in the former agreement, the cripple should be allowed to work at the rate of a dollar a cow per month, he to milk all the cows he could handle. The farmer took the agent up on this offer, with the result that the cripple has been getting thirty dollars a month for his work.

In July, 1915, the Apple Growers' Association of Hood River, Ore., wrote in acknowledgment of the aid given by the Department of Labor in securing help for the strawberry harvest in their section:

"You have been of the greatest assistance in this strawberry harvest in that you have given absolutely reliable information to both the grower and the employee. We take pleasure in assuring you that we look forward to next season's harvest, believing that you will be of greater benefit to the grower and employee from the experience you have had in the season just closed. This certainly is an industry that needs just such overseeing as you have given it. We hope this good work will continue, and that it will be extended to the apple industry, which presents a great field for your efforts."

A great number of similar examples, relating to both wage-earners and employers, could be cited.

› comprehend the seriousness and the ıt of unemployment in this country, only necessary to recall that even ı business and industrial conditions ıormal the number of our unemployed 77,000 for twelve months in the year. mes of crisis or depression, this great ' is augmented by hundreds of thou- s, whose distress, after a protracted d of idleness, becomes acute. It is ıutworn theory that unemployment s to such an extent because of the lessness or inefficiency of the in- ıual without a job. Rather, it is ɡnized as a problem inherent in our ınt industrial system, with its labor ıet unorganized, and with its "irregu- ' of industrial operations over which ıorkers have no control." The fact ıvious that to cope with an evil so ın-wide and so organically a part of social and industrial whole, some ıal agency, working in coöperation state and municipal agencies, may to effect what private agencies could r accomplish.

THE SUCCESS OF THE BUREAU

ıe success achieved by the national ıu within the first year and a half ıs existence has demonstrated that feasible for the United States De- nent of Labor to undertake not only ecuring of jobs for seventy-odd thou- wage-earners, but also, with the aid ıate and municipal agencies, a solu- of this country's employment problem whole. It now remains for Secretary ɔn to secure from Congress the needed ort and legislation to make effective ırogramme mapped out by him for the ıer development of this bureau.

ıis programme calls for, first of all, the ılishment, by act of Congress, of a onal Employment Agency in the De- nent of Labor. A bill to establish an agency was introduced in the r house of Congress on December 15, , by Representative Nolan, of Cali- a, and was referred to the Committee abor. It provides for a commissioner ıployment who shall be appointed by the President and for such experts, agents, clerks, and other employees as may be needed to carry on the work of bringing the man and the job together.

PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

Further legislation is needed before an obstacle in the way of the federal agency's expansion can be removed. Such legislation would consist of a law enabling the railroads to reduce their transportation rates in favor of working men traveling long distances to an opportunity under the auspices of the Department of Labor. Apropos of the need for such a law, Mr. T. V. Powderly, the veteran chief of the Division of Information, says in a recent report: "When men have long been out of work, they are necessarily out of money; they are doubly handicapped, as they cannot secure employment where they are, and have no funds with which to proceed to where work may be had. They are a dead loss to the Government as a whole; they are a burden to the community which must support them and their families; they are a loss to the community which really needs them and their labor, and cannot obtain it." The Labor Department has partially obviated the difficulties attending the lack of special transportation facilities for working men by having the employer in many cases advance the amount of the railroad ticket. This expedient, however, would not be found practicable when there are large bodies of laborers to be transported long distances.

Secretary Wilson's plans for the expansion of the federal employment agency also include the making of arrangements with all great seasonal industries whereby the slack seasons of some might become the busy seasons of others. This would do much to equalize employment throughout the year. Along the same line would be a federal, state, and municipal supervision of public works. If the expenditures which are made annually for these could be partially suspended during prosperous times, there would then be throughout the lean seasons wages and work for thousands of men otherwise unemployed.

HOLLAND, A GATEWAY TO GERMANY

THE SMUGGLER AND THE LAW—AND HOW THE NETHERLANDS OVERSEA TRUS
LOOSED THE GRIP OF BRITISH SEA POWER
UPON DUTCH COMMERCE

BY

D. THOMAS CURTIN

FROM the very beginning of the war Germany's trump card has been her battering-ram military machine. To enable her to win, this machine must decisively defeat the enemy armies. On the other hand the trump card of the Entente Powers has been control of the sea. Great Britain in particular thoroughly believed from the first that her navy would eventually strangle Germany.

Holland has vividly felt both of these mighty forces. Her front door opens on the North Sea and her back door into Germany. America is too far removed from the great conflict really to breathe the atmosphere of war. The Dutch, however, stood right in the wings looking out upon the stage where the tragedy of Belgium was being enacted. Their southern provinces echoed with the roar of battle; they saw nearly a million Belgians fleeing wild-eyed from the sulphur storm, and when Antwerp fell they saw the shattered battalions of Belgium and England fall back across their borders. They learned the meaning of war without being in it. The sight of Belgium writhing in the clutch of the conqueror quickened their imagination to a not impossible future for themselves.

Holland began to mend her easy-going military ways. One of her early acts, however, might cause a twinkle in the eyes of any one in the least familiar with German knowledge of invaded territory, for the Dutch, in the innocence of their unmilitary hearts, pulled down all cross-roads guide-posts in the strategic part of the country. Contemplate the dilemma and dismay of a German army in darkest Holland with no sign-posts to guide it! That the Germans might not be o in this battle of wits, however, a G automobile company put advertisin near where the former guide-pos stood, on which were added such di as: "Utrecht, 24 kilometers." Wh Dutch became cognizant of this c attack they demolished these signs, l Germans, determined to go down fi brought suit for the destruction o property. They won the suit.

Energetic work nevertheless ha acterized the military preparati guard against any trouble which arise with the great neighbor to th Huge war expenditures have been class after class has been called colors to be trained, the strategic main defense near Utrecht has strengthened, beautiful trees have sacrificed, trenches which are n practice work have been dug, and f in some sections have received min structions on what to do when orders are given.

There has been little friction wit many, however, while on the othe there have been and will continue great problems arising from Eng naval pressure.

A series of official acts in Englan dark shadows across the North Sea Holland. At the outbreak of war, sure, the British Government adopt Declaration of London of 1909, alt it had never been ratified and such tion prevented the full exercise c power. But the net was gradually ened. On November 2, 1914, th miralty declared that a state of war e in the North Sea and, on Decemb

in extended her contraband list to a e which spelled chaos for Holland. ı Germany began her submarine war- n the following February, Britain de- that the Declaration of London was ›nger in force, and by an Order in cil, March 11, 1915, declared that no ıodities of any kind were to be al- l to reach Germany.

mediately after the outbreak of war ;an agents swarmed through Holland rough other neutral contiguous coun- buying and contracting for every of material which might be of future New dealers in copper, cotton, oils, , clothing, and the like sprang up, and ay of the successful smuggler had once dawned upon the earth.

t most of the dwellers of this land r the level of the sea knew naught of vays of smugglers; they knew only they faced dire need because England France considered goods consigned olland as possible future imports of ıany. Matters went from bad to :. Trade became paralyzed, work slack, and general discontent arose. uge of appeals poured in upon a newly ɜd trade commission.

THE N. O. T.

is commission, known as the Nether- Oversea Trust, literally saved Hol- It was established at the Hague ɜmber 21, 1914, to act as intermediary ɜen Dutch merchants and traders and Entente Allies. Their proposition, ɜed to simplest terms, was that the ; should permit goods to enter Holland r the sanction of the N. O. T., which m should be responsible for them not ; into Germany.

e company is managed by a board of tors, appointed and dismissed by the holders, the latter consisting of the powerful business concerns in Hol- as the Holland-America Line, the erdam Bank, and the Netherlands l. The directors, all high in the cial world, won the confidence of the ;h Government and the grateful ›bation of the Dutch people.

ough the statutes provide for the nuance of the company until December 31, 1919, it will vanish with the war. Its first powers were exercised on January 6, 1915, and after twenty months of activity it receives enthusiastic praise throughout Holland, while its leaders are looked upon as the life-saving crew which is rescuing a country surrounded by spiked helmets and ships of war.

The N. O. T. is a new institution, a product of the Great War. Nothing of the kind has ever existed before, and, there being no precedents to which it can refer, it has had to grope more or less in the dark, with the natural result of a certain amount of toe stubs and bumps.

The *modus operandi* is simple and theoretically prevents the reëxporting to Germany of goods brought into the country through its medium. Suppose that a Dutch merchant desires to import a certain commodity. He fills in a form issued by the Oversea Trust, the officials of which then ascertain if he is a bona fide Dutch merchant and is not merely a link in the German chain. When permission is granted he must furnish the Oversea Trust with a bank guarantee to the amount of goods ordered, this being a forfeit or part forfeit should the goods be re-exported. The importer is held responsible for the actions of future consignees. The N. O. T. receives as its commission one eighth of one per cent., with a minimum of 2.50 guilders ($1.00). After a dividend of 4 per cent. has been paid the rest will go to charity.

DUTCH TRADE UNDER THE N. O. T.

Dutch imports may be divided into three classes. First, there is, as in all neutral European countries, a government embargo list which forbids the export of arms, munitions, leather, meat, fodder, and the like. In the Scandinavian countries similar lists cover ten pages of fine print. In Holland, owing to the activities of the N. O. T., the list covers considerably less than a page. In the second class is, with a few specified exceptions, everything else. All these commodities must be imported through the Oversea Trust in the manner described above. The third class includes tobacco, coffee, and Mediterranean fruits, but although no N. O. T.

permit is necessary to import these the reëxportation of these goods is subject to the rules of that body.

Thus problem number one for Holland is: Imports and how to deal with them. Problem number two concerns itself primarily with home products and with restrictions upon their export.

Suppose that a Dutch farmer suddenly learns that by taking his cheese, butter, milk, and eggs a few miles east he can receive three times the amount that they bring in Holland. The Dutch farmer learned this interesting fact some months after the outbreak of war, and ere long the Dutch consumer was bitterly complaining that not only was the price of the necessities of life nearly prohibitive, but that food could not be obtained in sufficient quantities. Meanwhile the farmers were driving in cheerfully every week to Rotterdam, Gouda, and other centres, where they displayed large rolls of money in the coffee houses before walking across the street to pass them through the window to the receiving teller in the bank. When others complained the farmer simply claimed the right to sell his produce where he could get the most money for it: And to remember that in the days when the ancestors of these get-rich-quick farmers reclaimed the land from the sea more people were employed in manuring it than could be fed on what it produced!

The Government, having become a buffer between producer and consumer, finally decreed that every town should each week take an account of the supplies on hand, and on the basis of this a certain percentage might be exported.

THE BUSINESS OF SMUGGLING

We have seen the laws, and now for their evasion. It must be remembered that the Oversea Trust has no official connection with the Government. This should prove a very great weakness so far as England is concerned, since Government officials on the frontier have thus no power to hold up goods with the N. O. T. label. The N. O. T.'s. only recourse is to fine the original exporter, *if it has proof that goods have left the country*, and refuse him further permission to import. Nearly a year after the first business of the N. O. T. on Jan 6, 1915, a series of events made know the outside world that the Dutch fro was not smuggler-proof. Most peop Holland have known this right a The Amsterdam *Telegraaf* asserted Germany was being fed through Hol similar remarks were made across North Sea in the House of Commons General Snyders, Commander of Armies of the Netherlands, made has tighten the frontiers.

The *Telegraaf's* revelations of the met of the smugglers and its attacks on the ernment's laxity in running them finally resulted, in December last, in arrest of its editor, Mr. Schroeder, on technical charge of having jeopardized nation's neutrality.

All over the world there are just as c people trying to beat the law as to mak law, and it would be as much besid point to argue that, because there ex Holland regulations against the reëxpo goods, no goods are reëxported, as to r tain that moonshine whiskey is not dis in the mountains of Kentucky becau Federal excise laws.

METHODS OF SMUGGLING

In the early days attempts were mac a grand scale to get goods to Germ One method was to consign them to a in Switzerland and to change the des tion while they were in transit in Germ The N. O. T. met this by inserting a cl in its contracts which forbade the reëx of goods to a neutral country throu belligerent country.

Some dealers in oil imported a amount and then reshipped it all to many, the price received being suffi to allow them to sacrifice their e deposit to the Oversea Trust and still r a handsome profit.

But it is the small smuggler wh picturesque. A young man was rece banished from the frontier district Holland. About a year ago he spen his money on one horse and, surreptitic leading the animal across the frontie received two and a half times what he paid for it. He engineered the act peatedly and would have become a wea

if the authorities had not finally ed his activities. As it was he d 80,000 guilders ($32,000).

ny other Dutchmen have increased alue of their horses by leading them a miles in an easterly direction. An al worth 400 guilders on one side of rontier is worth 1,000 guilders on the : Two hundred guilders appears a sum of money to a weary frontier l whose remuneration is considerably han half a guilder a day, if he will but in a specified direction for a short h of time. His country is not at war, ay consolingly reason, and what mat- t if just one more horse is turned loose Armageddon!

peace time nearly four fifths of the h trade with the Rhine was towed up iver from Rotterdam in huge canal . The war has practically killed this . Canals are easily guarded and it t on them that smuggling is done; rather along the high roads, by-roads, paths that small quantities of goods ribbled over the frontier. Much of ork is done at night, and women and are particularly active both day and . I know of one girl who continued gling even after her father was shot e of his attempts. The wide, full of the Dutch peasant women have ne wider and fuller with contraband l in them.

e Dutch customs officers have had duties reversed by the war. For- it was their business to prevent stuff fully coming into the country, now must see that it does not unlaw- go out. The strip of land three miles running along the frontier is a special in which the inhabitants need permits l goods which they use. Some dwel- n the zone, nevertheless, have been y successful in paying off mortgages ent months.

hough many people are in business hemselves in the smuggling game, s are but employees in extensive ms. One contraband distributing rn is known to have its headquarters zendaal, whence it sends a stream of e, even young boys, across the line Belgium.

In addition to the "honest" smuggler one finds the dealer who cheats his confiding German customer when possible. This has happened sufficiently often to cause some German newspapers, including the *Berliner Tageblat*, to warn their readers to beware of the wily Dutchman. Cases have been exposed where German purchasers of oil have later had the unpleasant truth dawn upon them that they have paid exorbitant prices for ordinary water that has been topped with oil.

There is, of course, another side to this story. Holland is not only the Gateway to Germany. It is also the Gateway to England. The exports do not all go across the lonely frontier of the Eastern heath. They sail in little ships across the North Sea and enter the Kingdom of Great Britain. Provisions of all sorts go to England, and so great is the demand for transports of all kinds that ships of incredible antiquity and unbelievable unseaworthiness have been pressed into this service. Butter, meat, eggs, but most especially vegetables and fruit, are every day sent across the North Sea to England. A German submarine intercepted a few of these ships and brought them to Zeebrugge. Upon arrival there it was found that they were carrying eggs by the million and other things in proportion.

Now the people in Holland are not fundamentally interested in the cause of Germany. Like the people of most small nations they are interested in their own existence. Their big neighbors have never treated them very well. Now that they are fighting each other, Holland and Denmark and Sweden and Norway and Switzerland want to keep out of the struggle. But meanwhile they sell their wares wherever there is a demand for them, just as America and every other nation is doing. The price of eggs and nothing else influences the final sale of this product of the industrious chicken. The demand for veal carries calves across the sea or across the land-frontier. The desire for fresh butter influences the butter export westward or eastward, but no considerations of international politics.

Holland has war-time interest other than that of trade. More news filters

through it than through any other country, and clashes of opinion not possible in a belligerent country result in many interesting disclosures. Rotterdam, for example, is twelve hours from Berlin and the same war-time distance from London. It is less than four hours from Brussels and only five hours from the great fortress and commercial city of Cologne. The traveler who left the heart of the British Empire in the morning is in the evening jostled by the crowd in the narrow Hoog Straat with his deadly enemy who has left Unter den Linden the same morning.

Both sides forbid the importation of enemy newspapers except by duly authorized persons, and it is in Holland that these persons snap up copies of the enemy press and hurry them to their respective governments and leading newspaper offices in London and Berlin, where they are officially devoured with searching scrutiny.

Holland is furthermore a fertile ground for skilled correspondents. Some of the big London dailies, working entirely independently of the Government and solely bent on news scoops, have rivaled the agents of the far-famed German secret service in obtaining valuable information of enemy plans and doings. These correspondents have built up skilled corps of assistants who cover every possible source of information, and who flit to the Belgian border, not always stopping there.

One London correspondent attracted wide attention by accurately foretelling the Second Battle of Ypres more than a week before the great German attack. This notwithstanding that Germany had for some time locked her frontiers to every one, even Germans, going out.

But what about the Dutchman who is not a maker of regulations or a breaker of them, what of the average citizen of this artificial land where countless windmills continue to brandish their long arms despite the war, where canal boats are poled through streets of water, where the countryman clatters along in his wooden shoes while well-dressed men and women alight from automobiles before luxurious restaurants and clubs at the Hague?

When on one occasion I asked a foreign diplomat his opinion on war sympat Holland he irritably replied: "The D are pro-Dutch!" I agree with him, also grant them the privilege to co the welfare of their own country Some, to be sure, are for Germany, are for the Entente, but all rea true position of their country a power in the world of to-day. Th are a slow-going, hard-working, p people who are careful to make that they cannot back up. "Th idle boast based upon the fa armies once beat the greatest Europe and their fleets made land strike her flag.

What they clearly realize is land is a little nation of only people and that it stands second nations in the extent of its colonial ings. The Dutch are proud of their navy but they know that it would be useless for them to attempt to defend colonies. Therefore, although they naturally dispose of their home pr where they wish, they do not cha England's decree that their colonial ducts shall be imported into Holland the same conditions that other pro are imported through the N. O. T other words, Holland may sell her produce to Germany, but not the pr of her colonies.

On the other hand the Dutch realize that their flat country offers defense as compared to a mounta country like Switzerland. To be they can open the flood gates, but would be only to let the sea destroy of the land in order to bar the mans from the rest—a very desp proceeding.

Finally, Holland, unlike the B states, has not the slightest objec entering upon a war, except in abs self-defense, in which case she undoubtedly fight as valiantly as whe drove the Spaniards from the land. plots only against her old, ever-pr enemy, the sea; indeed, the Dutch already completed plans to roll bac Zuyder Zee, which ruthlessly inv their territory in the thirteenth cen and so enlarge their country.

MAN AND HIS MACHINES

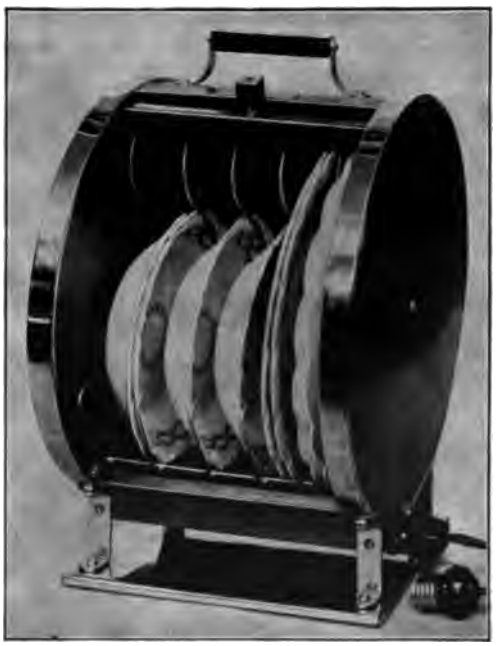
GENERATING ELECTRICITY FROM DAYLIGHT

eft: The closed cell: the galvanometer is connected with the two copper plates which are in the box; when closed the :stands in the centre of the scale at zero. Right: The open cell; the cover has been taken off, allowing the light to the oxidized copper plate which is in a solution of salt water. The result of the light falling upon the oxidized plate ces a current strong enough to throw the needle completely beyond the end of the scale on the galvanometer

ELECTRICITY FROM LIGHT

CENTLY Mr. Theodore W. Case, of Auburn, N. Y., read a paper before a special meeting of the New York Electrical Society which onvened for the purpose of listening to him. aper is called "Preliminary Notes on a New Way nverting Light into ical Energy." It een known for some that light affected a in chemicals and s just as the plate of era is affected. How- although many ex- ents have been tried enerate electricity the reaction of light tain metals, the re- as never been more a barely perceptible nt. After much ex- enting Mr. Case dis- ed a method by he could convert into enough electri- ergy to ring a bell light a small electric The discovery is :: two copper plates aced in a solution of vater. One plate is ed and exposed to ght, the other is pol- and kept in the dark. the cover of the cell ig the plates and on is opened and the strikes the oxidized a reaction takes and a current is gen- l which gives about $\frac{12}{100}$ of one volt and about $\frac{1}{10}$ of an ampere for a cell with plates 4 by 5 inches. Prof. F. C. Brown, of Iowa University, has figured out that when this cell is giving a current of $\frac{1}{10}$ of a volt and $\frac{1}{2000}$ of an ampere it is about equal to that energy derived from the sun in growing a corn crop, area for area. The efficiency of this illumination cell is therefore far in excess of the energy utilized in growing corn.

As yet, of course, generating electricity from light is in the experimental stage, and it may always remain there. But steam and wireless and flying and electricity are all recent discoveries, so there is the possibility that Mr. Case has made the first step toward a great new practical discovery. For the possibilities of his discovery—provided, of course, that it ever can become commercialized — are potentially unlimited.



A HANDY ELECTRIC PLATE WARMER

It warms from one to a dozen plates of various sizes quickly and, with the cover down, retains heat for an hour after the electric current is turned off

ELECTRIC PLATE WARMER

THE desirability of warm plates for the serving of food has inspired the invention of a simple little electrical device in the form of a drum, trimmed with nickel and mounted on a nickel base, with feet of fibre to prevent the scratching of any

A HANDY REVERSIBLE BROILER

The distance of the meat from the flame can be regulated and the meat reversed by a simple operation without removing it from the oven

SIMPLIFYING THE ART OF BROILING

The reversible broiler is of such construction that it can easily be adjusted to the oven of practically all the standard size gas stoves

surface upon which it may be placed. It is light, attaches to the socket of the ordinary electric socket, and the manufacturers say that it "quickly and uniformly heats one to a dozen plates of various sizes;" that, with the cover closed, "heat can be retained for an hour" after the electric current is turned off; and that the cost of heating the plates is "less than a cent."

A REVERSIBLE BROILER FOR GAS OVENS

A RECENTLY INVENTED, simple, inexpensive device that is readily adaptable for use in the broiling oven of almost any modern gas range makes broiling an easy method of preparing food.

By tripping the long lever shown at the left of

TO SAVE THE GARBAGE COLLECTOR'S ENERGY

A lever, a crane, a cable arrangement with hooks which fit over two nubs on the side of the garbage can, and another cable which hooks on to the bottom of the can and which tips it make for a conservation of the garbage collector's energy in Pittsburg, Pa.

the reversible broiler on page 586, the left side of the gridiron is released from the notched pawls. This side then slides down into the hollow of the "wishbone" curve, a twist of a detachable handle on the stem of the gridiron releases the right side and brings it over to the notched pawls on the left, and the under side is swung up to the notched pawls on the right, thus completely reversing the meat—an operation that consumes less time than it takes to describe it. The shelf-like appendages at the side engage with the pan-holders or ledges in the oven of practically every standard gas stove and may be raised or lowered—also by a detachable handle — thus varying the distance of the meat being broiled from the flame.

WARM FEET FOR THE TRAFFIC POLICEMAN

The object of this electrically heated foot-stand is not so much to warm the policeman's feet as to prevent them from freezing in winter

LABOR-SAVING IN GARBAGE COLLECTION

IN CONNECTION with the garbage collection system at Grand Rapids, Mich., there are several efficient ideas, originated by Mr. William M. Walsh, the highway commissioner, that are different from other systems. Each collection wagon is equipped with a movable crane which can be thrown to either side by a lever. A crank, operating through a set of cogs, controls a wire cable which leads through a set of pulleys to a beam carrying two steel hooks. When lowered, the hooks fit over iron nubs on the sides of the galvanized steel cans used by the white wings. When raised to the proper position, the cable is locked by a ratchet. A second cable operates through a second set of pulleys and terminates in a steel hook, which is fastened to the bottom of the can. A shift of gears then permits the operator to dump the contents of the can in the wagon.

The driver of the wagon can easily operate the crane without assistance and he can care for several collection stations each day. Little labor is required to dump the cans, which hold 400 pounds of refuse.

The cleaners propel the cans about the streets on a two-wheeled framework. When capacity is reached the can is set off by releasing a hook on the handle which holds a semicircular arm in place. The arm terminates in two steel hooks which fit the iron nubs on the cans. Empty cans are kept on hand at each station. Galvanized covers are provided for the full cans at the various stations.

ROUGHING SIDEWALKS WITH AN AIR-DRIVEN TOOL

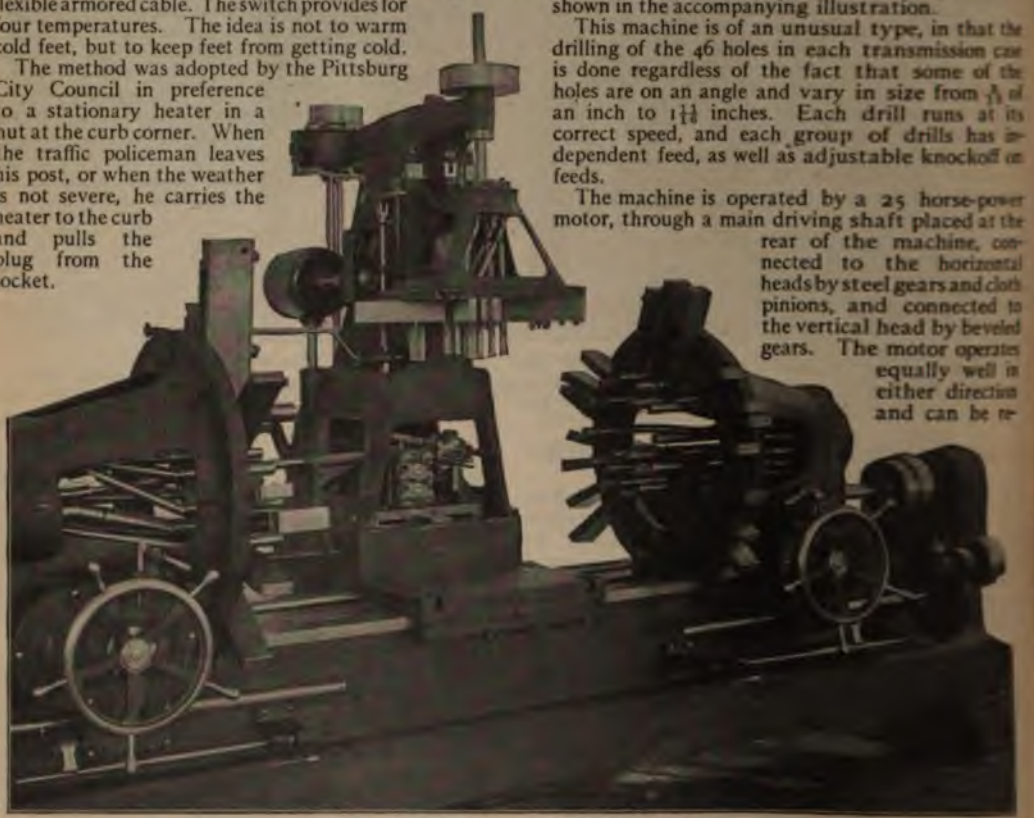
Work that has hitherto been done almost entirely by hand tooling. Recently, however, when certain cities of the Middle West enacted ordinances requiring the roughing of all sidewalk surfaces, the unusual amount of work to be done led to the improvising of a portable rig on which are mounted an air-cooled compressor and a 3 horse-power air-cooled engine, and a special tool which is driven at about 80 pounds pressure

WARM FEET FOR THE TRAFFIC POLICEMAN

TRAFFIC policemen in northern cities suffer from cold feet in the winter time. An idea worked out by the Pittsburg Industrial Development Commission and the City Council might prove of value in many cities this winter.

The foot-warmer for traffic policeman is a plate 18½ inches square, and 1½ inches thick. It is connected to an electric plug and switch on a pole at the street corner. The current is conducted through a flexible armored cable. The switch provides for four temperatures. The idea is not to warm cold feet, but to keep feet from getting cold.

The method was adopted by the Pittsburg City Council in preference to a stationary heater in a hut at the curb corner. When the traffic policeman leaves his post, or when the weather is not severe, he carries the heater to the curb and pulls the plug from the socket.



A MULTIPLE SPINDLE DRILLING MACHINE

For drilling all the holes in an automobile transmission case at one operation, regardless of the fact that some of the holes are at an ang e and vary in size. This work has hitherto necessitated the use of five machines

AIR-DRIVEN TOOL FOR ROUGHING SIDEWALKS

THE danger to pedestrians of slipping on stone or cement sidewalks in the winter months, and the difficulties encountered in compelling property owners to clear their sidewalks after a snow storm have led certain cities in the Middle West to enact municipal ordinances requiring the roughing of all sidewalk surfaces. Heretofore this work had been done by hand tooling—a tedious and time-consuming method. The unusually large amount of it to be done following the enactment of the ordinance referred to led to the manufacture of special apparatus, in which an air-driven tool is used, by a concern in Quincy, Ill. This company furnishes a portable rig, consisting of an air-cooled compressor, of 19 cubic feet capacity, directly connected to a 3 horse-power air-cooled engine, both mounted on a steel truck, underneath which is a small air tank. The air is pumped to a pressure of about 80 pounds, and then it is supplied to a specially-made roughing tool that was improvised for the purpose, and with which, the manufacturers say, unusually good results have been obtained.

A MULTIPLE SPINDLE DRILLING MACHINE

FOR drilling all the holes in an automobile transmission case at one setting, a machine tool company of Springfield, Mass., has recently put on the market the multiple spindle drilling machine shown in the accompanying illustration.

This machine is of an unusual type, in that the drilling of the 46 holes in each transmission case is done regardless of the fact that some of the holes are on an angle and vary in size from $\frac{3}{32}$ of an inch to $1\frac{11}{16}$ inches. Each drill runs at its correct speed, and each group of drills has independent feed, as well as adjustable knockoff on feeds.

The machine is operated by a 25 horse-power motor, through a main driving shaft placed at the rear of the machine, connected to the horizontal heads by steel gears and cloth pinions, and connected to the vertical head by beveled gears. The motor operates equally well in either direction and can be reversed without changing the position of the brushes.

All moving parts are carefully guarded. Correct spindle speeds are obtained through gear reductions enclosed in oil-tight boxes on the head. The spindles are equipped with ball thrust bearings and universal ball joints, and an improved type of arm allows adjustment on the spindle to accommodate different lengths of drills.

The horizontal heads have standard feed, with automatic control and quick traverse by a hand-wheel. The vertical head and the cluster box slide are automatically controlled by the left-hand head, through a trip rod and bell crank, which operate the jaw clutch on the reversing gears in the gear box.

Previous to the installation of this machine, it was necessary for the company manufacturing the transmission case to machine it on five different machines, involving seven different operations. The time required to drill complete all the holes in the transmission case with the new machine is between two and three minutes.

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

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MR. JOSEPH GILPIN PYLE

THE LONG-TIME PERSONAL FRIEND AND CHOSEN BIOGRAPHER OF THE LATE JAMES J. HILL, THE FIRST PART OF WHOSE BIOGRAPHY APPEARS IN THIS ISSUE OF THE "WORLD'S WORK"

THE
WORLD'S WORK

OCTOBER, 1916

VOLUME XXXII NUMBER 6

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

CAN an American who sincerely believes in the principles of his own government be neutral in sentiment about the out come of the European war? In 1776, when we were fighting against the exactions of an autocratic king, the men of liberal mind in France and even in England sympathized with the struggle. During the Civil War, also, the Federal agents were able to win the sympathy of liberal England, although our blockade vitally damaged the prosperity of the liberal cotton-manufacturing counties. French liberal thought also favored the North because it fought for liberty, although that was not the technical cause of the war. Now the liberal governments of Europe are all on one side of a great struggle and they are fighting for democracy and liberty. They are fighting not so much because the technical cause of the beginning of the war had to do with the liberty of a small nation as because, if they are defeated, liberalism will have received a serious setback. The directing force of the Teutonic side is a military oligarchy slightly tinged with plutocracy. If it should win, autocracy will have done much to prove what it always has claimed, namely, that democracies are not efficient enough to survive.

If the Allies win, democracy will receive a tremendous impetus all over the world. There is even reason to hope that the liberals in Germany may see in the results of the war an opportunity to gain a larger degree of political power for the mass of people in Germany than they now have. To some degree the war has already had a democratizing effect on Russia, for in Russia the Germanized party and the most pronounced "stand-pat" believers in autocracy were one and the same; and after the great retreat from Poland last year the vengeance of the nation fell on these people and loosened their hold on the machinery of the Government.

Every agency of liberalism, freedom, and democracy cries for an Allied victory. Every believer in the divine right of kings, in the rule of autocracy, in the subjugation of the people, must pin his hopes upon the vindication of the governments of the Kaiser and the Emperor of Austria.

The German-American is faced with a clash between the principles of his country and the blood of his ancestors. It was the same choice that faced the men who fought in our Revolution and the men who fought in the German revolution of 1848. Because the men of 1776 chose to take hold of liberty even in the face of fighting their own kin, we now have a nation; and many of our citizens of German descent are here because their fathers had the courage to make the same decision.

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KING FERDINAND OF RUMANIA

WHOSE KINGDOM, AFTER A LONG PERIOD OF HESITATION, DEFINITELY CAST HER LOT WITH THE ENTENTE ALLIES ON AUGUST 27TH IN THE HOPE OF REGAINING HER LOST PROVINCES IN TRANSYLVANIA FROM AUSTRIA

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KING CONSTANTINE OF GREECE

WHOM THE ENTENTE ALLIES FORCED INTO VIRTUAL PARTICIPATION IN THE WAR UPON THEIR SIDE BY ASSUMING CONTROL OF THE TELEGRAPH LINES AND MAILS OF GREECE AND BY IMPRISONING THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CENTRAL POWERS

MR. TAKE JONESCU

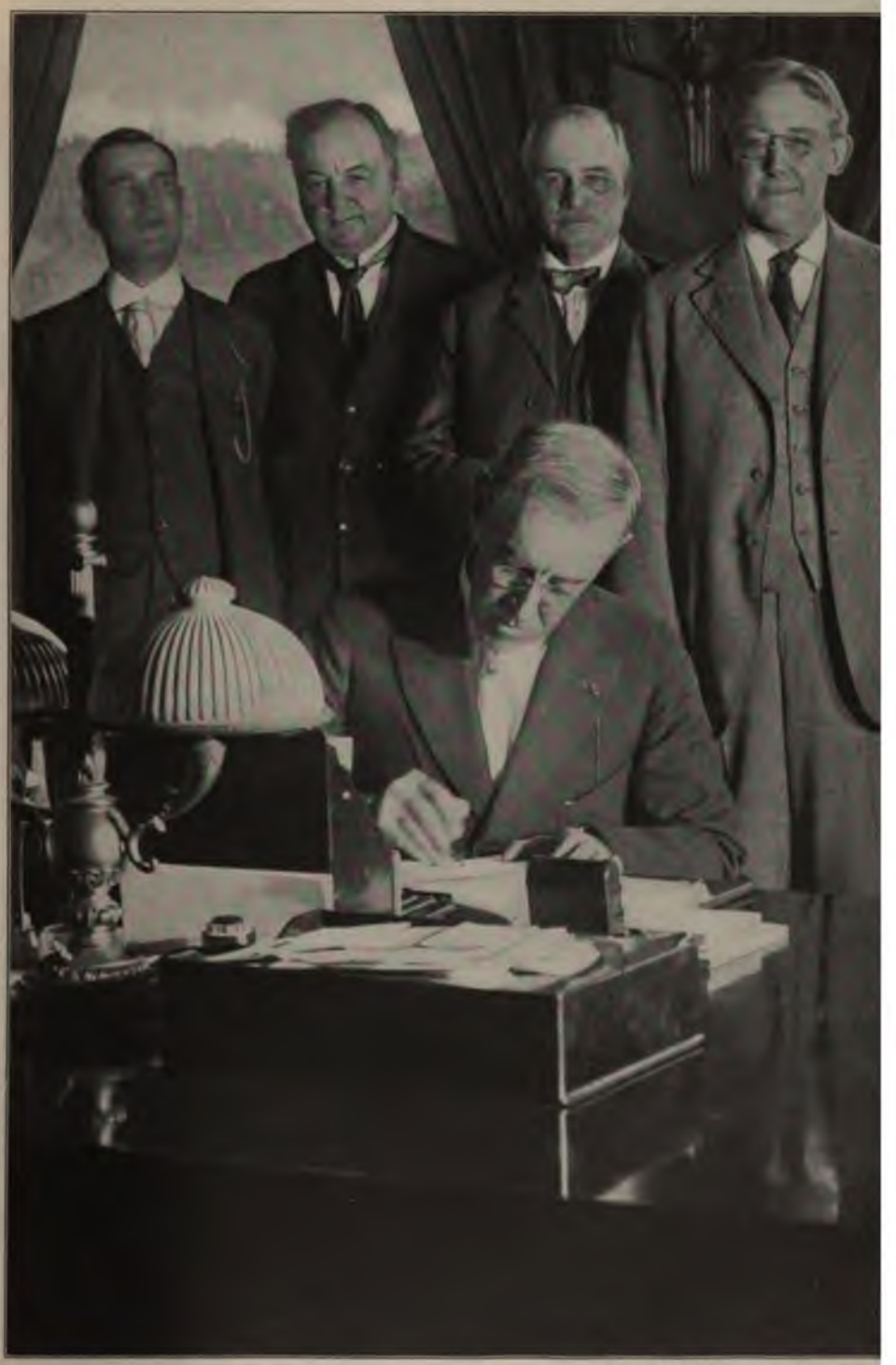
THE RUMANIAN STATESMAN WHO HEADED THE MOVEMENT WHICH LED TO THE PARTICIPATION OF HIS COUNTRY IN THE GREAT WAR ON THE SIDE OF THE ALLIES

GEN. M. P. E. SARRAIL

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ALLIED ARMIES AT SALONIKI, WHO IN AUGUST ASSUMED HIS SHARE OF THE GENERAL ALLIED OFFENSIVE MOVEMENT BY ATTACKING THE BULGARS

THE NAVAL PLATTSBURG

THE "U. S. S. MAINE" LEAVING NEW YORK WITH HER QUOTA OF THE 2,400 BUSINESS MEN WHO TOOK PART IN THE FOUR-WEEKS' TRAINING CRUISE FOR CIVILIANS



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SIGNING THE NAVY APPROPRIATION BILL

President Wilson attaching his signature to the bill appropriating $110,000,000 for the Na the first year's appropriation on a five-years' programme which will ultimately call for more th 661 million dollars, and which will make the United States Navy greater than the navy of any ot Power was at the outset of the Great War. At the same time he signed the Army Appropriat Bill, the Philippines Bill, and the Uniform Bill of Lading measure

THE AMERICAN-MEXICAN JOINT COMMISSION

WHICH WAS APPOINTED BY PRESIDENT WILSON AND GENERAL CARRANZA AND WHICH MET IN SEPTEMBER AT NEW LONDON, CONN., IN AN EFFORT TO RESOLVE THE PAUSES [illegible]

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THE CROCKER LAND EXPEDITION

Which has spent three years in the Arctic endeavoring to locate "Crocker Land"—the Arctic continent which Rear-Admiral Peary thought he saw on his voyage to the North Pole. The members of the expedition are, left to right: Dr. H. J. Hunt, Dr. M. C. Tanquary, Mr. W. E. Ekblaw, Mr. Donald B. MacMillan (the leader of the expedition), Ensign Fitzhugh Green, U. S. N. (who recently returned and reported that no trace of the land could be found), and Mr. J. L. Allen

AS BETWEEN MR. WILSON AND MR. HUGHES

THE President's speech accepting the renomination of the Democratic Party was a much more convincing document than Mr. Hughes's speech the month before, for the President could point to a remarkable record of constructive achievement, including a series of useful acts governing agricultural problems such as grain standards, warehousing, etc., as well as the better-known Federal Reserve Act, Rural Credits Act, Child Labor Act, etc. Moreover, there is a forward-looking and courageous spirit in such parts of the President's speech as:

> We can no longer indulge our traditional provincialism. We are to play a leading part in the world drama whether we wish it or not. We shall lend, not borrow; act for ourselves, not imitate or follow; organize and initiate, not peep about merely to see where we may get in.
>
> We have already formulated and agreed upon a policy of law which will explicitly remove the ban now supposed to rest upon coöperation among our exporters in seeking and securing their proper place in the markets of the world. The field will be free, the instrumentalities at hand. It will only remain for the masters of enterprise among us to act in energetic concert and for the Government of the United States to insist upon the maintenance throughout the world of those conditions of fairness and of even-handed justice in the commercial dealings of the nations with one another, upon which, after all, in the last analysis, the peace and ordered life of the world must ultimately depend.

This is a more proper American doctrine than the plea which Mr. Hughes is making for the protection of industries in this land of immense markets and raw materials now plentiful with capital—protection against the "dumping" of the goods made by the warring nations while they are straining every effort to provide themselves with the sinews of war.

Moreover, the President's settlement of the threatened railroad strike, even if he did acquiesce in being held up by the brotherhoods, shows again that with him in the White House the Government can do business. The machine can be got under way more quickly by Mr. Wilson than by any recent President.

His domestic achievements and his ability to run the Government have made it plain all along that the public will get better service by continuing to use Mr. Wilson and the Democratic Party than by using Mr. Hughes and the Republican Party, unless Mr. Hughes has the vision and ability to put a definition and vigor which the President has lacked into the word "Americanism." But neither Mr. Hughes nor his party seems inclined to do this, and there is, therefore, little to be gained in changing. There is, indeed, a positive advantage to Americanism in defeating Mr. Hughes so long as the anti-American German voters believe that they helped nominate him and so long as they accept him as their candidate.

But if we do have Mr. Wilson in the White House again, many of the votes cast for him will have been cast not because of but in spite of the fact that he allowed Germany to murder Americans at sea for a year and to blow up property here. Many people who vote for him will do so with regret that his leadership was directed toward quieting and not toward educating a proper resentment of these outrages and that for the most part his influence was against an adequate preparation to convince the world that we did properly resent these outrages. It is a fair criticism to say that if Grover Cleveland had been President he would have led public opinion so that there would have been no McLemore and Gore resolutions and no support of them. Under his leadership the Democratic delegates at St. Louis would not have gone into ecstasies over the maintenance of peace with Germany while Germany has never offered reparation or apology for the Americans who died on the *Lusitania* and while the whole submarine question is left suspended on a conditional promise.

The President was willing to meet the inevitable after a year of notes, but he was himself partially responsible for the pacifism in Congress and softness in the country which wished to forsake him for peace at any price. And the existence of this same unreasoning pacifism has to a degree robbed our good intentions toward M of their

aracter and dressed them up in the ts of weakness and vacillation.

President has done much for the l welfare of the people but a serious ce to their national spirit and their of responsibility to the vigorous f democracy.

MONOPOLIES AND THE PUBLIC WELFARE

HE wool people were too strong for Mr. Taft; the railroad brotherhoods too strong for Mr. Wilson. small class, well organized, dictates nes to the United States Govern- t is humiliating but not unprece-

But usually it has been capitalis- ibinations and not labor combina- hat have forced the Government t them special favors.

one excuse that can be made for the our law which the brotherhoods from the President and Congress is promoted the public welfare by ing the strike. On the other hand, stion is likely to be much like the ine controversy. The issue prob- ll have to be joined sooner or later, ery time you refuse to face an issue it you make assurance doubly sure will recur; and every time you refuse the issue you weaken the public on which you must finally depend e it.

ssue is not whether the members of railroad brotherhoods should have ages. The question is whether, in nagement of a public utility like the ls, the public's welfare or the labor- lfare is the more important. Cap- d to think that it came first and the second. The brotherhoods have e victory in a struggle to prove that me first and the public second.

of the reasons set forth in the pre- of the Constitution for the formation American Government was to pro- ne public welfare. This is not just a unding phrase. It is in literal truth e public expects of the Government.

railroad brotherhoods put this um to the public: "Unless our ls for more money are granted by the railroads we will make you suffer untold financial loss and inconvenience, and this irrespective of whether any one else believes that our demands are just or not." The railroad brotherhoods are a monopoly. They feel their power and they used it even as the capitalistic monopolies used to use theirs. The railroad brotherhoods have inaugurated the labor monopolies' programme of "the public be damned."

It took capital a long time to learn that even when it had a monopoly and seemed well intrenched behind the law the ultimatum, "the public be damned," meant a war that would end in disaster. The public won't be damned. It may take as long to teach labor monopolies this as it did to teach the financial monopolies; it may be as painful a process. But the labor leaders may feel just as sure as capital does now that the public has the stomach to go through with the process if it is required.

The Clayton Act clarified and fixed the point that human labor is not a commodity in the meaning of the Sherman Act, and accordingly a labor monopoly is not in restraint of trade as a monopoly of a commodity is. A labor monopoly is, therefore, legalized. That does not, however, mean that the abuse of that monopoly will be tolerated. The railroads themselves are monopolies in large measure. The interstate commerce laws practically legalize their monopolistic character. But the public has also passed laws to see that the monopoly does not abuse the public welfare—which is the first consideration.

The action of the railroad brotherhoods is sufficient indication that it is time for the United States Government to get ready to demonstrate that it is bigger than any special interest. It is not meet that either the wool people or the railroad brotherhoods shall be too strong for the United States Government.

THE ALLIES NOW THE PACE-MAKERS

LAST fall, when the Germans rested from the conquest of Poland and Serbia, speculation busied itself with the next move of the Great General Staff.

It was grooming the Turks for an attack

on Egypt, it was making a threat against India through Persia, preparing for a thrust at Petrograd, the Russian capital, or Kief or Odessa, on the Black Sea, it was planning an offensive into Italy or against Calais or the French line. The Russians were badly defeated. The French and English drives in the Champagne and in Flanders had failed. The British had failed at Gallipoli and surrendered at Kut-el-Amara. The Italians had made little headway. The Serbian army was almost destroyed. Bulgaria had joined the Teutonic alliance, Greece under King Constantine was pro-German, and even Rumania at this time might have been induced to join a victorious German alliance for her own safety.

But these bright prospects for the Germans must be used or they would tarnish. While winter was still on, the Russian successes in Armenia removed the possibility of the Turkish advance through Persia. Of the many other possibilities before them the Germans decided to try to eliminate their most skilful enemy: they attacked the French at Verdun. That attack was still in progress when the Austrians launched their offensive against Italy. Then suddenly the forces behind the scenes began to become visible and the offensive passed into the hands of Germany's enemies. Russia pushed forward her long line from the Pinsk marshes to the Carpathians, Italy drove back the Austrian attack in the Trentino and captured Gorizia from the Austrian defense that had been weakened to send reinforcements to Galicia, and as the attack on Verdun died down the Allies took up their offensive on the Somme. For the first time since hostilities began the Allies were dictating the time and place of battle, and Rumania and Greece ratified the verdict that the tide of war had changed by their new attitude toward the Allies.

The German tide lasted nearly two full years. During that time they gained great military prestige, valuable enemy territory, and Turkish and Bulgarian help. But they did not succeed in gaining a decision over any of their major enemies. France, though weakened by losses, is still the most dangerous adversary. Russia seems better organized than before. The British are infinitely better able to carry on the war than before, not only because they have had time to train and equip their army but because their problems in India, Persia, and Egypt, problems that were dangerous in the early part of the war, are now safely mastered. The threat of a Holy War is no longer a serious menace.

On the other hand, while Turkey has still many resources for her own defense, she cannot send any appreciable help to Germany nor draw any more men from the Allied lines to meet her threats. Bulgaria has lost little so far in the war, but she is almost surrounded by enemies and cannot help being impressed with the fact that her task of keeping open the Oriental Railway, the one link between Germany and Turkey, is not directly connected with her own ambitions. And Austria, which has borne the brunt of the Russian hammering in two disastrous campaigns, is more depleted in men than any of the major Powers.

The backbone of the Teutonic defense rests on Germany. She must help Turkey with brains and material, give direction and as much help in men as possible to the Balkan campaign, stiffen the Austrian line with German leadership and a sprinkling of German units—all this besides holding the greater part of the line against the Russians and the whole line against England and France. It is a terrible task which the Germans face.

The prospects that were bright for Germany a year ago are now all with the Allies—prospects of isolating Turkey, of eliminating Bulgaria, of gaining a decision over Austria. If the Allies succeed in these tasks the main enemy will still remain. How strong he will be depends upon how much strength he gives up in trying to maintain the extended fronts of his allies.

From the time the Crown Prince attacked Verdun under Sarrail to the time the Crown Prince attacked Verdun under Petain was two years filled with magnificent German victories which settled nothing finally. From Brusiloff's Galician drive in 1914 to his Galician drive in 1916 was two years in which the Russians suffered many terrible defeats which seemingly have left them better able to cope with their enemies than before. For

two years the war belonged to Germany. It has now passed into the hands of the Allied Powers to see whether they can use their prospects to settle it, as the Germans were unable to do.

A REVIEW OF CONGRESS

THE Congress which has just adjourned presents many lessons to the students of American institutions. In some future academic discussion of our political system, such as we find in his "Constitutional Government in the United States," Mr. Wilson might use his latest experiences at Washington as illustrations of his most telling points. The Sixty-fourth Congress has demonstrated once more the influence of public opinion as the final impelling force, and the power exercised by the Presidency in bringing this force to play upon reluctant law-makers. The legislation that has been passed fairly reflects our stage of political development —it clearly pictures the vices and the virtues of our democracy.

This Congress has passed many bad bills. It surrendered the reorganization of the Army to the National Guard lobby which early in the session took up its quarters in Washington. In its reorganization of our revenues it refused to give the Nation a real income tax—one, that is, which levied on all responsible citizens in proportion to their ability to pay—and, instead, increased the exactions on the minute minority already on the rolls. It passed a river and harbor bill of the usual outrageous kind. This session has not passed, but has prepared—all ready for the next meeting in December —a public building bill far worse than anything in our history. After fussing with two dangerous issues for several months—Government-owned shipping and Philippine independence—it has adopted legislation which is practically harmless. With the failure of the Interior Department's conservation bill, that difficult problem still remains unsettled.

But this session has also passed legislation that deserves to rank with the best achievements of the Wilson Administration. The President showed a most attractive and compelling aspect when, one day, unannounced and unexpected, he appeared, in summer flannels, in the room at the Capitol especially placed aside for his use, and began to invite certain gentlemen to have converse with him. He especially wished to discuss the subject of child labor. For months—even years—Congress had been mulling over this legislation; an entire library of Congressional documents had accumulated concerning it; Senators and Congressmen from the cotton mill states had filled pages of the *Congressional Record* denouncing it; jealous watch-dogs of the Constitution—even Mr. Wilson himself, as Senator Borah pointed out—had argued against it as an infringement of state rights. Yet the sudden appearance of this white-flanneled figure at the Capitol immediately placed the law on the statute books. The prestige of the Presidential office advertised the Child Labor Act as it had never been advertised before. And the achievement was a great one, not only for the Act itself but for the policy involved. For this measure marks a new extension of federal authority into the every-day concerns of the American people.

The other measure for which this Congress deserves praise is the Rural Credits Act. Here, again, we have an extension of centralized power; for years to come the farmer will realize that there is a Federal Government because, among other things, it has provided the mechanism by which he can borrow money on business terms. The National Banking Act, passed in the Civil War, had its shortcomings, but it accomplished much in this work of nationalization. Its successor, the Federal Reserve Act, is a powerful force working in the same cause. What the federal banks do for commercial transactions, the federal land banks, organized under the Rural Credits Act, will do for agriculture. This legislation, therefore, is as great an achievement as the Federal Reserve Act. It will not satisfy those farmers who would like to borrow money at 2 per cent. on the say-so of the local postmaster, but it will satisfy the legitimate needs of those who have respectable security. With the Federal Reserve Act it goes a long way toward settling a problem that, for half a century, has distracted not only business but politics.

THE LEADERS IN THE NEXT CONGRESS

THE Government of the United States is in large measure a government by Congressional committees, and the committees are dominated by their chairmen.

As the Washington correspondent of the New York *Evening Post* has pointed out, one of the important measures of the two parties in the coming election is the character of the chairmen they would provide for the important Congressional committees. As the chairmanships come by seniority of service, it is possible to know pretty accurately the men who would represent each party in these important positions.

The Finance Committee of the Senate and the Ways and Means Committee of the House have charge of the bills to raise revenue.

The chairmen of these committees now are Senator F. M. Simmons and Representative Claude Kitchin, both of North Carolina. Neither is a great financier, but they use their efforts to raise the public revenue upon a fair basis—except in the matter of the income tax. The income tax as it stands now is purely class legislation aimed at the rich.

If the Republican Party were elected, Messrs. Simmons and Kitchin would be superseded by Senator Boies Penrose, of Pennsylvania, and Representative Joseph W. Fordney, of Michigan.

Colonel Roosevelt has branded Senator Penrose as one of the worst bosses, and both he and Mr. Fordney believe in a high protective tariff of special privileges of the kind that Mark Hanna and Nelson Aldrich approved. If the Republican Party were elected there would be a Fordney-Penrose tariff which would be a reactionary measure that would give up the progress made since Mark Hanna merican politics.

Appropriation Committee of the has for chairman Senator of Virginia, and the e of the House er Tammany Mr. John J. Fitzgerald. Mr. Martin has not left much impression on our expenditures. Mr. Fitzgerald is an able "watch-dog of the Treasury," of the old-fashioned kind that watches at the spigot while it wastes at the bung. But it is to his credit that he at least watches somewhere, and he is on record in favor of making an attempt to eliminate the "pork" from our Congressional appropriations.

If Messrs. Martin and Fitzgerald were superseded, their Republican successors would be Senator Francis E. Warren, of Wyoming, and Representative Frederick H. Gillett, of Massachusetts. Senator Warren is one of the most flagrant pork hunters in the Senate. The famous $50,000 post office for the 294 people of Sundance, Wyo. (since raised to $75,000 by Representative Mondell), was his idea, and the political-military post Fort D. A. Russell, with its great and useless expenditures, is another. Mr. Gillett has no record like Senator Warren's, but there is nothing to show that he would be any more successful than Mr. Fitzgerald.

The Committee on Foreign Relations in the Senate is presided over now by Senator William J. Stone, of Missouri. He has not shown himself a man of much courage or ability, for he did not have the ability to meet the German threat of war and stick to American rights until forced to do so by the President. The same is true of Mr. Henry D. Flood, of Virginia, the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House, and of Speaker Champ Clark.

If a change were made Senator Henry Cabot Lodge would succeed Senator Stone. Senator Lodge has much more information about foreign affairs than Senator Stone, and likewise more courage. In the House, Mr. Henry Allen Cooper, of Wisconsin, who would succeed Mr. Flood, voted for the McLemore resolution and against American rights, as did Minority Leader Mann, who would succeed Speaker Clark. The change, then, would be from a weak to a pusillanimous leadership in the House.

Nor would the Republican chairmen of the Naval and Military committees be an improvement upon the present chairmen.

ıtor Chamberlain and Senator Tillman : demonstrated more ability to help the y and Navy than could be expected ı Senator du Pont, of Delaware, and ıtor William Alden Smith, of Michi-

In the House, Mr. James Hay of ;inia has done all the harm to the ıy he could. His elevation to the :h leaves Congressman S. Hubert Dent, of Alabama, as his Democratic suc- ɔr. The senior Republican member he committee is Mr. Julius Kahn, of fornia, who has a growing appreciation he military problem and who would ı to be an improvement on his prede- ɔr in this office.

ır. Lemuel P. Padgett, of Tennessee, present chairman of the House Com- ee on Naval Affairs, is a somewhat ted convert to the idea of a proper y, but there is nothing to show that substitution of Mr. Thomas S. Butler, ennsylvania, would give it a better ıd.

hen Mr. Hughes raised the cry of ionalism and pointed to the chairmen ıe great committees he made a tactical ake. It was, of course, pointed out seniority and not a sectional spirit had pened to put Southern men at the l of these committees. But the next ious step was to examine the men who ld steer the committees under Republi- rule—and this examination affords an llent reason against voting for Mr. hes and his party. Mr. Hughes should : to convince the public that his elec- would produce great benefits to recon- us to Boies Penrose as the head of the ınce Committee of the Senate and ıcis E. Warren as chairman of the ımittee on Appropriations.

MR. HUGHES ON THE STUMP

THE public is disappointed in Mr. Hughes. We had not expected that he was leaving the Supreme :h to enter an ordinary political cam- n. On domestic matters the Presi- has a better constructive record than President for many years past. The task before the Republican candidate not to lead the forces of special privilege back into power. The great task was to put a soul into the Nation, to make Americans feel that they owed service to their country, that the country stood solidly behind its rights at sea and ashore, and that it would not tolerate hyphenism—in short, to change the feeling, partly engendered and partly acquiesced in by the Administration, that so long as we were at peace little else mattered.

Mr. Hughes has failed to take up this issue and in the meanwhile the President and Congress have met the popular desire for a real Navy. The new Navy bill is good as a whole—far better than most bills that come through the tedious legislative process

Mr. Hughes's first stumping tour, which took him through the Middle West and the Pacific Coast, has not improved the impression created by his speech of acceptance. That speech disappointed many of his strongest admirers. We are living in exceptional times, which demand a clear, bold voice, sounding powerfully the note of Americanism and presenting a constructive programme for meeting the new ills that distract us. Mr. Hughes, strong as his speech was in certain particulars, especially in its criticism of the President's foreign policy, failed to meet this demand. His first stumping tour still leaves his position undefined.

Yet Mr. Hughes's political opponents rather exaggerate his tendency to deal in generalities. His political programme is not, as one might gather from these criticisms, entirely in the clouds. It is possible to review the candidate's speeches and deduce a positive programme along certain lines. Mr. Hughes, for example, believes in a constitutional amendment that will give the suffrage to women. Certainly there is nothing vague about that pronouncement—whatever one may think about the proposition itself. He believes in still further extending the merit system in the civil service. He would reform the diplomatic service with the idea of using our foreign posts for the purpose of improving American prestige rather than as prizes of spoils politics. He would abolish the pork barrel system of appropriations by establishing a federal budget prepared by

the Executive. He advocates a protective tariff, apparently of the antediluvian kind. In Mexico he would protect the lives and property of Americans, if necessary by force—that is, by going to war. Mr. Hughes also believes in international arbitration, in a merchant marine, in rural credits, in workmen's compensation laws, and in other up-to-date progressive legislation. The provoking aspect of his programme, however, is that, even when it becomes "constructive," it too frequently lacks details. His Mexican policy, indeed, seems fairly direct. So are other items. But others are merely pious statements of the most general kind. A federal budget, as a means of correcting wastes, is much to the point; but what sort of a budget does Mr. Hughes propose, what part shall Congress have in making it, by what means is he to obtain this sweeping reform? A President who could reform our diplomatic service would benefit the country indeed; a few phrases, however, will not reform it. Does Mr. Hughes propose to place it upon a permanent basis, to train young men for it as a career—young men who can advance from modest secretaryships to the greatest ambassadorships in Europe—to build embassies in the great capitals, to pay our representatives salaries that will enable them to support the dignity of the world's largest and richest Republic? These questions he does not answer; if we analyze most of his policies, except that concerning protection, we find therein the same lack of desirable detail.

And on certain questions he says nothing at all. The most disappointing symptom in our national life since the Civil War is the emergence of the hyphen. It is an inescapable fact that a considerable percentage of our German-American population bears its first allegiance, not to the United States, but to the German Empire, which means that they cannot realize the fundamental principles of democracy and liberty. No nation has ever been called upon to suffer so seditious a press as that published in the United States in the German language. These aliens boast that v nominated Mr. Hughes and that their ll elect him. A few sharp, definite this ghost. But he has not spoken them. He speaks of "America first," "undiluted Americanism" and the like—phrases which, unless they are expanded into something definite, contain no meaning. In the matter of preparedness Mr. Hughes likewise fails to meet the issue. Despite our large Navy bill, there is still an immense amount of work to be done. Mr. Hughes offers us no programme. He criticises, rightly enough, the militia pay bill, but offers no substitute for building up an army. Does he believe in federal volunteers? Would he advocate universal conscription? Would he increase the standing army? Instead of discussing these topics we get tariff speeches of the vintage of Mark Hanna and general denunciations of the Democrats. His campaign has not fulfilled the expectations of the public.

A DISAPPEARING PHENOMENON

THERE is one ancient and honorable phenomenon to which we have been accustomed every four years but which this year has not put in its wonted appearance. The depression of the Presidential year is absent. There is no financial fear of either candidate as there used to be of Mr. Bryan. Whatever business, or finance, or industry thinks of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Hughes, all know that the era of the operations on the business body is over. It is true, of course, that Mr. Hughes and his party are likely to give certain businesses excessive stimulants in the shape of the tariff, to the great harm of their characters. The financial reaction from this is about the only uncertainty which the political campaign has for business.

For the rest, business and industry go on without the usual disturbance caused by an approaching election. The omission of the old phenomenon this year is so great an advantage that we should take some steps to make the omission permanent. As a matter of fact it has alwa greatly exaggerated. The Pre election was always made the e a degree of disturbance that it nee t th litician's task to particul

s party, but this ancient myth is about ›ded and there is no reason why we ld put whatever fears or doubts we in a bundle and name it "Presiden- year" and let it interrupt our pro- ive activities or normal cheerfulness.

IMIGRATION AND STRAIGHT AMERICA

ISS FRANCES A. KELLOR, in her vigorous little book, "Straight America," brings a very forcible tment against the native-born popu- n of the country, who still control its nies, for not taking steps to make the igrants into Americans. She very erly complains of the Ghettoes, Little s, German, Polish, and various other ; of "quarters," and asks the native lation what they are going to do.

ter all, if we do not believe in foreign ters, we need not have them. We can : the learning of English compulsory; an give incoming immigrants some ing in citizenship and not leave them ely to their own devices or to the rship of their compatriots who have little more experience here than the rrivals. We need not have America preted to these people entirely by the ne and the ward boss. To take ive measures to make the immigrant zen would, of course, involve a change r mental attitude similar to the one changed our conception of a naval amme from two major ships to ten year. Such measures would be pater- ic and expensive.

t we have accepted as a cardinal iple of democracy the obligation of nment to furnish free instruction to eople, so that they may become intel- t citizens—for on their being intelligent ns lies the only hope of democracy. his reason we have accepted, also, the iple of universal compulsory attend- at school for children. The same sity exists for the teaching and guid- of immigrants, and we are finding the neglect of immigrants, like the ct of children, produces an unintelli- electorate and the manifold ills.

e training of the immigrants would be expensive, also, but not so expensive as the present method of treating them, for both by the economic and political measurement the undigested foreign matter in our system lowers the whole tone of the body.

Miss Kellor is not sympathetic toward those who would curtail the immigration of certain races on the ground that they are not assimilable. Yet until we perfect machinery to assimilate these people it were better to do without them. The commonest solution proposed is the exclusion of all illiterates. Congress has several times passed a literacy test and the President (seemingly without distinction of person or party) as regularly vetoes it. There the matter has usually rested for a while and then appeared again, to be passed and vetoed as before.

But it is abundantly apparent now that this country needs to do everything that it can to make itself into a nation. If no President will accept the solution of the immigrant question proposed by Congress, some President should have leadership enough to propose a better solution and get it adopted.

In the meanwhile the public can read with great interest and profit Miss Kellor's little book and ponder over her facts and her suggestions of the way to make the United States into a nation that could meet a crisis and demonstrate that democracy is a practical and effective form of government in times of stress, as the French are now doing.

Incidentally, the writing of a book like "Straight America" by a woman is a more effective argument for woman suffrage than the conventional pleas for political equality.

THE ONE WAY TO END "PORK"

WHAT is the remedy for the Pork Barrel? A national budget, prepared by the Executive, with power given to Congress to decrease items but not to increase them, would be a long step in the right direction —without this change, indeed, a reform could hardly succeed. But, back of all this, a change in the national outlook, a chastening of the public conscience, a patriotic attitude which regards the Fed-

eral Government as something to serve rather than to plunder, is the one direct road to a new order. The issue is fundamentally simple; what we need is a popular realization of the difference between theft and honesty.

Waynesboro, Va., has pointed the one indispensable way of abolishing the pork barrel. If the whole Nation had the spirit of this community, as revealed in the following letter from the Waynesboro Commercial Club, this great abuse would cease:

WAYNESBORO COMMERCIAL CLUB,
Waynesboro, Virginia,
August 14, 1916.

Editor of the WORLD'S WORK:

SIR:

Influenced by the logic of your recent articles, we bring to your attention the proposed waste of federal money in connection with a new post office building for our town of Waynesboro, Va.

In 1912 Congress authorized $60,000 for a post office building and site for Waynesboro, a town of 1,389 population (last census). Several of the business men of Waynesboro consider this sum to be two thirds clear waste for the following reasons, which we ask you kindly to consider:

Population to-day is estimated at 1,800.

Postal receipts are $10,000 per annum.

Free Delivery of our mail is imminent.

Present post office in building rented for $480 per year.

Present salaries of employees, plus interest on $60,000, will about equal the present yearly receipts of this post office.

This waste has already started by the payment of the United States Government to-day of $7,500 for the site—a $52,500 building is proposed. A fireproof building costing $12,500 will fill all the postal requirements of Waynesboro for twenty years to come. Indirectly this proposed waste of $40,000 will come out of our pockets for absolutely no useful purpose.

This organization, although in the minority, is composed of average patriots, men who have worked for good roads, public school improvement, equalization of taxes, and other civic betterment, and we do feel a pride in possessing a new federal building, commodious and attractive, but our patriotism prompts us in wanting the cost of our post office to be in keeping with our needs.

Can and will you show us the way whereby this appropriation can be cut down to a sane and this proposed waste o[illegible] 000 el[illegible]

AN AMERICAN NAVY AT LAST

TO APPRECIATE properly just what the new Navy bill does for the United States, we should compare the American battle fleet, when these new ships are finished, with the fleets of the great European Powers at the beginning of the present war. Naval experts now estimate the fighting abilities of navies by capital ships—that is, by dreadnaughts and battle cruisers. Smaller battleships and cruisers may do effective work under certain circumstances; these older vessels, however, do not belong in the first line of battle. All other vessels such as scouts, destroyers, and submarines are intended chiefly as supporters of the great battle fleet. To measure our strength against other navies, therefore, we should take the capital ships as the unit of value.

England entered the present war with 29 capital ships. Germany began operations with 17, France had 4, and Japan 4. All these nations had many big vessels under construction—England 17 and Germany 11, all of which have probably long since been finished. The figures for capital ships given above, however, are those published by our own Navy Department on July 1, 1914.

At present the United States has 17 capital ships, all of which are battleships built and building. The sixteen authorized by the new bill will give a battle fleet of 33 ships. If the *Michigan* and the *South Carolina* are included in the dreadnaught fleet—and certain authorities do include them—our force of capital ships will be increased to 35.

Measured by the standard of two years ago, this means a powerful Navy. The new building plan will give us, when finished, a much greater Navy than that with which England entered the European war.

It is stronger than Germany's antebellum fleet by eighteen ships, and immensely greater than the fleet of [illegible] and Japan and the other naval [illegible] This comparison, however, has [illegible] limitations. We are placing our fle[illegible] 1922, with the fle[illegible] were in

Just what England, Germany, and Japan have been doing in the last two years we do not know. England certainly has been building at an enormous rate since the war began. Her building facilities are on a huge scale and, according to all reports, are constantly adding to the fleet. Despite large losses, the English navy is immensely stronger now than when the war began. Germany, also, has probably been building at a furious rate, and there are suspicions that Japan has been secretly adding to her dreadnaught fleet. On the other hand, should the great naval battle between Germany and England ever be fought to a finish, the losses might reduce both navies to a point where ours would be as large, or even larger, than either. In all likelihood, however, the United States will have to adopt an immensely greater naval programme than our present one if we are ever to equal or surpass England's. Perhaps the new bill will give us a larger fleet by 1922 than Germany's, and almost certainly it will place us far ahead of Japan and other naval Powers.

But the really important thing is that the American people are showing signs of taking their Navy seriously. The Army bill shows that public opinion has not developed to the extent that demands an efficient military force. In time we shall probably learn the need of a general army; apparently we have not yet reached that stage of national advancement. Clearly, however, the American people, as a mass, do demand a Navy—hence the present appropriation, the largest ever made by any nation in time of peace. This new spirit is worth far more, as a national asset, than the new ships and the new men. It is a spirit that will always watch jealously the Navy's interests, demand its adequate support, and not tolerate again a decadence such as had taken place in the last eight years. There is more in this new Navy bill than ships and ammunition. The bill gives us practically a general staff—a force of naval experts, directly under the civilian Secretary of the Navy, whose business it will be to keep the Navy constantly prepared for war. It also provides an increase from 51,000 to 68,700 in men, with an increase, in case of emergency, to 87,000. We shall have a naval reserve, a flying corps, a selection of officers by fitness instead of seniority. All these are reforms for which the friends of the Navy have been struggling for years. The fact that Congress has finally granted them, under pressure of a powerful public opinion, shows that we have seriously undertaken the business of organizing a Navy worthy of the Nation.

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To a large degree, therefore, the Navy has been freed from its besetting pest —the politician. Even in this excellent measure, however, the political spirit manifests its presence. It appropriates $11,000,000 for building an armor plant which is simply a waste of the public funds. It contains clauses which prohibit the introduction of what are commonly known as efficiency methods into the navy yards and so puts a premium on mediocrity. It guarantees all workmen on the Government pay roll a month's vacation every year at full pay. Its greatest sin, however, and the one that clearly shows the trace of the demagogue, is an appropriation of $6,000,000 for installing plants, capable of building the largest ships, at the Puget Sound, Philadelphia, Norfolk, and Boston navy yards. This, of course, is merely an extension of the pork barrel. But, in this same connection, the new bill does contain one excellent provision. This is a commission, to be appointed by the President, to investigate all the navy yards, to report what ones can be abolished and what new ones should be established. A commission that would honestly canvass the whole navy yard situation, with an eye single to naval efficiency and with the idea of founding real naval bases in place of the pork barrel system which now prevails, would render a great service to the Navy.

The new Navy bill unquestionably contains a few blunders. But it marks so great an advance over any we have ever had that we can greet it cheerfully. We are to have a great Navy—so much is certain; the reformation of such abuses as still exist will be the work of the next few sessions of Congress.

PATRIOTISM AND LOCKJAW

RETURNS from the celebration of the Fourth of July, which are now complete, show that in one respect our latest Independence Day differs from its predecessors. Since the American Medical Association began collecting statistics, fourteen years ago, this is the first time we have not had a single death from lockjaw. In 1903, when these studies began, we offered up 417 human sacrifices on the altar of Independence Day. The preaching of the safe and sane Fourth, however, has evidently had its effect, for there has been a steady diminution year by year, until now, in 1916, American boys and girls have expressed their appreciation of their splendid inheritance without a solitary case of tetanus.

In these fourteen years 1,119 deaths from this disease have been recorded as a result of Fourth of July accidents. The most patriotic state, judged by the lockjaw standard, has been Illinois, in which 157 innocents have been slaughtered in this fashion. Pennsylvania, as the cradle of liberty, appropriately stands high in the list, 152 children having thus shown their devotion to their native land. Ohio, which also stands close to the top in the pension roll, can proudly exhibit 119 cases of Fourth of July tetanus in fourteen years. New York, despite its large population, lags behind, only 93 children having died this horrible death in this same period. These statistics bring out the curious fact that lockjaw, an extremely rare disease, has found its largest cause in Fourth of July celebrations. Thus, in 1909, there were 150 cases of patriotic tetanus in the United States and only 128 from other causes. In 1910, 72 Independence Day celebrants died of this disease and only 47 who had contracted it in other ways. The disappearance of these casualties as a result of fireworks places the responsibility now on the other side. Any one who now succumbs has a more respectable reason for his death than cannon, firecrackers, and blank cartridges.

But this disappearance of lockjaw does mean that we are becoming enti

many deaths caused by the Fourth—though not by tetanus. This year 30 people died from gun shots, burning alive, powder, torpedoes, toy cannon, and other methods used exclusively on this great occasion. Ten children lost the sight of one eye, nine lost legs, arms, and hands, twenty-four came out of the day with fewer fingers than when they entered it, and 717 had other injuries. Encouraging as these statistics may be in showing in a conclusive fashion that we are making progress in the direction of a sane Fourth, however, we have not, up to the present time, had complete success.

TWO USEFUL PAMPHLETS

THE Federal Trade Commission has lately published two pamphlets that have first importance for American business men. They are entitled "Fundamentals of a Cost System for Manufacturers" and "A System of Accounts for Retail Merchants," and they are based upon the practice of hundreds of the most successful manufacturers and merchants of the country.

A business man's accounts are the heart of his work; if they are inaccurate, he is almost sure to be ruined. But it is less generally realized that a large proportion of accounting systems in general use are based on errors of principle that are even more dangerous.

A company that deals in office appliances propounded a simple question to merchants a few years ago. It ran something like this: If you pay 75 cents for an article, what should be your retail asking price if you intend to make 10 per cent. profit? Thousands of replies were received and 95 per cent. of them were wrong—wrong because they neglected to add overhead expense to the net price and get 10 per cent. profit on the sum. Thousands of small retail merchants go bankrupt every year because of exactly that absurd error in principle; and other thousands go rocks through errors more subtl less deadly. Similarly, the task taining the costs of making go is on a wrong bas wise sou

hese two pamphlets are sound from an ›unting point of view; they are simple practical; they are free for the asking application to the Commission. The ›ession of them will save many a man business.

POPULARIZING A PUBLIC LIBRARY

HE other day a gentleman engaged in the publishing business received a letter from the small city of art, in Oklahoma, concerning the activ- of the public library there. There are y small towns—and larger ones, too— se libraries are little used, to whom the rience of Hobart might be of great e. That experience, as told in the r of Mr. R. C. Blackmer, is as follows:

: have a town of four thousand population, arnegie library costing $10,000 and in ition five years, with more than four and volumes of our own, 2,400 registered wers' cards, of which approximately 2,300 n active use. We lent out last year than 23,000 volumes, and it is estimated an equal amount of reading was done at ibrary of books, daily papers, and maga- , but chiefly reference work by pupils of igh school and grades.

e first year our library was open daily but o business for want of proper books and r methods for getting them out. The council that year levied the agreed tax of o for library purposes, but the next year d up the library, as there was nothing to ite real benefit to the community and were hard. The next year times were harder, and yet the council gladly gave us o for library purposes. The following last year) the council made an economical ate of the other needs of the city and gave at was left, $1,500. This year the council, nanimous vote, gave us all we asked— o—and divided what was left among the departments.

: method by which this strong public nent has been brought about is the simple fundamental rule of all merchandising: fill your shelves with goods the people and for which they will return; second, in customers and get your goods out.

: first thing was to determine what class de to cater to. Clearly the most promis- asses in our town and in any ordinary unity are children and young people. Accordingly, we sought out the books most attractive to this class of customers.

Our next problem was to get the children and young people to read the books. To this end our librarian and members of the board visited each room of our public schools, displayed books with attractive bindings, told of the enjoyment and benefit to be had from reading the books, and invited all to come and borrow. We gave each pupil a blank application for a borrower's card and told them to get the signatures of guarantors to the application, which is the rule enforced to-day. . . . Many of such applicants never returned. Some neglected to get the signers and others were reluctant to ask for signers. Many considered it too much red tape and made no effort. The parents of some children would not permit them to ask for guarantors.

We removed this obstacle at one stroke by doing away with the requirement of guarantors. We authorized and now require the librarian to issue on the spot borrowers' cards to all.

Having removed this obstacle bodily, we went to the schools and handed out borrowers' cards ready for use (except numbering and registering) to every pupil. Of course, we were swamped with demands for books. Every child and youth in town demanded books. Every teacher and most parents seconded the demand. There was nothing left but to order books by the hundreds. Funds for books were provided and funds for books will be provided in every town and city where such a demand is aroused. Our board and librarian believe we could accomplish the same result in any town.

Later we sent borrowers' cards ready for use to a long list of taxpayers, business men, laborers, etc., etc., without waiting for them to call at the library. Such cards were not numbered and registered until presented for the purpose of borrowing.

We find that people do not steal books and that close checking and attention to the return of books brings practically all of them back.

We find that in our town, and we confidently believe the same will be found true in all small towns, if not in larger cities, that the guarantor is unnecessary, provided the librarian and board check all delinquents closely and it is no hardship to do so.

As a result of our experience, we recommend that all communities having public libraries commence their service first with the children of the public schools, providing as few or as many books of merit for children as funds will warrant, then cut out all red tape and hand each child in the community a borrower's card with a personal invitation to come and get books.

IMITATION "WAR-BRIDE" STOCKS

I AM not convinced by what you have said that all these stocks are dangerous. On the contrary, I cannot see why some of them at least should not be able to pay the big dividends they promise. Certainly, the opportunities for rivaling such successes as that of the Ford Company, for example, cannot all have gone by. And if it were not for participating in such enterprises in their early days, how would all the millionaires get their money?"

Thus a man living in one of the great manufacturing centres of the East replied not long ago to the editor of this department, after he had tried to point out to him a few of the cautions that ought to be observed in dealing with a certain brand of new industrial stocks which he was being importuned to buy.

This man's case illustrates a dangerous tendency that has been steadily gaining momentum in the financial world during the last few months. In writing originally to the WORLD'S WORK, he had explained how the prosperity of the last two years had enabled him for the first time to take out of his business a surplus for investment. Accordingly, he had begun to look about for opportunities, and had found advertised in one of his daily newspapers several that appealed strongly to him.

He had written to the people who signed the advertisements, asking for further particulars, and received in response a mass of circulars and numerous letters whose contents he had studied carefully. To him they all appeared convincing, except that, as he afterward declared, his sense of proportion in business affairs was true enough to incline him to discount in some degree the prospects for dividends running into the hundreds per cent., which one or two of the concerns held out. He thought it would be advisable to make his first venture in something for which the claims were more modest and conservative.

Out of the lot, therefore, he had selected an issue of preferred stock with which a bonus of common was being offered, "absolutely free," as the advertisement emphasized. The preferred was a "cumulative" stock, limited to 7 per cent., but the common was, of course, unlimited as to its dividend possibilities. The promoters, in fact, calculated that the profits of the company's first year of operation would be sufficient to enable them to pay easily as much as 20 or 25 per cent. on the common, and still leave ample surplus for working capital for developing the business.

The man was on the point of sending in a substantial subscription for the stock, when he bethought himself of the company's suggestion that it "courted the fullest investigation." Not that his confidence had not already been won, but it occurred to him that it might be interesting to know how other people looked upon the enterprise. Hence his letter to this magazine.

He accompanied his inquiry with the various advertisements, circulars, and letters he had collected. These, taken together, made a most extraordinary exhibit. To one familiar with the prevailing high cost of everything with which the printer has to work, the first impression of it all was: What extravagance! But it had its serious aspects when examined carefully from the point of view of the investor.

Nearly all the stocks described were those of companies formed for the manufacture of automobiles or some kind of automobile accessories. This fact at once suggested that here was one of those phenomena of the security markets which will almost invariably put the chastened and wise investor on his guard. Time and again it has been observed that a period of sustained public interest in a given group of established stocks, especially of industrial stocks, gives rise to a flood of offerings of new issues bearing strong family likeness to the old. It is the professional promoter's alertness to gratify the passing whim of the investing public. This explained why automobile company stocks, or kin-

l issues, were in the majority among the offerings of this particular time. A ering favoritism was still being en-:d by the listed motor stocks—long r the speculative boom had subsided he so-called "war brides."

ut experience has demonstrated that, ı under the most favorable auspices, / a small proportion of such newly-ı:hed ventures ever arrive at anything commercial success. It is, indeed, ntimes possible to discover in them racteristics which justify the suspicion t the promoters themselves have no ntion of exerting honest effort to put n upon such a footing.

HONESTY BEGETS CREDIT

'he pure stock-jobbing variety of indus-l concern is most apt to be found among ıpanies which make their appeals for ital direct to the public. It is not ays easy here to distinguish between the :rprises of honest and those of dishonest ception, but the experienced investor siders first that it is a rare occurrence 'adays that any project of merit, con-'ed by men who are able to establish stantial reputations, fails to get the king, or at least the assistance, of ıblished banking interests. He real- that his powers of reasoning and dis-ıination are useless to him where he has statistics of past profits to guide him, where he has nothing but the merest mates of unknown promoters on which ɔase his calculations of present values future dividends. And he shuns :cially the securities of companies ılded as being destined to repeat the ırds of the signal successes in their ls, for he knows that, as a rule, these ms are only traps for the unwary.

here is special need for urging at this : the exercise of extremely nice percep-in the buying of the new creations of ıoration stocks. From practically every rter one hears of innumerable cases of ness, professional, and laboring men m the good fortune of the Nation has endowed as it did the business man of this story. A very considerable part of this extra accumulation of individual capital is undoubtedly being set aside to contribute as far as it may to the permanent welfare of its possessors. Here is a new class of potential investors, larger and more resourceful in the aggregate, perhaps, than was ever before created in this country in an equal period of time. It is a class which, being naturally deficient in knowledge of the formulas for determining genuine investment values, affords abundant and easy prey for the unscrupulous, "get-rich-quick" promoter. That is why the activities of that parasite of the investment world have increased so noticeably these last few months.

INITIAL RISKS

On the other hand, even in the field of legitimate business, it is a mistake for the inexperienced man of small capital to get the idea that there are millions in the process of backing ventures in the early days of their existence. Such instances are not, of course, unknown. But the records show that to every venture that makes a competence, to say nothing of a fortune, for its backers, there are many thousands which end in downright failure.

Especially in large scale industrial promotion, the initial risks are invariably so large that they are properly undertaken only by men who do not feel very keenly the amount of money they have to contribute to get production under way, who are prepared to meet the financial emergencies that inevitably arise, and who are able to face the possibility of failure and loss without much apprehension.

Where, then, ought this new class of investors to seek its opportunities? If in the field of stocks at all, among the seasoned dividend-paying issues, preferably those which are exciting no speculative delirium, but which offer solid yields of income for the simple reason that they happen to be passing through a period of market neglect.

WHY METCHNIKOFF DIED

THE MAN WHO BELIEVED HE HAD SOLVED THE MYSTERY OF LONG LIFE AND THEN DIED RELATIVELY YOUNG—WHAT HE HAD PROVED ABOUT THE CAUSES OF SENILITY, AND THE HOPE FOR FURTHER DISCOVERIES—NEW LIGHT ON A ROMANTIC CAREER

BY

ARNO DOSCH-FLEUROT

WHEN Professor Metchnikoff, the world's leading pathologist, died at Paris on the fifteenth of last July, he left behind him in the Pasteur Institute six white mice. They were more than three years old, and had long passed the span of life for ordinary mice, but as they had spent their entire existence on a diet prescribed by Metchnikoff they were still young and frisky.

One day shortly before he died Metchnikoff stopped before their cage and remarked to one of his pupils:

"I am afraid my mice are going to survive me, and I shall not be able to complete my experiment. Fortunately for them they have no organic heart trouble in their family."

These mice were to serve some purpose in Metchnikoff's investigations of old age. He probably needed them for a complete analysis of the breaking down of human tissue in the constant battle going on within the human body. Their survival under Metchnikoff's care was proof that old age could be averted, or at least pushed farther into the future, by following the Metchnikoff system of eating nothing that has not been cooked and by fighting the enemies of long life with scientifically soured milk.

Metchnikoff, who was an exact scientist and issued his public statements only after long series of experiments, had not left Paris for months without giving minute instructions to be followed in the event of the death of one of the mice during his absence, but, by an irony of his own construction, they all lived longer than he did.

Metchnikoff, it must be said at once not, despite his sev one die of old age. By following his own teachings he had kept young, and he would probably not have died for a good many years if it had not been for heart trouble hereditary in the family. He had known for a long time it was going to kill him. In fact, he lived longer than any of his immediate relatives, all of whom had succumbed to the same complaint. Within the last year or two he had said a number of times that he could not expect to last much longer. At the time of the Metchnikoff jubilee held at the Pasteur Institute last year on his seventieth birthday, he even predicted his own early death. He drew a chart, which can be found in the published annals of the Pasteur Institute, showing the ages at which his grandparents, parents, his brothers, and his sister had died. The chart shows their lives ended at 45, 51, 54, 64, 65, 67, and 68.

"They were all gone before they attained my age," he said, "so I am tempted to attribute my old age to my manner of living. For years I have followed a system based on the conviction of the harm caused by our digestive apparatus. There is a commonly accepted idea that the organisms that flourish in our digestive tube are capable of doing us no injury; I hold the contrary opinion. I believe that we harbor a large number of harmful microbes which shorten our existence by bringing on premature old age. So I have conducted an experiment on myself for the last eighteen years, in the hope of fighting off this unhappy result. I have abstained from all r ing salads, uncook regularly drink micro-organism

years. It should be followed from childhood. Then old age will come normally and not far too soon as now. Nowadays we consider ourselves favored if we arrive at my age of seventy still capable of doing our daily work. In the future the limit of human activity will be much later in life. But to attain this happy result there will have to be a long, scientific preparation."

HIS HOLD ON HIS PUPILS

Metchnikoff's manner of life, even if followed for only eighteen years, had certainly left him remarkably young for his years. He was vivacious and alive to everything to the end. For years he has been the "life" of the Pasteur Institute, and one needs merely visit it now to appreciate the difference his death has made. His lectures were popular even in war times and no medical student was ever known to "cut" a Metchnikoff hour. Every afternoon between three and four he received strangers and at that time his ante-room was always filled with the most cosmopolitan collection of people to be found even in Paris. They came to him often with fantastic requests for information, but he was never known to let one leave unsatisfied. Of course his famous statement that old age could be prevented brought down upon him old people by the dozens, but he was so keenly alive to the tragedy of old age that he listened patiently to them all. He was also quick at picking out among these strangers those who could help at carrying out the pathological studies in which he was interested. After ten minutes with Metchnikoff, visiting biologists have sometimes left with a lifetime of work mapped out for them. For a long time, in fact, Metchnikoff was not merely the assistant director of the Pasteur Institute, but the head of a great pathological school, the work of which was being carried on by hundreds of men in many different countries. The students became so thick in his wing of the laboratories that they had to sit two at a desk. He circulated constantly among them, and, as he was always in his laboratory, to work under Metchnikoff meant the invaluable asset of having his eye constantly upon you.

When I began looking into the personal side of Metchnikoff's life I soon discovered he was no less interesting as a human being than as a scientist. He was not always the technician, and never the pedant. In fact, he tried so consistently to keep science on a simple, practical basis that he was in danger of being regarded by those who did not know his work as a seeker after notoriety. His scientific essays are always written so any one can understand them, and he avoided purely scientific terms even when lecturing to biological students. But his popular essays, such as the collection translated into English under the title "The Nature of Man," are in the original French called merely "introductions" to the various studies he outlines. The real work was in the laboratory. His books, clearly and delightfully written as they are, give a mere surface idea of his researches.

Metchnikoff speaks in one of his essays of the keen desire to live that grows more tense with years. He had it himself and with it went a limitless appetite for work. His laboratory was more than home to him. Even during the war he was there from eight in the morning until six at night. He missed just one day in the last two years and that was during a sleet storm last winter. He usually ate luncheon in the laboratory and, not infrequently, cooked it himself.

HIS OWN DIET

One day some distinguished visitors who had arrived in Paris and were being escorted about by a committee were taken to call upon Metchnikoff toward the hour of noon. The laboratory was all but empty, as most of the workers had departed for that sacred meal, the French *déjeuner*. But Metchnikoff was there himself intent on a vessel he was holding over a gas burner.

"It must be a very interesting experiment that keeps you engaged even at this hour," remarked one of the committee.

"Look for yourself," said Metchnikoff, and, continuing to stir with a glass tube, held up the dish so that a delicious fragrance rose to the noses of the visitors.

"That's what I'm working at," he

laughed, "bananas in slices, fried in butter. It is excellent."

Metchnikoff was, as a matter of fact, not in the least restricted in his diet. Because he laid so much stress on the good effects of soured milk, one is likely to make the mistake of presuming he practically lived on it. He drank it regularly, but he did not have a freakish appetite. He ate all the ordinary things served at an ordinary French table, and was inclined to be rather fond of the table. He also drank wine occasionally, though he was one of the first to point out the bad effect of alcohol on the arteries. He attributed one fifth of the cases of "premature old age" to the use of alcohol, one fifth to disease, and the other three fifths to the deleterious organisms of the intestine fostered by the use of uncooked food. But he was human in his lapses from his own rules. One day at the house of a friend he was discoursing on his favorite topic, "We die too soon," when some one asked if his cook was always careful to follow his precepts.

Metchnikoff's eyes twinkled behind his spectacles. "I at least believe she does," he said.

His friends were still laughing at his little sally when their hostess offered him a glass of champagne which was being passed.

"Here goes," he said, tossing it off. "There is no use my trying to make an impression on you skeptics. I might as well enjoy myself."

HIS READING MATTER

There was nothing of the dry-as-dust professor about Metchnikoff. He took an interest in everything that was going on and there was probably not a man living who read more widely. He read practically every periodical published in Europe, those of general interest as well as the scientific journals, and, wherever he went, he had a great roll of periodicals under his arm. The last day he visited the laboratory, the thirteenth of July, he practically cleaned out a news-stand he passed in the Rue Vaugirard on the way to the Pasteur Institute from the Montparnasse railroad stat the woman who kept the stand. In fact, his death is an irreparable loss to her.

Knowing that he always walked to the laboratory along the Rue Vaugirard, I suspected he had a favorite news-stand, so I inquired of the news-stands that lay in his course and found he was on terms of friendliness with the women who ran all of them, and distributed his sous with a fairly even hand. But the last one invariably did the biggest business with him. He was evidently seized regularly by a panic of fear that he was going to run out of reading matter.

For nearly a quarter of a century Metchnikoff and Madame Metchnikoff lived in a pavilion in the grounds of the Pasteur Institute, though he died at a villa in Sèvres, and the humanizing effect of his long residence is even noticeable in the *concierge*. Usually one must explain his business in detail to the *concierge* of an establishment such as the Pasteur Institute, but when I inquired for Metchnikoff's laboratory, the *concierge* called out, without turning around, "Second building, second floor to the left."

HIS DRAMATIC DEATH

There I learned many details of Metchnikoff's life told me by his pupils with the careful regard for exact details one might expect to find in students of pathology. They were also aware of the question that had arisen in the mind of the world over the cause of his death at seventy-one. They were afraid it might reflect upon his life's work and appear to negative its value. So they were at great pains to explain how young and vivacious he was even on the occasion of his last visit to the laboratory, the thirteenth of July. He came as usual in the morning, working all day, but he did not attempt to hide his uneasiness at the weakness of his heart. He surprised them, however, by saying, as he put on his things to go home, "To-morrow is the fourteenth, isn't it? So we won't work I am afraid, then, this will here. I cannot last 1 die to-morrow."

He died. in

, sentimentally, he would probably : preferred to die on the anniversary he fall of the Bastile, he loved his ›ted country so ardently. He did, true, have a deep affection for France, ıccount of its quickness of perception freedom from scientific ruts, but the book he was reading on his last visit ıe laboratory, I noticed, was a German que of recent French advancements in ıce, and he did not scorn to read it in ›riginal German.

He left us a very painful task," said of his pupils. "He made us promise would dissect his body after death and rt the ravages of old age. It was a ble task for us, used as we are to con- t dissecting. But we did it and found he had actually died of heart disease ›mplicated by disease of any of his r organs. They were all in good con- ›n—in much better condition than one ld expect to find in a man of his years. youthfulness of his organs was un- ›tedly due to his system of living, and, ı in his death, he added proof to his ention that old age could be warded off ssisting the fight of the 'nobler' tissues nst the 'microbe of old age.'"

"ELIAS MEEZNIKOW"

rofessor Metchnikoff's name was really znikow, and his first name signed by Elie, was Elias. He was born May 1845, at Ivanavka, in the Russian prov- of Kharkof, and he took the name chnikoff, meaning "sword-bearer," be- e the first ancestor of whom he had rd was a Moldavian who followed ce Cantemir into Russia in that capa- at the beginning of the eighteenth ury. All his antecedents on his fath- side were military, and his father was ›fficer in the Imperial Guard, retiring ı major-general. His mother, whose ly name was Nevakowitch, was of sh origin. He did not, however, show Semitic influence in his appearance.

etchnikoff was a passionate researcher ı childhood. After entering the Khar- high school at eleven and graduating ı the Kharkoff University at nineteen, egan at once studying marine organ- , a pursuit he followed all his life, leading to his most important discovery, the service of "phagocytes," the white corpuscles in the blood. These friendly organisms, developed in the body, according to Metchnikoff's demonstration, to fight off harmful microbes, were more easily studied in marine organisms. He did not, however, arrive at the discovery of "phagocytes," which has affected the whole of pathological study, for nearly twenty years. During the earlier part of his life he studied zoölogy under Leuckart and Von Siebold in Germany and, returning to Russia in 1867, was given the doctor's degree at both Petrograd and Odessa for his studies in zoölogy. Later he was appointed to the chair of zoölogy at Odessa. He married twice in the meanwhile, his first wife, Ludmilla Federevitch, dying of consumption in the Madeira Islands. As Metchnikoff was with her there many months he had the best opportunity of his life to study the many varieties of sea life to be found in that part of the Atlantic. It was long after her death, however, and after his marriage in 1875 to Olga Belocoyitoff, then seventeen, that he began to be known as an embryologist. He and Kewalewsky of Petrograd spent the next ten years of their lives developing the cellular embryology of invertebrates, one of the foundations of modern zoölogy.

HOW HE DISCOVERED PHAGOCYTES

This study of the invertebrates led to the discovery of phagocytes. He was working toward this end when, in 1882, he left Odessa after twelve years on account of the disturbances following the assassination of Alexander II. He settled at Messina, and there found the peace to do the necessary laboratory work before publishing a paper on "Intercellular Digestion," based almost entirely on the study of sea organisms. This was the first complete study ever made of the subject; though Haeckel had expressed his belief in it years before, Metchnikoff proved it chiefly by his experiments with transparent marine larvæ which, being transparent, made it possible to see the cells at work.

Metchnikoff's interest in science was so wide that he immediately saw the relation of his discovery to Pasteur's discovery of

the production of disease by specific disease, causing, bacteria, and to Darwin's conception of natural selection. He followed his discovery at once with a memoir on the struggle of the organism against microbes, in which he showed how phagocytes have been developed and established by natural selection to fight off disease germs and to clean the human system. He proved his contention by introducing yeastlike monospora into transparent water fleas. The phagocytes, or white blood corpuscles, could be seen fighting and destroying the yeast parasites until the yeast had gained the upper hand.

Metchnikoff always understood how to present his ideas convincingly and, after returning to Odessa for a short time, he went to Paris in 1888, where Pasteur welcomed him, gave him a laboratory and assistants, and left him alone to work. It was the natural environment for him, as he had discovered the phagocytes which fight the microbes discovered by Pasteur, and he remained in Paris throughout the remainder of his life.

STUDIES IN IMMUNITY

Not unnaturally, the first turn Metchnikoff's work now took was in connection with inflammation caused by disease germs. There was a tremendous schism among medical men in those days and Metchnikoff became a leader of the fight instituted by Pasteur. He produced there his first big, revolutionary volume, "The Comparative Pathology of Inflammation," in which he showed how the blood flow is arrested at the point of inflammation and the phagocytes marshal themselves like a mobilized army to meet the enemy. At the point of inflammation they do away with the tissue destroyed by the injury or disease and clean up the spot for the return of natural growth.

This line of study led to the whole study of the fight between the body and attacking microbes. Metchnikoff became particularly interested in immunity and his most important, if not best advertised, work from that time on was in the direction of immunity. His "Immunity in Infective Diseases," printed ten years ago, is still a standard. This is based on the same contention that the phagocytes do the fighting for us.

WHY WE "GROW OLD"

It was only as a by-product of this study that Metchnikoff began investigating the causes of the hardening of the arteries and all the other manifestations proclaiming old age. He found that the hardening of arteries and similar phenomena in the organs of the body is due to the breaking down of the "noble" tissue to which we are born before the onslaughts of toxins and poisonous growths of many kinds. He established old age as an illness caused not by one bacillus, but by a multitude of bacilli. In his studies he pointed out that we took poisons into us directly from the earth by eating uncooked food of any kind. These microbes find their most fruitful ground for developing in the lower intestine, he contended, and there they fight our "nobler" tissue all our days until they finally get the upper hand as our vital forces weaken. The number and force of these micro-organisms, he showed, could be greatly decreased by never eating anything uncooked, thereby cutting down the supply. The rest he found could be killed off with the assistance of the beneficent microbes to be found in soured milk.

Metchnikoff felt he had an important message for mankind in this discovery, and he had so much to say about it that his name became a household word. In many different ways he said:

"If you wish to live long, never eat anything uncooked, and drink soured milk."

He harped on the theme so much, his name came dangerously near being a joke. But his "long life" preachments were the least of his work. In the advancement of medical science he ranks beside Lister and Pasteur.

THE LIFE OF

James J. Hill

Written with his approval and from exclusive access to his personal papers by his friend,

JOSEPH GILPIN PYLE

"Make it plain and simple and true. I hate these biographies that smear molasses all over a man."

This was the instruction, and the only one, given by James J. Hill to the writer of these pages. They are an endeavor to realize that ideal and to fulfil that trust.

I. BOYHOOD IN CANADA AND BEGINNINGS IN ST. PAUL

HIS CELTIC ANCESTRY AND HIS SCHOOLING UNDER THE REMARKABLE QUAKER TEACHER, WILLIAM WETHERALD—FROM DREAMS OF A MEDICAL CAREER TO VISIONS OF STEAMBOATING IN INDIA—TRAVELS IN NEW YORK—ON THE LEVEE AT ST. PAUL—FIRST YEARS IN BUSINESS

THE forerunners of James J. Hill were of that sturdy stock, close to the soil and bound by life's homely duties, on which from time to time genius flowers. There was among them no prophecy or hint of coming greatness. But in their veins was the blood of the Celt, which flows naturally toward greatness because, for it, all things are forever possible. The imagination, the fervor, above all the insight into the future through perceptions raised to an almost uncanny power that gave form to his life, plan and coherence to his work, are a part of the dower of race. Apparently they were this boy's sole inheritance of distinction.

Forty miles west of Toronto lies the little village of Rockwood, containing today a population of perhaps a thousand people. It is in the township of Eramosa, to which came, from Ireland, in the early part of the last century, the Hills and the Dunbars. Mr. Hill's grandfather was James Hill, of Mars Hill, Blackwater River, Armagh, Ireland. His grandmother was Mary Riggs of Newry, also in Armagh. They migrated to Canada in 1829. All told, there were four boys and four girls in the family of Mr. James Hill; of whom James Hill, the father of James J. and the second oldest boy, was born August 1, 1811. The father was one of the earliest occupants of what were known as the Canada Company's lands. He had settled with his family on a section of land near Guelph, Ontario, in what was subsequently the county of Wellington.

The Dunbars, the family of James J. Hill's mother, were originally from Scotland. The Dulmages, from whom they descended, had landed on the west coast of Ireland in the seventeenth century, and, later on, were induced, with encouragement from the Government, to start a woolen factory at Templemore. There the Dunbars, five brothers and two sisters, grew up and all of them came later to Canada. Anne Dunbar left Templemore, in Tipperary, and came with the others to the new western country in 1832.

Among the children of the two families

thus transplanted to new soil, ready to receive the longing and the hope of that distracted fatherland across the sea, were these two, James Hill and Anne Dunbar, man and maid, just strong, simple, wholesome people, such as the Old World gave to the New in that generation. They were neighbors; and acquaintanceship ripening rapidly into a deeper feeling, they were married at Eramosa, Ontario, in 1833. Both were farmers, and upon fifty acres of land, within two miles of Rockwood, James Hill and his wife settled down to the common life of the people of the frontier.

Here were born, in a little log house, the four children, of whom James Jerome Hill was the third. A boy born earlier and also named James had died, and the tradition that the oldest son should always be so called held good. His sister, Mary Eliza, the oldest child, was born on Christmas Day, 1835, and died June 25, 1905. She married John Brooks, a neighboring farmer, and eleven of her thirteen children are still living. The youngest of the three, A. S. D. Hill, was born September 6, 1839. He married Emma Day and had four sons, of whom three grew to manhood. Two of them and their four daughters are living. Mr. A. S. D. Hill lived on the old farm until he was of age, when it was sold. He taught school for twenty-five years in the schools of Rockwood and neighboring places, but the pull of the land was always strong and he eventually settled back into the congenial life of the farm. He cultivates to-day five hundred acres of land, is strong, active, and interested in life, and bears a strong physical resemblance to his brother. To his remarkable memory many of the details of their early family life are due. In 1848 the Hill family moved to Rockwood and kept a small hotel until the death of the father. James Hill died December 25, 1852, and his wife survived him until December 18, 1876. After her husband's death she removed, with her children, to the town of Guelph and lived there until she died.

The man was industrious, plodding, a type of the millions who have subdued a continent, content to live laborious, uneventful days and to die unknown. The mother was of strong character and intense temperament, but with the limited outlook and ambitions unawakened that marked the earliest pioneers. James J. Hill inherited from her, whom he most resembled, many of his striking qualities.

LIFE IN PRIMITIVE CANADA

Upper Canada was different in no essential at that time from Western New York and Northern Ohio. The environment was the same that furnished sustenance and stimulus to a generation which left its indelible mark upon the history of this country. Life, though strenuous in the old sense, a constant struggle to wrest from Nature the simple living which was the time's measure of prosperity, was uncomplicated. The new industrial era was not yet born. The railroad itself was a novelty, only a little more substantially practical than the airship is to-day. The soil was the universal resource for industry. The family was the social unit, impaired only when some adventurous spirit broke the ranks, leaving doubt of mind and quaking of heart behind him. And the family life itself was as patriarchal as it had been in rural England or Ireland for centuries. The farm supplied most of the necessaries of life, a few came from the village store, and the local shoemaker and tailor made their periodical rounds, took measures and furnished the remainder. Children grew up with strong bodies, clear faces, steady nerves, and minds sensitive to new experiences.

James J. Hill, the second child of these parents, was born into this environment September 16, 1838. He was not notably precocious but, from his earliest days, exhibited one tendency that persisted in the man to the end of his life and was the source of his wonderful fund of information. He was desperately fond of reading. Although bright and active and fond of sport, he never cared for play if there was a book to read. He started to school at five years of age. The journey of two and a half miles through the bush to the district school-house was nothing to a child of that time in that part of the country. The settlement was largely comprised of members of the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, and his first school-

r was an old man, John Harris, a er, born in Cork, Ireland.

nes Hill was a well-to-do man, accord- the standards of his time. This t that by constant labor his farm be made to give to his family all the rts considered essential in that day, the children such education as the unity had to offer. In scope this was e, in quality admirable as compared he more pretentious but less thorough ction of our ime. The little n whom none ked unusual city or promise rown to school nd the question lucation grew cal. It is one first character- notes of both and son that Hill sought hing more than dinary educa- for his oldest This determin- so common in ime, was com- vely rare in st Canada in rties. The op- nity for it came institution of a e school, Rock- Academy, to the boy was erred. This was started by m Wetherald, a Quaker, and su- ly fortunate was the relation estab- between him and his new pupil. therald was an Englishman of good with Quaker ancestry and a college tion. Such men, three quarters of a y ago, were to be found in charge of ademies which then furnished nearly higher education given. The public system as we know it to-day had no nce. The colleges were few and the American university a rare and growth. Every boy ambitious to looked to the academy for education. And these institutions were often more complete in their methods and more admirable in their adaptation of work to the bent of the individual student than the secondary schools of our time.

During the formative time, the period of burning, indestructible impressions, of mental fluidity joined with dawning fixity of intellectual purpose, James J. Hill was under the influence of this remarkable man, William Wetherald. Probably no other human being, down to the time when he became the centre of a family of his own, not parents or friends or associates, understood this boy as did his Quaker schoolmaster. And his capacity for helpfulness was freely exercised and never forgotten. Under this direction the boy pursued the ordinary English studies with Latin, a very little Greek, algebra, and the beginning of geometry. At that time, in addition to the elementary studies of reading, writing, geography, and grammar, the entire essentials of a good education were acquaintance with mathematics and the classics, but the material to work with was always secondary; the first requirement was thoroughness. The mind was treated as an implement; as the hand which, when trained to the limit in suppleness and muscular control, would be fit for anything because it had been made fit for all. Mental discipline, not mental craftsmanship, was the ideal. As a "system" this educational method would seem to-day poverty stricken and incomplete. As a method of assuring the best possible intellectual product it has never been surpassed. Under it James J. Hill spent four

MR. HILL AT SIXTEEN

When he was working for Robert Pasmore, a storekeeper in Rockwood, Ont., and shortly before he started on his first journey out into the world which took him though Syracuse, Philadelphia, Richmond, and Chicago, and which ended at St. Paul, where he struck root and began the long business career which ended in that same city

busy, happy years at Rockwood Academy. He was quick to learn and incessant in application. At fourteen years of age his formal education was finally broken off. After that time his only schooling was to be contact with the world; but through all his after life his powerful mind moved in the grooves then appointed for it, and wrought upon its new material with all that these years had given to it of precision and of power.

JAMES J. HILL'S BIRTHPLACE
The last relic of the little log house in which Mr. Hill was born is this group of stones that formed part of the fireplace

Another influence was at work during this period, the magic touch of character upon character. William Wetherald was a man of an incorruptible rightness of spirit. He chose deliberately what seemed to him the best things, without regard to the world's valuation. We are fashioned so largely by our standards that this example of plain living and high thinking in the master had more permanent effect upon the man than any rule of discipline or all the lore of books.

Thirty years after this discipleship James J. Hill, then firmly seated in control of what he was to make the greatest enterprise of his day, and busied with a thousand buzzing cares, addressed William Wetherald at his home in St. Catherine's as "My Dear Old Master." In the height of his prosperity he begs his old teacher to pay him a visit. "I have a nice little family of children and my good wife will be more than happy to have you as our guest. I have looked forward for some years to a time when I could have you pay us a visit and renew some of the days that were spent so pleasantly under your care. Again let nothing prevent your coming to visit your old pupil." This from the man of forty-three, to whom all eyes were turned because of the daring master-stroke that had already set him in places of command! It is the tribute of a soul that knows and rejoices in its obligations. And after this visit had been paid, Wetherald writes back that he had thought much of the children whom he had seen growing up in the family in St. Paul and of their right education. He photographs himself and discloses for the world the sort of sway under which the early years of James J. Hill had been passed in this sentence: "Knowledge, after all, is to the teacher only what colors are to the artist;—tact, insight, patience, and sympathy are needed in order to give a fitting relation to light and shade and develop a perfect picture." Up to its fourteenth year, a mind singularly virile and a potential activity which had by that time received its strongest directive impulses were committed by the most

THE FARM ON WHICH MR. HILL WAS BORN, AS IT LOOKS TO-DAY

Two miles from Rockwood, Ontario, which lies forty miles west of Toronto. Here James Jerome Hill was born on September 16, 1838, the third of four children of James Hill and Anne Dunbar. The father was "industrious, plodding. . . . The mother was of strong character and intense temperament. . . . James J. Hill inherited from her, whom he most resembled, many of his striking qualities"

THE FIRST SCHOOL JAMES J. HILL ATTENDED

The man in the foreground is John Hill, an uncle of the future Empire Builder. Young Hill "sta school at five years of age. The journey of two and a half miles through the bush to the district schoo was nothing to a child of that time in that part of the country. . . . He was not notably pre but, from his earliest days, . . . he was desperately fond of reading"

providential fortune to this simple, straightforward and noble soul, who still signs himself in the trembling lines of age, "Thy old friend and teacher."

Meantime the home life was as simple and serene as the growth of mental strength, and social life on the frontier was what it is in any primitive society. The boy was fond of all outdoor sports, but especially of shooting and fishing. At that time he became a fine shot and an expert with the rod, tastes which were to be strong in him always and to furnish him with intense joy in the few periods of relaxation that he permitted himself in his busy years. His father had always intended that he should be a doctor and he himself was not averse to that future. But the accidental stroke of an arrow in boyhood deprived him of the sight of one eye. This was as serious an obstacle to the plan as was the death of his father and the consequent interruption of his studies. His parents were both deeply religious people; the father was a Baptist and the mother a Methodist, but the strong faith of uniting upon a common basis of esse gave the children that broad certain the moral and religious order of t which was one of the deepest facts i mind and heart of Mr. Hill.

His books were few. Nowhere, at time, outside of cities, were there libr or access to general reading matter. people in the country took a newsp few households possessed any other b than some collections of household re or common remedies. The Hill home more fortunate. It made up in qu what was everywhere lacking in quan Its literature consisted of the work Shakespeare, the poems of Burns, Dictionary, and the Bible. After all, a who grows up thoroughly familiar wit these is furnished with no mean lite equipment and no doubtful standar taste. When young Hill was thirte fourteen years old he got hold of the of Napoleon. This interested him mensely, and possibly had more u

ROCKWOOD ACADEMY, WHERE JAMES J. HILL COMPLETED HIS FORMAL EDUCATION

The principal of the Academy was William Wetherald, "an Englishman of good birth, with Quaker ancestry and a college education. . . . During the formative time, the period of burning, indestructible impressions . . . James J. Hill was under the influence of this remarkable man. . . . Thirty years after this discipleship . . . Hill . . . addressed William Wetherald at his home in St. Catherine's as 'My Dear Old Master,'" and he in return signs himself in the trembling lines of age, "Thy old friend and teacher"

ON THE SPEED RIVER NEAR THE HILL FARM IN ONTARIO
Where James J. Hill's boyhood was spent until his father's death caused the family to move to the neighboring village of Rockwood

influence upon his future. Here his already dawning idea, that if a man made up his mind to do a thing it was already half done, was confirmed. And William Wetherald had opened to him the wider field of what was then, and to some great extent still is, the world's best literature.

In 1852 James Hill died; and the event, maturing rapidly a thoughtful boy, altered outwardly the whole aspect of his life. The burden of family care was now shifted to the mother's shoulders; and James J. Hill was not one to bear the thought of a too great sacrifice in that quarter. His purpose was to help; and the hope of a professional life yielded at once to the practical suggestion of the changed situation. He refused to continue at school, though both mother and teacher urged it, at the price of becoming an additional charge upon the household. For the next four years he was employed as clerk in one of the village stores.

MR. HILL'S SURVIVING BROTHER
A. S. D. Hill, one year younger than James J., "taught school for twenty-five years in Rockwood and neighboring places, but . . . eventually settled back into the life of the farm. He cultivates to-day five hundred acres of land, is strong, active, and interested in life and bears a strong resemblance to his brother"

After four weeks' work his Scotch employer, on Saturday night, put his hand on his shoulder and said, "James, ye hae

done right weel. If ye keep on, ye'll mak' your way in the world." Then he handed him an envelope. The boy hastened off home to give the four dollars contained in the envelope, his pay for his first month of hard work, to his mother. "I never felt so rich," he said, "I never expect to feel so rich again in my life, as when I looked at those four dollars and when I handed them over to my mother."

ROCKWOOD, ONTARIO, WHERE MR. HILL WORKED IN HIS YOUTH
And near which town he was born. Here he received his education and experienced the influences that most strongly affected his character and habits of work and thought

Soon the early environment had been exhausted; it had contributed to development all that it had to give. Already the eager spirit projected itself afar. The mind of the boy, fed by historical reading, full of Plutarch, saturated with the melody of "Lalla Rookh," breathing free air with Byron, creating its own congenial environment, had been drawn to that field which has always fired the imagination and with which some of the great projects of the man were to deal—the Orient. Youth built its romance about India; and when young Hill determined to leave home and make for himself a work in the world, it was with the more or less fixed idea in his mind that he would venture to the region where both Alexander and Napoleon had found their lure. At that time any youth whose daring stretched to projects like this turned to the sea as his only highroad; and it was with the idea of shipping as a sailor that James J. Hill began his journey into the unknown. Young Hill saved but little capital to finance his adventure. His earnings had been given gladly to help his mother. The boy of seventeen started out with little other equipment than a sublime faith in himself and his future. Striking southward, his money gave out when he was near Syracuse, N. Y. There he obtained temporary work with a farmer and earned enough to start him again on his way. He went slowly through the state of New York, reached the sea coast, visited Philadelphia and Richmond, but

found no suitable opportunity for carrying out his original scheme. In the meantime a more adventurous plan suggested itself to him and was approved as an enlargement of experience and a more sustained invitation to opportunity.

Among his schoolmates at the Rockwood Academy were some boys from the Red River settlement, and one from the far Canadian west now the province of Alberta. A visit to them had been talked of; and the suggestion in those days, when the interior of the continent was still as the stone age had left it, carried romance. Moreover, it could be bent to the general plan. Dissatisfied with the chance of escape into new worlds by the Atlantic seaboard, the idea recurred of making these visits, taking the trip across the plains and finally shipping from the Pacific coast to the Orient. So westward the star of his life led the way.

MR. HILL'S FIRST EMPLOYER

Robert Pasmore, for whom, beginning at fourteen years of age, after his father's death, James J. Hill worked for four years as a clerk in the village store at Rockwood, Ont., for a salary of one dollar a week. "I never felt so rich," he said in later life, speaking of the payday at the end of the first month he worked, "I never expect to feel so rich again in my life, as when I looked at those four dollars and when I handed them over to my mother"

Comparatively recent as is the date, it requires an effort to recall the meaning of such a journey into such a country in the year 1856. It was in 1838, the year when James J. Hill was born, that Joseph N. Nicollet, the French astronomer and explorer, with whom was John C. Frémont, completed his explorations and made the first reliable map of the upper Mississippi country. "The Pathfinder" was the first Republican candidate for President in the year when this boy's western trip ended; the region he had helped to explore was still the far frontier. Chicago was an outpost of civilization. Beyond that one must make his v to the Mississi take a steamboat the head of nav tion and join the River brigade trappers and tra that made trips ing the season tween the settlen at St. Paul and t about Lake Wi peg. Thence way westward ac the plains led vague distances adventure. Yo Hill passed thr Chicago when walls of the old M sasoit House rising, full of scheme, and arr at St. Paul July 1856, only to that the last brig for the Red R had left on July There would not another depart until the follow spring; and he set down to pass the winter in some occu tion that would employ his restless vi and secure to him means of supp which were now exhausted. He was r marooned in St. Paul, the little trad station at the head of navigation on Mississippi; could make no further s toward the Red River, the Pacific, Brahmaputra, or the Ganges for ma months. He must wait there, and in dentally he must work for a living, u another spring should bring the train creaking bullock carts down from the no and set him on his way. The vision boyhood was never entirely to be fulfill In the newest instead of the oldest wo his lot was to be cast; and while, in ye to come, his ships were to ride in the harb of Cathay, to-day the circle of prosaic was bounded by the muddy levee of a lit trading settlement whose name had o lately shaken off the indignity of "Pi

Eye" and become "St. Paul." Transplantation had been effectively accomplished; and the strong shoot was left to gather maturity and fitness for its purpose in the new soil where it was one day to tower aloft as lord of the forest.

James J. Hill arrived in St. Paul on July 21, 1856. It was a little town of from 4,000 to 5,000 people. The territorial census of 1855 optimistically gave it 4,716. The territory of which it was the capital contained from 100,000 to 150,000 inhabitants. The Federal census of 1860 made it 172,000. Its limits included the present area of the state together with the country now embraced in the Dakotas, to the Missouri River. Its industries, agricultural, lumbering, and fur trading, were, with the exception of the last-mentioned, mostly local. Means of communication with the outer world were too circuitous and slow to permit rapid development. At the World's Fair held in New York in 1853, the contributions from Minnesota consisted, exclusive of daguerreotypes, of unmanufactured products of the country, furs, grains, minerals, and Indian curiosities, in all amounting to sixty-two different articles. Settlement was confined to the river valleys. Along the Mississippi and the Minnesota were rich farms and flourishing villages. Back of these were the open prairie and the Big Woods, where the Sioux and the Chippewa still lorded it undisturbed. The Red River Valley, which was to play so important a part in the new commonwealth and to witness the first great achievement of the raw boy now hunting for employment on the streets of St. Paul, was as desolate as nature had made it. From east to west, from north to south, it was known only to the Indian and the half breed; a level waste, the home of buffalo and antelope, the hunting ground of the fox and the wolf. One might travel from the head-

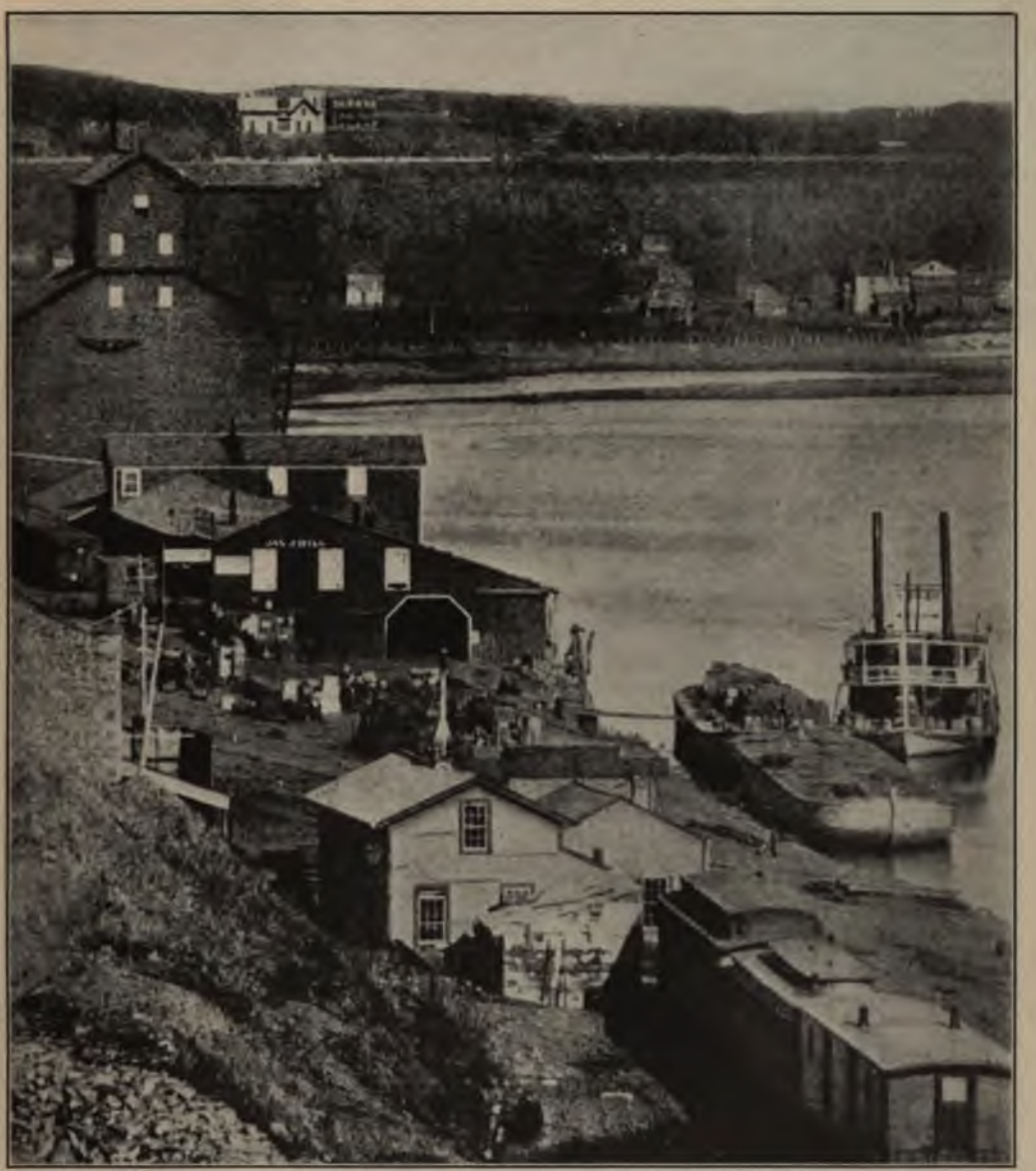
WHERE MR. HILL WAS FIRST EMPLOYED
The store at Rockwood, Ont., in which he earned the first money he ever made

MR. HILL'S YOUTHFUL VISION OF A CAREER—

"He . . . dreamed of business conquests that might one day be made in the Orient . . . and he thought seriously of the project of building steamboats like those which carried traffic on the Mississippi to operate on the rivers of India . . . Fifty years later his judgment affirmed the soundness of the venture he had dreamed of"

waters of the Bois de Sioux down to the Red River and follow its course to Pembina without meeting a human being or a domesticated animal. Farther south this condition varied only as, year by year, new settlers pushed out from their base of supplies along the larger watercourses.

Life was primitive in its isolation. The upper Mississippi River country had as yet no rail communication with the East. All intercourse between them was by way of Galena or some other Mississippi River point, and thence to Chicago. The air, it is true, was full of great projects and a few certainties of development. In 1856 a railroad was already built for one hundred miles west of Chicago, with promise of reaching Prairie du Chien in another year.



—AND THE REALITY OF ITS BEGINNINGS AT ST. PAUL

"The vision of boyhood was never entirely to be fulfilled. In the newest instead of the oldest world his lot was to be cast; and while, in years to come, his ships were to ride in the harbors of Cathay, to-day the circle of prosaic life was bounded by the muddy levee of a little trading settlement whose name had only lately shaken off the indignity of 'Pig's Eye' and become 'St. Paul'"

Another was building from Milwaukee to the Mississippi. Everything was growing. The amount of public lands entered or located by warrant in the territory in 1855 was more than a million and a quarter acres. This, the most fertile land in the world, was valued at about one dollar per acre. But there was not a foot of railroad in the territory, and whatever industry there was, was necessarily restricted to its crudest forms.

St. Paul was a typical river town of the period. Its first inhabitant dated from the year when Mr. Hill was born. Founded by the natural law which placed a settlement at the head of every navigable stream, it had received its first charter from the Minnesota legislature in 1854, and was

now bustling with the importance of the convention to frame a constitution for the state that was to be. It was an unpromising site. Ruggedly the steep hills rose from the river bank, with sluggish streams oozing through the marshy ground between. All activity was centred on the levee; the strip of ground, reached often by rough plankways across sloughy spaces, along the river that was the only highway to the world. There was life. There business was to be done. On that hung the enterprise of the primitive business concerns, the frame hotels, the rude residences of the frontier capital. The buildings clustered around the landing places or ran up the rough slopes of the hills. But red blood ran in every vein, and leaped to every touch of promise and of hope for the future.

There was a daily line of boats in operation between St. Paul and Galena, the port of arrival and departure for river trade above St. Louis. There were a dozen steamboats running between St. Paul and settlements on the Minnesota River. Each of these was crowded on every trip with freight and passengers; volunteers for the occupation of the rich wilderness that lay beyond. In 1855 the number of boats engaged in the river trade at St. Paul was sixty-eight, and it had increased 59 per cent. a year for the previous five years. The town, consequently, was enjoying the doubtful benefits of a "boom." Rents were high and vacant houses hard to find. A four-room house, one story high, was worth from twenty to thirty dollars a month. And during the long, rigorous winter of this clime, before the first boat came through in the spring with supplies from without, prices soared. On April 10, 1856, says an old account, "flour sold at ten dollars a barrel, oats were eighty-five to ninety cents a bushel, butter forty-five cents a pound, and eggs and poultry were not to be had for love or money." Of money, indeed, there was an annual famine; since the currency supply was cut off in winter and exchange did not exist. But people lived happily on notes of hand and orders on business houses that would be paid when lumber and furs and cranberries and a little grain went out in the spring and the cash came back. The community, at any rate, was heart-whole and care-free;

THE CHAPEL OF ST. PAUL

From which the city of St. Paul derived its name. Erected in 1841 and demolished some time during the first four years of James J. Hill's residence in St. Paul

ST. PAUL IN 1861

"St. Paul was a typical river town of the period. Its first inhabitant dated from the year when Mr. Hill was born. Founded by the natural law which placed a settlement at the head of every navigable stream, it had received its first charter from the Minnesota legislature in 1854, and was now bustling with the importance of the convention to frame a constitution for the state that was to be. It was an unpromising site. . . . [But] there was life. There was business to be done"

with the splendid audacity of youth and a supreme confidence in its own future. History was in the making, and every man was intensely alive. No weakling could live in such an atmosphere; but to the strong it was like heady wine.

Peering over the rim of this little crater of activity, northward and westward, the newcomer viewed a debatable land. As to the country between St. Paul and the Pacific Coast, where the early founding of Astoria and the growth of Portland had already erected stations of settlement that sent vague messages of invitation to adventurous spirits in the East, there stretched two thousand miles of territory held by some of the fiercest of the aboriginal tribes. Over its quality, over the mere possibility of adapting it to agricultural uses, the best-informed men of the day wrangled hotly. Professor Henry, of the Smithsonian Institution, an authority whom it was then almost blasphemy to question, had rendered his emphatic judgment in these words: "The whole space to the west, between the 98th meridian and the Rocky Mountains, is a barren waste, over which the eye may roam to the extent of the visible horizon, with scarcely an object to break the monotony. The country may also be considered, in comparison with other portions of the United States, a wilderness, unfitted for the use of the husbandman, although in some of the mountain valleys, as at Salt Lake, by means of irrigation, a precarious supply of food may be obtained." To the great majority of people, outside the northwestern country itself, this was final. But it was vigorously combatted by those who had explored the region through which it was hoped that a new route to the Pacific might be found. Their testimony was necessarily *ex parte*. There were no resident witnesses to call to the stand. In this year of 1856 one might draw a north and south line from the Red River to the lower boundary of Nebraska, and in all the northern half of the country west of it, from Minnesota to the Rocky Mountains, he would find no settlement, no pioneers, nothing but "savage beasts and still more savage men."

It was only to the northwest, up beyond

From the collection of Mr. E. A. Bromley, Minneapolis

FAMOUS UPPER MISSISSIPPI RIVER BOATS IN MR. HILL'S YOUTH

In a letter written in 1858, James J. Hill said: "Capt. W. F. Davidson wrote me from Cincinnati about going with him as first clerk on the side wheel packet *Frank Steele*, a new boat about the size of the *War Eagle*." The *Frank Steele* is the second boat from the left in this picture

the Red River country, where Lord Selkirk's enthusiasm had planted the first outpost for the real agricultural and commercial conquest of the interior of the continent, that the rim of the crater broke away to reveal in the distance civilized life instead of savage wilderness. Great visions were to enter through that gap, but the time for them and for an account of this most interesting Red River settlement is in a later period of this story. Meanwhile James J. Hill looks about him in the little Minnesota town where his travels have terminated for the present, to see what can be done. It was a momentous choice. Here he was to work for nine years for independence; here he was to build up a flourishing business of his own; here he was to conceive and carry through the negotiations that started him upon his career as the greatest constructive railroad genius of his age; and until he made the bond purchases of a worse than bankrupt system that startled his associates and revealed him as either a lunatic or genius, he had not moved his business office or the centre of his active life five hundred feet from the spot on the Mississippi levee in St. Paul where he first found employment and set himself to work with a will.

A WAR-TIME PORTRAIT

Mr. Hill in 1863. "In company with E. Y. Shelley [he] raised a cavalry company for service in the Rebellion . . . but Minnesota was not ready for cavalry companies, and the proferred service could not be accepted. . . . He desired to enlist in the First Minnesota, but . . . lacking the sight of one eye, he could not pass the medical inspection"

From the collection of Mr. E. A. Bromley, Minneapolis

IN "THE PIONEER GUARD"

Mr. Hill is the third man from the left in the fifth row from the bottom in this picture of the militia company to which he belonged in St. Paul in the late 'fifties

Between 1856, when Mr. Hill reached St. Paul, and 1865, when he went into business for himself, the years, though critical in their bearing upon the future as every such formative period must be, were empty of startling events. It was a second and rougher but not less decisive school time. The boy of eighteen, without friends or capital or equipment of business experience, turned to the centre of activity in the new community for occupation. This was the levee. There was always work there for the willing; and he became a clerk for J. W. Bass & Co., who were agents for the Dubuque & St. Paul Packet Company's line of Mississippi River steamboats. By the river route all the commerce of the little town and the outlying settlements tributary to it was carried on. The shipping clerk was not a specialized employee in those days. He received incoming and discharged outgoing freight. He looked after the contents of

the warehouse. He made out way-bills and had an eye for new business. He had to be ready to do anything, and on occasion must work as hard as a roustabout. It was a splendid all-round education for a live young fellow. After one season's experience with it, the journey to the Red River country and thence westward was no longer considered. Work had ousted adventure; and when the firm of Brunson, Lewis & White succeeded Bass & Co. in the packet company agency, they took over as part of the assets the young shipping clerk, who remained with them three years. After that he spent a year with Temple & Beaupre, and four years with Borup & Champlin, who were agents for the Galena Packet Company and the Davidson line of steamboats.

JAMES J. HILL ABOUT 1870

After experience as a steamboat shipping clerk, commission merchant, agent for river packet companies, and in various other enterprises in St. Paul, Mr. Hill was at this time in active business for himself. "Henceforth we have to deal with the man of affairs, and his action and reaction upon events out of which wonderful happenings were to be born"

There were few busier periods in a life seldom equaled in intensity of application than these outwardly uneventful years. The characteristics of the youth persisted. His vivid imagination made the day's work interesting, because invested with unknown possibilities. His head teemed with ideas and schemes, new and old. He still dreamed of business conquests that might one day be made in the Orient. Now his new experience was brought into play, and he thought seriously of the project of building steamboats like those which carried traffic on the Mississippi to operate on the rivers of India. But it was no longer a wild vagary. The more disciplined mind was already learning how fact and fancy may be made to work in double harness. He studied steamboat construction and operation. He read everything available about India. He knew exactly what sort of boats would be required and how much travel they could hope to secure. Fifty years later his judgment affirmed the soundness of the venture that he had dreamed of on the Jumna when, as a raw boy, immured in mid-America, he had ascertained that the district between Delhi and Allahabad offered the most promising field for a beginner. Nor was the scheme finally stricken from the list of future possibilities until when, after the war, the period of railway building began. Then the mind that was as swift to grasp the direction of events as to act upon its conclusions realized the mighty scope of the coming development in the United States; and all thought and effort were turned in that direction. But it is scarcely wonderful that the young fellows who were the only associates in 1858 or thereabouts in a frontier town in Minnesota of a boy who not only imagined but talked seriously during long walks with his companions of creating a transportation system in India by placing steamers on the Hooghly and the Brahmaputra, should not understand him; should set him down as a dreamer or a "romancer."

This did not prevent him from being immensely popular with the youth of full blood and high spirits who breathed the air of a community so vivid and so crude. He was the life of their somewhat rough society, the leader in many a madcap freak. He was a perpetual fountain of practical jokes. The Celtic sense of humor, which he never lost, overflowed in him. High spirits had their way. Here is one of the

very few letters of this time that have been preserved. It was written to one of his boy friends back in Rockwood:

St. Paul, February 11, 1858.

DEAR WILLIAM:

Your epistle bearing date of seventeenth ult. came to hand on good time and your fertile imagination can scarcely conceive what an amount of pleasure I derived from it, as it was the first epistle of William to James at St. Paul for a "long buck." My surprise at receiving your letter was only surpassed by my surprise at not receiving one from you after you left St. Paul, or sometime during the ensuing season. Still, a good thing is never too late or "done too often." It gave me much pleasure to hear that you were all well and enjoying yourselves in the good and pious (as I learn) little town of Rockwood. I did intend to go to Canada this winter, but it is such a long winter trip I thought I should defer it until summer, when I hope to be able to get away, as I intend to go on the river this summer if all goes as well as I expect. Capt. W. F. Davidson wrote me from Cincinnati about going with him as first clerk on the side-wheel packet *Frank Steele*, a new boat about the size of the *War Eagle*. The Captain is Letter A, No. 1, and I think I shall go with him. If not, I have two or three good offers for the coming season on the levee, besides my present berth, which is nevertheless very comfortable.

I think it mighty strange that some [of my letters] have not reached home as I wrote several times to my brother Alex. and I never was more surprised in my life than when old Bass handed me a letter of enquiry as to my whereabouts. But after the boats stop running our mails are carried so irregularly that whole bags of mail matter are often mislaid at way stations for weeks, and some finally lost or otherwise destroyed. On the tenth of November last I was returning from the Winslow House with Charley Coffin, Clerk of the *War Eagle*, about eleven o'clock, and when we were coming down Fourth Street passing one of those rum holes two Irishmen, red mouths, came out and, following us, asked us if we would not go back and take a drink. Charley said "no," and we were passing on when two more met us who, along with the other two, insisted that they meant no harm and that we should go in and drink. I told them that I did not drink and that, generally speaking, I knew what I was about. We attempted to go on, but they tried to have us go back, so I hauled off and planted one, two in Paddie's grub grinder, and knocked him off the sidewalk about 8 feet. The remainder pitched in and Charley got his arm cut open and I got a button hole cut through my left side right below the ribs. The city police came to the noise and arrested three of them on the spot and the other next day and they turned out to be Chicago Star Cleaners, a name given to midnight ruffians. I was not compelled to keep my bed, but it was some two months before I was quite recovered from the effects of the cut.

One day on the levee I was going aboard one of the boats and slipped on the gang plank and sprained my knee, which laid me up for about two weeks. About a week ago my pugnacious friend who gave me his mark escaped from the penitentiary at Stillwater, along with all the rest of the prisoners confined at the time. I am sincerely very grateful to you for your generous offer in your letter and fully appreciate your kindness. But notwithstanding my bad luck I have still "a shot in the locker," about $200, which will put me out of any trouble until spring. Our winter here has been very mild and open. We have scarcely had any snow, but, what was altogether unprecedented, rainstorms lasting three or four days in succession. Times have been mighty dull here this winter and money scarce. Write to me as soon as you receive this and give me a bird's-eye view of Rockwood and its inhabitants. Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

J. J. HILL.

Send me some papers.

HIS REMARKABLE MEMORY

He lived, in a sense, much alone. Just as his associates could not understand his tropical imagination as applied to practical things, so they would not share in the severe regimen that he prescribed for himself in other ways. His artistic sense, innate and true, expressing itself later in one of the finest private collections of paintings known to this country, turned to work with water colors as a favorite recreation. He read and studied, increasingly, unceasingly. It was already his habit whenever any new subject came within his horizon to search out the highest authority he could find, to ask for a list of the best books on the topic that could be had, to send for them and devour them in the hours that could be spared from work. He covered their margins with notes of his own. Once mastered, the contents were his for all time. The extraordinary memory, rivaling that of Lord Macaulay,

which characterized the man, served well the purpose of the boy. He was omnivorous in his search for information; he tore the heart out of his subject and made it so thoroughly his own that it was at his service ever thereafter. One of his young acquaintances of this time says: "Mr. Hill was a studious young man and did not read trash. I remember on one occasion my brother was sick and Mr. Hill volunteered to sit up with him at night. My mother found him reading a book; and, looking over his shoulder, found it was a book on engineering. She asked him if he intended to be an engineer, and Mr. Hill replied that he did not know what he might be. 'You see I am only a young man yet, and a little knowledge about engineering may prove useful some day.'" That is the way that this particular twig was bent.

Kindness of heart and love of reading and study—here are two fundamental and lasting traits illustrated by stories of those early days. While Mr. Hill was rooming as a bachelor in St. Paul and boarding at the hotel, one of the young fellows, not an intimate but an acquaintance, fell ill. The trouble was pronounced typhoid fever, which in those days was thought to involve danger of contagion. After asking the others who would sit up with the sick man and receiving no reply, Mr. Hill appeared that night and took charge of the friendless youth. On his recovery Mr. Hill asked him "how he was fixed." Receiving the reply that the last dollar was about gone, he handed the convalescent fifty dollars, saying that it would give him a start and when he was earning money again he could pay it back. He was always ready to be kind, always generous, always particularly sensitive to the call of a real need.

He came in these years to a thorough knowledge of the mechanics of steamboating; of the gentle art of soliciting business and getting it away from a competitor; of the chemistry and kinetic value of fuels, which he studied with the resistless energy that was now becoming a fixed characteristic. He forgot neither amusement nor recreation; but the day's work was the first thought.

A Buffalo manufacturing company made a contract with the house in St. Paul for which he was working to take an agency for selling three new reaping and threshing machines. These were almost as complicated a curiosity as a flying machine is now. The house asked him if he could set the machines up. He said he thought he could if he could go out and see one running. Here is a reminiscence of his own about it: "I took an old horse that we used to drive in a dray, and went up back of Fort Snelling and found Cormack threshing on what we used to call Eden Prairie. After looking over the machine and noting it carefully, I felt quite competent to set one up in running order; and within a few days a customer came along and I sold him a machine. I was young and felt a good deal of confidence in my ability to run a threshing machine. There is a good deal in having nerve." Much of his after life is epitomized in that incident. It is hardly necessary to add the epilogue: the machine was set up one evening, started on trial, and worked all right.

RUNNING THE RAPIDS

Here is another story in his own words: "I remember when we used occasionally to run a boat up to St. Anthony, or more properly I might say Minneapolis, because the warehouse was on the Minneapolis side of the river. The pilot wouldn't steer the boat above Mendota; and having no license and a good deal of confidence in myself—I was younger then—I used to steer the boat. I was pilot, and I came very near on one occasion to leaving the steamer *Itasca* on a pile of rocks up below Chever's bar. We only broke about thirty timbers. The wind was blowing and we just had to jump her, and we didn't leave her on the rocks; but when we got her down to St. Paul she was about half full of water." Most of his enterprises, then and after, came through the rapids all right. These years are full of such experiences. They bespeak the daring, the self-confidence, and, behind them both, the ability to make good which were to make the years to come his servitors.

Another glimpse at short range is given in a letter to the same boy friend in Rockwood to whom he had written his lively experience of two years before. It is on

a letterhead of "Borup & Champlin, Wholesale Grocers, Forwarding and Commission Merchants:"

St. Paul, January 30, 1860.

Your letter of the 17th was received yesterday, and I hasten to answer it as it was the first I have received from Home for a period of nearly three months. I am glad to hear you are all well, and also glad to say that my health never was better in my life; weight 166 lbs., gross; huge, ain't it? As regards the farm, I would say simply that I would prefer selling it; but if I cannot sell it, I am in no mind to give it away. I want you to write me particulars, what it is worth and what it would rent for, for 1 or 10 years; also, if it is not too much trouble, if James Black or some of the neighbors would not rent it. As regards the rent for the past year, pay my mother some considerable part of it, and afterwards in amounts as in your judgment she wants it.

Write me particulars about everything and everybody. I have been up country most of the time since fall, buying grain, and have to make another 160-mile trip to-morrow. But knocking around agrees with me. Have not had first rate luck in business this season; however, will come out all right side up with care, marked "glass." My regards to all my friends, and believe me your friend,

JAS. J. HILL.

SHIPPING MINNESOTA'S FIRST FLOUR

The environment also was expanding. Minnesota was an importer of wheat in 1854.. The first shipment from the state of this cereal that has brought it fame and profit was made in 1857, and passed through the hands of Mr. Hill. It was raised on the Le Sueur prairie, and by 1859 there were a few thousand bushels to be sent to St. Louis by boat. There was not enough of it to load a barge; and to save the costs of transfer they sent a barge up the Minnesota River, placed the wheat forward, and filled out the cargo with hickory hoop-poles. A little later than this, business possibilities received a great impulse by the expansion of the milling industry in Minneapolis and the incoming of the first railroad. The year 1862 is famous for both these events. Nobody outside had ever heard of Minnesota flour; so they branded it "Muskingum Mills, Troy, Ohio —The Genuine," and sent it out before the days of labeling according to the pure food law. Within three months the flour won such favor in the market on its own merits that it was branded "Minnesota." And fifty barrels of that same flour came down from Minneapolis to a point as near the steamboat landing as the bluffs and ravines of the river banks would permit, on the bumping little railroad spanning those ten miles. Another glimpse of the life and prescience of the young fellow who saw and was part of these new things: "We hauled it down to the steamboat, and it was upon this occasion of the shipment of flour that I felt we had sent out more tonnage on one boat than the cranberry crop would have furnished in a month. I remember how proud I was to ride up on the last dray, bringing up the procession." Also the stencil with which the first flour made in Minnesota was branded was cut by James J. Hill out of the oil-paper that he used in his manifold book as a bill clerk on the levee. These are some of the picturesque beginnings of great things to be.

CIVIL WAR DAYS

One great interest and one great disappointment fell within these years. The outbreak of the Civil War roused nowhere intenser enthusiasm for the Union or a more generous response in proportion to number than in Minnesota. Young Hill caught the spirit of the time and, in company with E. Y. Shelley, raised a cavalry company for service in the Rebellion. This was offered to the state; but Minnesota was not ready for cavalry companies, and the proffered service could not be accepted. Mr. Hill was a member of a local volunteer organization which had been formed some time before under the name of "The Pioneer Guard." With most of the other members he desired to enlist in the First Minnesota; but the same physical defect that had barred the way to the medical profession in boyhood closed the door to the patriotic aspiration of the young man now just at his majority. Lacking the sight of one eye, he could not pass the medical inspection, and the glory of forming part of the famous First Minnesota was denied him. But to the end of his life he cherished and remembered the Minnesota veterans as if they were com-

rades and had been brothers in arms; and they, in turn, were never better pleased than when they could secure his consent to talk to them at their anniversary meetings or on Memorial Day, regarding him always as if he had marched with them in the ranks.

Here is a characteristic incident, a remnant saved from the interesting story of those days, as told by a St. Paul newspaper of September 3, 1864:

> Theodore Borup, Jim Hill, and Commodore Davidson played the rôle of heroes on the levee yesterday. A boy belonging to a party of emigrants who arrived on the *Albany* went in bathing. The water is very deep there and the current strong, and he at once sank. A cry, "Boy drowning," was raised. Theodore Borup, who was standing in his office door, heard the alarm and, dressed as he was, plunged in, merely stopping to remove his shoes. By good luck he managed to catch the boy when he was going down for the last time and struck out for the shore with him. The current exhausted Mr. Borup, however, and it was nip and tuck whether he would be compelled to let him go to save his own life. Suddenly some one said, "There comes Jim Hill." The latter threw off his coat as he rushed across the levee, plunged boldly in, and was soon by Mr. Borup's side. Commodore Davidson soon followed, and with these reinforcements the party was safely landed.

Whatever else the far-seeing eye might discern for the future, the actual transportation business of the Northwest at this time was conducted over its navigable streams. The country had been opened by the highway of the Mississippi, and settlement extended up the valley of the Minnesota. With a difficult gap between, the route ran on, by way of the Red River of the North, to the country about Lake Winnipeg. The ten miles of track between St. Paul and the Falls of St. Anthony comprised the whole railroad system of Minnesota in the year 1862. No one saw so clearly as this young man of twenty-four what that scant stretch of rails, with its feeble, wobbling engine, fed from woodpiles at either end, beginning nowhere and ending at nothing, signified for the future. His words, already quoted, showed that. Meanwhile, his business lay with the river, where experience was widening to meet the demands presently to be laid upon it. Mark Twain has immortalized steamboating on the lower Mississippi in that era. The upper river business did not compete with the lower in volume or picturesqueness, but this was even more completely the artery through which the life blood of the whole community must circulate. Nor has there been, since then, in the maddest days of railroad building and rate cutting, a hotter competition for the carrying trade.

By the consolidation of various local interests, the Galena & Minnesota Packet Company was formed in 1854 for the upper river trade. Three years later the Northern Line started. Into the same business came "Commodore" Davidson, in 1856, and long remained to the river trade what "Commodore" Vanderbilt was to transportation in the East. In 1860 he organized the La Crosse & Minnesota, and four years later it and the Northern Line were consolidated under the name of the Northwestern Union Packet Company. The rivers carried an immense business for those days, and James J. Hill became known as a man who got business for his line. In 1864 he made trial of himself in the new capacity. For three or four months he was in Chicago as representative of the circuitous line which was still the speediest method of communication with the Northwest, by rail or boat from Chicago to Milwaukee, thence by the newly built railroad to La Crosse, and from La Crosse by river packet to St. Paul. Again he made good. While engaged in the shipping business during the summer, he had bought grain during the winter months when navigation was closed, to be shipped out in the spring. Large traffic interests were glad to secure him as their representative, and in the spring of 1865 he went into the forwarding and transportation business on his own account. He had charge in St. Paul of the business of the Northwestern Packet Company. Definitively the second stage of his education was closed. Henceforth we have to deal with the man of affairs, and his action and reaction upon events out of which wonderful happenings were to be born.

[*To be continued in the* WORLD'S WORK *for November.*]

THE CASE FOR WILSON

BY

PAUL FULLER, JR.

[Mr. Fuller, a member of one of the best-known firms of lawyers in New York, in-gated conditions in Haiti for President Wilson just before the assassination of Presi-Guillaume Sam forced the United States to land marines there to preserve order. He w a member of the executive committee of the Woodrow Wilson Independent League.]

HE world is facing to-day the greatest crisis in modern history. What the effects of so complete and stupendous an upheaval will be, we can only guess. To pre- the results of the Great War economi-, in the industries, in world finance, reign trade, in agriculture, is a task nd the powers of the wisest econo-. Certain facts, however, stand out ld relief, and Americans, perhaps of all s, can least afford to ignore them. The equences of the war have been felt great force on this side of the water. United States as a nation has been ted morally and materially by the gle in Europe.

w, or perhaps latent, considerations ational dignity, national honor, and nal duty have been awakened, and ons of our people have been made ly aware of the fact that the eternal gle between right and wrong is not ned to individuals but that great ns may at a moment's notice be called to decide between the two and to for the one or the other.

e effect of the war on our industries, credit, our commerce, is too striking ed even passing mention. What, then, be our part in the gigantic work of istruction, political as well as economic, h must follow the declaration of peace? y it will be such as to tax all our ge, and industry, and resources. An rtunity unparalleled in history is king at our doors. We may, nay must, ly regret that it has come to us gh the blood, and horrors, and misery rope, but we must be ready to answer nocking. We owe it not only to this n, but to answer the call fully will be, perhaps, our only way of giving succor to the noble men and women of France and Belgium, England and Russia, who are making so great a sacrifice in the interests of those principles upon which this nation is founded. Rarely in our history have we been in greater need of progressive, constructive government.

Such, briefly, is the situation on the eve of the Presidential election of 1916. I conceive it to be the absolute duty of every patriotic American calmly, conscientiously, and without prejudice to consider the question of his choice of Presidential candidate. It is not the purpose of this article to compare the two candidates —their records, characters, and general fitness but, as briefly as may be, to state some of the reasons of an independent Democrat for his belief that the interests of the Nation will be best served by the reëlection of Woodrow Wilson. It has appeared to the writer that these reasons may best be found by referring to the "record" of Mr. Wilson's achievements in the last three and one half years. For the sake of logical order, these achievements have been divided into two categories: first, the actions of the Administration in dealing with national problems, in carrying out the pledges of the Democratic platform, and with regard to our relations with Latin America; and secondly, the actions of the President in dealing with the totally new, unforeseen, and very grave problems which resulted from the outbreak of war in Europe in August, 1914. The problems included in the second category are again twofold, and are those arising in our foreign relations, and those internal questions which resulted directly from the European war.

The principal planks of the Democratic platform of 1912 were "The Tariff," "Anti-Trust Laws," and "Banking Legislation," including Rural Credits.

THE TARIFF

Even the enemies of Woodrow Wilson did not doubt his sincerity of purpose when he undertook the revision of the tariff to meet his party's pledges, but many of his friends and well-wishers doubted his ability to accomplish so great an undertaking. Many other well-intentioned men had failed before him and revision after revision had been dictated by the paid representatives of special interests. But from the outset the President adopted methods different from those of his predecessors. His were courageous, businesslike, "hustling" methods, and they bore fruit. He did not wait until December to begin work, but called the Congress together on April 7, 1913, at which date he had already received a comprehensive programme of revision. The whole atmosphere of the House itself was changed as the President, for the first time in so many years, appeared in person as "a human being, trying to coöperate with other human beings in a common service," and in an intimate, practical, straightforward manner he outlined his programme and made it known that he intended that his party's promises should be fulfilled. He called upon the most expert and disinterested advisers and it was soon apparent that the Democratic Congress of 1912-1913 meant to revise the tariff in the interest of all the people and not of the few. As was to be expected, such an unusual spectacle was not long in exciting the apprehension of those who had in "better times" been accustomed to dictate terms to the committees of Congress. The time-honored methods were once more resorted to, and a powerful and unscrupulous "lobby" was soon at work. President Wilson did not long hesitate as to his answer. He made a direct, frank, and forceful appeal to the people of the United States. Here was no equivocation: no innuendos. "I think," he said, "that the public ought to know the extraordinary exertions being made by the lobby . . . to gain recognition for certain alterations of the Tariff Bill. Washington has seldom seen so numerous, so industrious, or so insidious a lobby. The newspapers are being filled with paid advertisements calculated to mislead . . . the public opinion of the country itself. There is every evidence that money without limit is being spent to maintain this lobby . . . "

The result of this utterance justified the President's faith in the justice and compelling strength of public opinion. It was soon apparent that the people were with the President in his efforts to give that which had been promised. Patiently, untiringly, and cheerfully he continued to advise and to coöperate, until the present tariff was an accomplished fact.

As to merits of the Tariff Law of 1913, or of any other, it is difficult for any but experts to speak with authority, and then only in the light of results which time alone can bring forth.

As to the merits or economic value of the Law itself, it is best to refer to expert opinion. Professor Taussig, a generally respected specialist, who has approached the subject with an open mind, unbiased by party prejudices, considers the Tariff Law of 1913 a fair, sound, and honest measure, calculated to accomplish the ends for which it was devised.

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS

In March, 1913, the business men of the country had three just causes of complaint against existing so-called "Anti-Trust Laws," which it was the business of the Democratic Party to remedy. First, the tendency of existing prohibitions was to interfere with the proper functioning of large corporations, and to exact toll from stockholders and consumers, rather than to enforce a strict accountability from the officers and directors of the company. Secondly, the laws, as then constituted, did not prevent the trading in a vicious circle of a few individuals to the detriment of the public by means of interlocking directorates. Thirdly, the absence of explicit legislative definition of the policy and meaning of the existing Anti-Trust Law tended to stifle initiative and to leave well-intentioned heads of great business

enterprises in the dark as to their rights, and the extent of their proper development.

The new Anti-Trust Laws, and the attitude of the Administration regarding the personal responsibility of corporate officers and directors, interlocking directorates, and trust prosecutions have been so widely discussed in the public press as to make detailed discussion in this article superfluous. The beneficent purpose and effect of the Federal Trade Commission, however, are worthy of more than passing mention.

A short time after the "rule of reason" was laid down by the United States Supreme Court in the Standard Oil Case, the writer had occasion to discuss the then-existing Anti-Trust Laws with a jurist of international repute. This gentleman (a lifelong Republican, a former Cabinet officer) had been consulted by a great corporation as to the legality of certain proposed lines of development. A very thorough aquaintance with the common law and a careful study of the statutes and decisions were insufficient to permit him to venture an opinion. This incident is typical of the difficulties which confronted honest business men in all parts of the country.

THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

This and many other evils have since been cured by more definite legislative definitions and by the creation of a Federal Trade Commission.

The railroads and shippers of the country may obtain rulings in doubtful cases from the Interstate Commerce Commission. Bankers may find solutions of their perplexities by appealing to the Federal Reserve Board. Farmers' or growers' associations may appeal to the Department of Agriculture, and likewise the business men of the country may seek and receive information and guidance as to their rights, obligations, and business possibilities from the Federal Trade Commission. The functions of the Commission are not confined to arbitration between competitors and to determining facts where the interests of the public are involved; its scope is much broader, and, properly administered, it will serve as an adviser and guide to all who care to apply to this great clearing-house of business ideas and trade statistics.

A few extracts from an address by Mr. Edward N. Hurley, vice-chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, before the Boston Commercial Club in March of this year will serve to indicate some of the benefits to be derived from the Commission which the average business man may perhaps have overlooked:

> With all the attention that has been given to business the past fifteen years, it is a remarkable fact that to-day there are no comprehensive data available, no constructive material at hand to furnish to a manufacturer, merchant, or trade association desiring to improve the unsatisfactory conditions in their industry. Without such data it is impossible to make recommendations to Congress for helpful, constructive legislation.
>
> Manufacturers and merchants who are merchandising the farmers' product, shipping their goods over the railroads, depositing their money in the banks, and meeting the payroll of thousands of employees—these should be furnished with data and information regarding their respective industries.
>
> In order to coöperate intelligently with the manufacturers and merchants of the country the Federal Trade Commission must have these facts. With this thought in mind we recently mailed to every corporation in the United States a form containing a few simple questions pertaining to their industries. This information embraces the products which they manufacture, their annual sales, the capital invested, and other principal items, such as depreciation, and so forth. These data will be compiled by industries and a summary of results sent to each company engaged in that particular line. This will give each and every man in the business an opportunity to know whether or not the industry he is engaged in is in a healthy condition. If an industry with large capital is showing no earning power, that industry either is not well managed or the production exceeds the demand. Knowledge of existing conditions will prevent others from entering the business or unprofitably investing additional capital where overproduction already exists. The industry in which conditions are unsatisfactory will receive particular attention and the real causes of the conditions will be ascertained.
>
> These facts are not to be asked for in any inquisitorial spirit, and the hearty coöperation which the Trade Commission has so far received from the business men of the country indicates

their appreciation of the need of such definite facts.

How can the Federal Trade Commission help to improve this situation?

The Commission has no intention and no desire to use compulsory methods, but it does hope to reach the desired end by encouraging improvements in accounting practice, by indorsing standard systems of bookkeeping and cost accounting, and by assisting in devising standard systems, either at the request of individual merchants and manufacturers or through the association that represents the industry.

Surely President Wilson has kept faith with the business men of the United States, and the magnitude of this task alone should entitle him to a "square deal."

The third legislative reform for which the people of the country may thank Woodrow Wilson is of more far-reaching effect and was more difficult of accomplishment than the two preceeding ones.

CURRENCY REFORM

A thorough, "from-the-ground-up" currency reform for the United States involved labors that might well discourage the ablest and most courageous statesmen.

Here are some of the difficulties which had to be overcome. First, to find a substitute for the existing system which, while economically sound, would be feasible in the face of our federal system of government and national prejudices. Secondly, to meet and overcome the powerful opposition of those who benefited by the very unsoundness of the old régime. And, thirdly, so to stimulate the imagination of the public and its representatives as to allow of the introduction of what needs must be an experimental measure in the national currency.

All these difficulties were successfully and brilliantly overcome. The President called upon the country's greatest experts of all parties to assist in the technical work of drafting a new banking law. He defeated his powerful opponents in the open by proving the soundness of the measures proposed. The victory was so complete that when the bill became a law, the ablest bankers throughout the land hailed it as a great stride in advance, based upon sound banking principles. The *Bankers' Magazine* referred to the Law as "probably the most comprehensive piece of banking legislation ever enacted in this country."

Where others have failed for the last twenty-five years President Woodrow Wilson has succeeded.

THE FEDERAL RESERVE LAW

An adequate analysis of the Federal Reserve Law would occupy far more space than has been allotted to this article, but the salient characteristics of the Law are, briefly, as follows:

1. For the unelastic currency based upon the Nation's bonded indebtedness, there has been substituted a currency "based on the sound liquid commercial assets of the country responsive at all times and to the fullest extent to every reasonable demand of legitimate enterprise."

2. By the establishment of regional banks, which shall act as rediscount agencies, with due regard to the industries and commerce of the country, the old, unscientific reserve system has been done away with.

3. A vast sum has been made available (the late Mr. Charles Conant put it at $359,000,000) for rural credits, whereas under the old system national banks could not lend a dollar on farm mortgages.

4. Member banks may discount and federal reserve banks may rediscount acceptances based upon export and import transactions. Doubtless when the stimulating effect upon our foreign trade of this provision has been understood it will be extended by legislation to interstate transactions as well as foreign ones.

5. The Law allows and encourages the establishment by national banks of foreign branches, a provision which has already been taken advantage of by one of our greatest financial institutions and which must necessarily assist in the development of our foreign trade. The Federal Reserve Law, however, needs no advocate to plead its cause. Its record of the last two years speaks most eloquently in its behalf, and thoughtful people throughout the land have often wondered since August, 1914, what would have been our fate without its presence on the statute books.

These are the principal achievements of

President in purely domestic affairs. re are many others which cannot here examined in detail; the opening of ka by the building and purchase of oads, etc., the work of the Department griculture, of the Department of Comce in the interest of foreign trade; all e deserve the attention of the thoughtoter, and redound to the credit of the inistration.

n open-minded inquirer, having satisfied self as to the President's methods of ing with home problems, will next nine into his handling of foreign affairs. indicated in the opening paragraphs his article, it has been deemed easier xamine the various questions of our ign relations by considering separately e relating to Latin America and those h have resulted solely because of the opean War.

MEXICO

would be impossible for the writer at present time to discuss in detail the ous phases of the Mexican situation out an inexcusable breach of confice. Such a discussion at the present e of official negotiation would, more, be unnecessary and perhaps harmful. ems to me that to indicate the Presi's Mexican policy it is only necessary ear in mind a few fundamental prins which he, with the majority of the rican people, believes in and to deter whether, in the light of a real situanot of his making, the President acted cordance with such principles.

resident Wilson believes that where government of a nation rests upon consent of the governed, such a on should be allowed to work out own salvation without undue interice by an outside and ostensibly dly nation.

hat it is the duty of the United States ultivate relations of friendly coöpera with the republics of Central and h America.

hat it would be contrary to our openly essed intentions should we take advan of a neighbor's misfortune for the isition of territory. These are some he guiding principles in the light of which one professing them was in duty bound to act.

During the last four years the Mexican situation has presented difficulties so complex that even the most intelligent and honorable Mexicans have been entirely at a loss to suggest a solution. Surely, then, it is not to be wondered at that hostile and carping critics have found pretexts for attacks on the President.

Let us briefly examine the situation which confronted the Administration in 1913. There were exactly three courses from which to choose. First, the recognition of Huerta. Second, intervention. Third, watchful waiting in the hope that Mexico, with the zealous and honorable coöperation of the United States, would be able to put her house in order.

It is unpleasant to speak disparagingly of the dead, but sometimes it is necessary in justice to the living. President Wilson could not consistently with his duty shift the responsibility involved in the recognition of Huerta by "following" the example of certain European Powers whose relations to Mexico are not in fact, if they are in law, at all analogous to ours. This seems to have been the view of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, and will one day be generally recognized as the right view. As to Huerta, he was not alone a usurper, but a traitor, and by many believed to be a murderer. The picture of such a gentleman receiving the accredited representatives of the United States in a low drinking place with his ever-present brandy bottle in front of him and less edifying ornaments on either side of him was probably more vivid in the mind of the gentleman at the White House than to those others at the Quai d'Orsay and the Foreign Office. Moreover, brushing these minor considerations aside, which many seem to think offend merely against good taste, it is the nearly universal private opinion of Mexicans, Europeans, and Americans capable of judging that a recognition of Huerta would have been a mere postponement of a difficulty which sooner or later had to be met. Some honest men may still feel that the President should have recognized Huerta, but it is hard to understand how any fair-minded critic can assert that the

President's action in this regard was unwarranted and without sufficient grounds.

Intervention in 1913 would rightly have been regarded, not by Mexicans alone but by the whole of Latin America, as a complete change of our South American policy, and an unwarranted act of aggression for the purpose of further territorial acquisition. Doubtless there are many honorable Americans of imperialistic tendencies who could in conscience have adopted such a course, but for Woodrow Wilson it would have amounted to an unqualified repudiation of the principles for which he was known to stand in the autumn of 1912.

Moreover, such a course would have involved us in a costly and bloody war for which we were unprepared and to which the vast majority of the American people were utterly opposed.

President Wilson chose the third course and has stuck to it patiently and steadfastly in the face of the bitterest attacks from powerful private interests and unscrupulous political enemies. The time came, however, when "watchful waiting" was mistaken (by the Rabelaisian figure described as "First Chief") for weakness. The "watchful waiting" policy was immediately transformed into one of the greatest energy and from present indications it looks as though the Mexican trouble would finally be solved in such a way as to confound both the advocates of recognition at any price and of intervention at any price.

Doubtless in the countless details of the problem which have had to be dealt with one by one, mistakes have been made; possibly in estimating the various Mexicans (and there are literally hundreds of them) who have from time to time taken the centre of the stage, the President has been deceived or misled. It would be a miracle were such not the case. But these should not be the questions to interest the impartial investigator. The events of the last four years should be surveyed as a whole, and not in kaleidoscopic procession, and then we should ask how could the President have better served all the people of the United States?

One can only conclude that the interests both of the United States and Mexico will best be served by continuing President Wilson in office.

Haiti, Santo Domingo, and Nicaragua—three other conspicuous achievements must be credited to President Wilson in the field of Latin-American affairs.

HAITI

Haiti, the most fertile and healthful spot in the West Indies, has long been a source of trouble to us, and a bad example to Central America. Its people, 90 per cent. of whom are honest, kindly, industrious, and peace-loving, have been oppressed and downtrodden, and the investment of capital and the proper exploitation of the country's resources have been made impossible. Moreover, it has been feared for many years that the Mole St. Nicholas, a fine natural harbor on the Windward Passage, might fall into the hands of Germany to be used as a coaling station and naval base. In the spring of 1915, when Haiti was suffering from a periodical revolution, Germany's representative at Santo Domingo stated, after a dinner at which Americans were present, that were it not for the European war Germany would have already relieved the United States of further trouble regarding Haiti. The finances of the island, owing to war, were in worse condition than usual, and the whole situation was fraught with menace of real disaster. President Wilson approached the difficulty with firmness, thoroughness, and patience, and in September, 1915, a treaty was signed at Port-au-Prince which was ratified by our Senate in February, 1916, and proclaimed in May 1916, the principal articles of which provide, as follows, that:

(1) The United States will aid in the development of Haiti's agricultural, mineral, and commercial resources, and in the establishment of a sound financial system.

(2) The President of the United States shall nominate a general receiver of customs who shall collect and *apply* all custom duties, import and export. And the President of the United States shall also nominate a Financial Adviser who shall in general devise and supervise the financial system of the Republic.

(3) The Republic of Haiti shall not increase

public debt except by previous agreement ı the President of the United States.

ı) There shall be organized a constabulary American men and officers appointed by the sident of the United States which shall erve domestic peace, security of individual ts, and the observance of the treaty pro- ons.

;) The Government of Haiti agrees not to ender any of the territory of the Republic laiti by sale, lease, or otherwise, or jurisdic- over such territory to any foreign govern- ıt or power, nor enter into any treaty or tract with any foreign power or powers that impair or tend to impair the independence laiti.

;) The United States will lend efficient for the maintenance of a government ade- te to protect life, liberty, and property.

nly those long familiar with Latin- erican affairs can appreciate the import- e of the treaty and the countless diffi- ies which lay in its path.

SANTO DOMINGO

n Santo Domingo many millions of erican capital have been invested and ıerto the investors have not had the htest guarantee for protection of life property. The same conditions in eral have maintained as above described speaking of Haiti. Though no treaty as yet been signed, our government intervened in the interest of the peace- Dominicans as well as of the foreign estors, and shortly a treaty along the s of the Haitian treaty will regulate the irs of the Dominican end of the Island.

THE NICARAGUAN CANAL

'o make our control of interoceanic ımunications lastingly effective, it was essary to acquire an exclusive right of / over Nicaraguan territory. To se- e the necessary concessions by treaty, l without going counter to Latin- erican susceptibilities, has long been a blem in Washington. President Wilson concluded a treaty with Nicaragua ch gives to the United States the lusive rights in perpetuity for the build- , operation, and maintenance of an roceanic canal by way of any route over araguan territory, and the treaty fur- r gives the United States a ninety-nine-year lease of the Great Corn and Little Corn Islands, and of territory on the Gulf of Fonseca for use by the United States as naval bases.

The political enemies of any Administration can find ground for criticism in any Administration measures. To such as these, this article is not addressed. The open-minded American in search of information will find much in President Wilson's Latin-American policy for commendation and congratulation.

The usual problems, however, domestic and foreign, which confront our Chief Executive have been completely overshadowed in the case of Woodrow Wilson by the exigencies of a situation entirely unforeseen when he was chosen for the Presidency. The outbreak of war in Europe, so entirely unexpected, so unprecedented in violence, in the number of nations engaged, and the immensity of area affected, withdrew the attention of mankind from its daily tasks to be focused on scenes of incredible barbarity and on the defiance of all laws of humanity and civilization. Americans as a whole had believed in international law, and in a certain inherent decency in mankind. We were at first so stunned by the Teutonic invasion of neutral Belgium, as (very naturally) to forget momentarily questions of our own safety and protection. It was not long, however, before we were forced to a vivid realization of what the war meant to us in all the phases of our national existence, and the responsibility for the disaster which was sure to follow one false step rested almost entirely upon the President of the United States.

Thoughtful men asked themselves the question, What is his conception of the duty of the Executive? Will he be overcome by the personal horror he must feel at Germany's defiance of international laws as "scraps of paper," and act as an individual? Or will he consider his trusteeship and the best practical way of serving this nation as well as upholding the principles which have been violated?

I take it that the President was moved by two great considerations: "It must not be what I want, but what the majority of the people want, who have chosen me as

their spokesman in foreign affairs," and "Can this nation, unprepared and divided as it is in sentiment, play its full part in the real fighting, if war should come?" I do not think he was moved by the consideration that appealed to so many, that by throwing our fortunes with the Allies we would reap the benefit of their friendship, without making equal sacrifices, since we were known to have no army, and could still profit to the same extent materially as by remaining neutral. I do not believe Woodrow Wilson to be such an opportunist, and probably history will say that he was right.

There is reason to believe that the President asked himself these questions, because of his deep study of our institutions and because of public utterances prior to August, 1914.

THE PRESIDENT'S DUTY

In an article on President Cleveland in 1897, Mr. Wilson described him with admiration as "hardly a colleague of the House, so much as an individual servant of the country." And again, in the same article: "And the President looked upon himself as the responsible Executive of the Nation, not as the arbiter of policies. There is something in such a character that men of quick and ardent thought cannot like or understand. They want all capable men to be thinking like themselves, along lines of active advance; they are impatient of performance which is simply thorough, without also being regenerative, and Mr. Cleveland has not commended himself to them. They themselves would probably not make good presidents. A certain tough stubborn fibre is necessary which does not easily change, which is unelastically strong." On another occasion he said: "Our Executive . . . is national." And in a letter dated February 13, 1913, addressed to Mr. A. Mitchell Palmer, he wrote, in speaking of the duties of the President: "And he is the *spokesman of the Nation* in everything, even the momentous and most delicate dealings of the Government with foreign nations."

These excerpts are almost prophetic and clearly show his conception that the President cannot properly act in a spirit of Knight Errantry, no matter what his personal inclinations may be, but only as he interprets the sense of the people as a whole.

This view, moreover, is based on sound precedent. When, in 1793, the European nations joined in war against the French Republic, President Washington, in the face of the bitterest criticism, issued a proclamation of neutrality. There can be little doubt, I think, as to his personal feelings toward his former companions-at-arms, but he acted not as an individual but as trustee for the Nation. In his written defense of Washington's action, Hamilton wrote: "This conclusion derives confirmation from the reflection that under every form of government rulers are only trustees for the happiness and interest of their nations, and cannot, consistently with their trust, follow the suggestions of kindness or humanity towards others to the prejudice of their constituents."

INTERPRETING THE NATION'S WISHES

Such being the President's conception of his duty, one naturally inquires as to whether he has correctly interpreted the sentiment of the country. To a large number of Americans, it has been, if not a disappointment, still an intensely sad and bitter regret, to learn that our nation is not yet a homogeneous unit which could in the early stages of war have taken its place by the side of the gallant men of France and England, and Russia, in defending the rights for which mankind has sacrificed so much in its struggle against wrong and oppression. But why deceive ourselves? What Dr. Woodrow Wilson said twenty years ago is true to-day: "In spite of the steady immigration, with its persistent tide of foreign blood, they [our historians] have chosen to speak often and think always of our people as sprung after all from a common stock, bearing a family likeness in every branch, and following, all the while, old, familiar family ways. The view is more misleading because it is so large a part of the truth without being all."

It will require many common trials and much teaching and example, perhaps of generations of Americans such as Woodrow Wilson, before this nation will be so perfectly knit that it can rise to a man to

ıd a common ideal as France did in the ble summer of 1914. Nor is it a sign e highest Americanism to flinch at the ı rather than patiently, steadfastly ɔntinue in the task assigned to us, to :e a national ideal which shall over-ow all considerations of ancestry or l preference. President Wilson has ıight neither of the grim fact, nor of his in the work of patriotic propaganda. ere are citizens of the United States," :clared to Congress, "I blush to admit, under other flags, but welcomed under generous naturalization laws to the freedom and opportunity of America, have poured the poison of disloyalty the very arteries of our national life; have sought to bring the authority good name of our government into :mpt, to destroy our industries . . . to debase our politics to the uses of gn intrigue. . . . A little while such a thing would have seemed in-ble. Because it was incredible we : no preparation for it. We would been almost ashamed to prepare for ; if we were suspicious of ourselves, wn comrades and neighbors. But the and incredible thing has actually come t and we are without adequate fed-aws to deal with it. Such creatures of on, disloyalty, and anarchy must be ıed out. . . . "

ıis message followed the recall of the rian Ambassador in September, 1915, hat of the German attachés in Decem-ɔf the same year. Whatever his op-nts may assert against him, these are he words of a German-American candi-

Nor has the President contented elf with preaching doctrines of pure ricanism. He is not one of those who ve in bluster and talk of war, blinding selves to the fact that our Army, as it present constituted, is insufficient uppress the sporadic outbreaks of w bands on our borders, or to protect ives of our citizens in the great cities ıst the well organized army of German-icans who are striving against his reëlection. He has really *done* something toward preparedness; not all that is needed, but as much in all probability as circumstances permit. Why not give him the opportunity to continue his work of national preparedness, moral and military?

A DIPLOMATIC TRIUMPH

It appears to me that this larger view of the situation which President Wilson has had to deal with is far more important than any detailed examination of our foreign correspondence. After all, in the thousands of words of diplomatic notes which have been exchanged there is but one topic of really vital importance. This concerns the illegal destruction of life and property by German and Austrian submarines, and in this our State Department has won a signal victory, not only in the Mediterranean but in what Germany was pleased to declare the "War Zone." The brutal submarine warfare has ceased, and it has been abandoned as a direct result of the protests of President Woodrow Wilson. True, the methods complained of may be resumed, but surely such a possibility cannot detract from the diplomatic victory of the Administration.

It has been possible here to touch on only a few of the things which the Wilson Administration set out to accomplish, to mention a very small number of the unforeseen complexities which have arisen, and to detail a still smaller proportion of the hidden forces which have stood in the President's path. My only desire is to excite the curiosity of open-minded readers that they may pursue independently an investigation into the accomplishments of the last four years. And then they should ask themselves frankly, What has President Wilson failed to do that Judge Hughes would have done had he been in his place? What has President Wilson done that Judge Hughes will undo if put in his place? And finally, What is there that remains to be done during the next four years which Judge Hughes is better qualified to do than Woodrow Wilson?

THE CASE FOR HUGHES

BY

FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

[Mr. Davenport, a trained student of public affairs, was one of Mr. Hughes's chief supporters in the State Senate of New York during 1909 and 1910, and was the nominee of the Progressive Party for Governor of New York in 1914.]

THE Democratic Administration is seeking to obtain a new lease of power from the American electorate upon the declared ground, first, that it has kept the country out of war and conserved economic prosperity, and second, that it has put upon the statute books of the Nation certain measures of liberalism long demanded in the interest of the welfare of the people of the United States. I would not wish to be called upon in any forum to defend these claims in their entirety, neither would I wish to attempt to demolish them all. I am satisfied that the conduct of our foreign relations is a weak link in the chain of Democratic pretensions to continued preferment, and that firm and steadfast and statesmanlike vision and action would have taken the prolonged shiver out of our international policy as well as out of the spine of the American people. I am satisfied also that it is the draining of millions of workingmen and other producers into the European war, and the consequent dire economic needs of foreign peoples which we alone temporarily can supply, which has been the basis of the economic prosperity of this country since the summer of 1914. And I am convinced that we were riding to a precipitous economic fall just as the war broke, and that we shall be in far greater danger when our shambling, rambling national inefficiency undertakes to compete, when the war is over, with the disciplined millions of Europe who return to the industrial haunts and highways of peace.

As for the domestic Democratic measures of liberalism, such as the federal reserve banks, the rural credit system, the child labor law, and kindred evidences of effort to extend the bounds of human welfare and equal opportunity in the United States, they are a mixture of perfection and imperfection, but at that they are not to be decried. They represent, better than anything else in his administration, the desire of the great Democrat in the White House to contribute to the sum total of national amelioration some of the measures of relief which the country has long been pondering deeply and earnestly. Most of them represent, even in their imperfection, a yearning which is as profound as the soul of the American people. They represent a minimum of advance which could not be denied, and which ought not to have been denied to the great movement of liberalism which for the last twenty years has swept across the face of the continent, and which will sweep again in yet greater power when our present fundamental national difficulties and weaknesses are safely and soundly resolved.

And right here, at the chief point of strength in the case for Wilson, the case for Hughes begins to build. No man who has made a careful survey of the course of political progress in the chief commonwealths of the Union can have failed to observe the very clear and formidable reaction against liberalism which has everywhere appeared within the last two or three years. And the reason for it is not at all that the apostles of reaction have again assumed the leadership in the minds of the people. It is that the people themselves have become suspicious and critical of the administration of liberalism by their representatives. The greater the extension in this country of the modes and methods of progress, the more appalling to the American people have become the revelations of the waste, extravagance, and inefficiency of local, state, and federal government throughout the country.

And the instinct of the people is sound.

the instinct of those Republican ers is sound who, like Hughes and sevelt, are laying chief emphasis upon onal efficiency. I do not mean merely rnmental efficiency now, and of se I do not mean military and naval aration. I mean efficiency of a far er sort, of which preparation against is but a phase. Liberalism is doomed, democracy is doomed in this country ss our whole industrial and social and rnmental system is put upon a modern s of downright economy and expert nization for the national welfare. We e passed the point already when our le can even afford to pay or will pay he vast waste and stumbling ignorance halting weakness of the present governtal order. Commissions upon comions, jobs upon jobs, inefficiencies upon iciencies, in one bewildering orgy of do-democratic chaos. And the close he European war and the fully perd coöperation and organization of the t nations abroad will enormously re-ce the prevailing instinctive attitude he popular mind, and call for a disne and knitting together of the whole of h America has not yet dreamed. The is to train a nation of experts, to dep a genuine national unity, to make use very grain of national power, to guard elves against surprise in commerce as arfare, to relate efficiency to freedom the right. Idealistic internationalism t wait for that. Radicalism, and even more idealistic forms of liberalism, t wait for that—until the sound founons of liberalism are laid. In what tion is America, shame-faced and impo-, to play any part in international heal-and restoration? What is the worth of er statutes of liberalism, administered ncompetence?

olitical, military, economic, social, and tual reconstruction is the job. Which etter fit for it, the Democratic Party Wilson, or the Republican Party and hes? I think the first and foremost g to consider is, which party is fit for it? her, as of late constituted. Neither in nt times has exhibited the trait of inity to the country combined with iency. Probably, on the average, the Democratic Party has shown more blundering integrity, and the Republican Party more cunning efficiency. In addition, the Republican Party has always had a keener national sense than the Democratic. But the practical blend of nationality, efficiency, and integrity has not appeared in either party in our generation. And we shall not make permanent and orderly progress until we have such a blend in one or the other of the great parties. Can Wilson create it from the Democratic organization sooner than Hughes from the Republican? It must be done soon and done well if America is to prosper.

DEMOCRATIC DISTRUST OF NATIONALISM

The tradition of the Democratic Party is indubitable, and its recent practice can be read of all men. From Jefferson's time to the present, it has distrusted the national power. It has held that the hands of the country were tied, so that it could not create a national bank, nor prosecute internal improvements, nor formulate constitutionally a protective tariff. To be sure, events have dragged the Democratic Party by the scruff of the neck into the assertion of national power, but it has never been happy over it. Jefferson purchased Louisiana, though he regarded it as an act without warrant in the Constitution. Irascible and sturdy old Andrew Jackson could not and would not abide the nullification of federal law in South Carolina. And Woodrow Wilson by national mandate has forced the hand of the South with respect to child labor in the cotton mills.

Now, although the sentiment of the more modern and intelligent sections of the South is slowly changing, and every year the Federal Government means more to the South in helpfulness and service, yet, with respect to the use of national power, the South, as everybody knows, is sadly belated and reactionary. And it is the South which has been in the leadership in Congress during the present Administration, and will continue in the leadership if that Administration is returned to power. If the heads of the great ruling committees in Congress were all of the type of Carter Glass of Virginia, the country would have little cause for complaint. But those who

are familiar with the facts understand well that the rule of seniority in both houses of Congress has brought to the front a dispiriting group of provincial personalities, who lack almost entirely the vision of the use of national power for the common weal.

A TRULY NATIONAL LEADER

More than ever before since the first great critical period of American history, we need to appeal to national power. And whatever the faults of the Republican Party, and they have been many, it has always been a party which has recognized and been ready to employ those great powers in the Constitution which make us a nation, and not a congeries of states. The danger has been that the Republican Party has not always used national power wisely for the good of the whole people. But in Mr. Hughes the Republican Party will have a leader almost ideally fitted to guide in the use of national power for national service.

On the Supreme bench, Mr. Hughes gave the clearest indication of his masterly grasp of national need under conditions absolutely free from any impending honor or burden of the Presidency. No one on that court since Marshall has been so clear or so emphatic in his utterance. Since his opinions in the Minnesota and the Shreveport cases, there has been no twilight zone within which any foe of the Nation's good might hide. There are paragraphs in these opinions which will be cited as long as the country endures:

"There is no room in our scheme of government for the assertion of state power in hostility to the authorized exercise of federal power."

"The authority of Congress extends to every part of interstate commerce, and to every instrumentality or agency by which it is carried on. And the full control by Congress . . . is not to be denied or thwarted by the mingling of interstate and intrastate operations."

Interstate or intrastate operations, if they are so blended as substantially to affect interstate commerce, are subject to the national power. And further still,

"The paramount authority of Congress always enables it to intervene at its discretion for the complete and effective government of that which has been committed to its care, and for this purpose and to this extent, in response to a conviction of national need, Congress may displace local laws by substituting laws of its own."

And especially in the Shreveport case—where national power exists for the purpose of regulating interstate commerce, it dominates, even though intrastate transactions of interstate carriers may thereby be controlled."

"We are not unmindful of the gravity of the question that is presented when state and federal views conflict. But it was recognized at the beginning that the Nation could not prosper if interstate and foreign trade were governed by many masters."

HIS REGNANT PERSONALITY

The Nation supreme and powerful under the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution for every national exigency and national need—that is the doctrine of Hughes. And back of it is one of the most firm and determined and regnant personalities that has appeared in American political life. What he was in these respects as Governor of New York the whole country knows, and it is the basis of the extraordinary confidence and respect for him which has been shown by the vast audiences in the states which he has visited. The man of power, and will, and high intelligence who was a great Governor of New York has been the real figure in the eye of a majority of people in the country who perhaps do not appreciate at all the splendor of his record upon the Supreme bench at Washington.

But will he carry his party with him and make of it at Washington not only a party of national faith but of national service? The time is peculiarly ripe for it. The Republican organization has been out of power and has tasted of the dregs of bitterness and defeat. And although many of the old figureheads appear still in high party place, and although the local control is perhaps usually in the hands still of men of narrow and recalcitrant temper, nobody who knows the political situation in this country as it is can have failed to observe that where many of the dominant figures of the old days have not been displaced

they have mellowed amazingly, and the Republican machine throughout the country is in no sort of condition to combat the views of national power and national service which lie deep in the mind and will of their Presidential candidate.

MACHINE REPUBLICANS COWED

The opportunity to make of a reconstructed Republican organization a great national liberal Republican Party in America under the leadership of Hughes is too fair and fortunate to throw away. The Hughes of to-day is living under conditions which enable him to be and which will lead him to be a better party man than he was when he was Governor of New York. At that period the bipartisan alliance which destroyed genuine party government was so entrenched that it took all of his time and all of his thought to defeat its sinister purposes. It is not so now. What has happened is that the Republican machine in the Nation has capitulated to the leadership of the man it once despised and rejected—not a glad surrender, not wholehearted at first, but to save itself from what it regarded as a worse fate. And it will be perfectly impotent against the rush of Hughes's Presidential efficiency and his liberalism, as well as his overmastering sense of nationality.

And the Republican Party will enormously strengthen under the experience. What Hughes says on the stump that he will do, he will do. The country knows that, and the party leaders know it. That is his kind of a man. And the revolutionary attitude toward party patronage which is foreshadowed by the utterances of Hughes will have a tendency, not to wreck the chastened Republican Party, but to vitalize it by the sloughing off of the parasitical and the inefficient, and the introduction into American party life generally of a new solidarity, that of ideas and of accomplishment for the country.

This sort of preëminent service the Democratic Party is not fitted to perform. It is only sullenly and fitfully national, and the belated South will for many years be a drag upon the too-long-delayed programme of national and social regeneration. Both the leadership and the rank and file of Democracy have given during the present administration a startling exhibition of hostility to the trained patriotic man in public position. Bryan's letter to his henchman in Santo Domingo, the dismal and fatuous record of appointments to foreign position—broken only here and there by a gleam of light— the wholesale flouting of the merit system, the proof of which depends not upon the zealous assertions of hostile partisans, but lies imbedded in the impartial records of the civil service, the continuation and expansion of the pork bill atrocities of a long, log-rolling past—he would be a wild dreamer who would expect to see the leopard change his spots within a time which would be helpful to the present crisis of the American people. The Democratic Party, although it has been at some points of recent years closer to the heart of the average man than the Republican Party, is not naturally national or efficient, and these qualities of Democracy have been a constant drag upon the leadership of President Wilson.

It is easier to make under the leadership of Hughes a party nationally efficient and right-thinking out of a chastened Republicanism than under any leadership out of a belated and full-fed Southern Democracy.

MR. HUGHES HIS OWN BEST ARGUMENT

But as the campaign proceeds, it becomes more and more evident that the case for Hughes is really Mr. Hughes himself: His ideas and his personality appeal to the practical sense of the American people. The kind of a man he is seems to be the kind of a man the Nation needs. He is a nationalist—therefore he would move quickly by federal amendment to secure without further parley or upheaval what he believes to be the undoubted right of suffrage for women. He is a nationalist—therefore he would freely recognize the policy of protection to American enterprise and establish it upon scientific and patriotic foundations. He is a nationalist—therefore he would extend the federal arm to the full constitutional limit over the interstate transportation and commerce of the Union. He is a nationalist—therefore he would invoke the broadest national power to destroy monopolistic practices in

business organization, but would leave business enterprise free to build itself into virile, competitive efficiency with the industrial organization of any other country upon the earth. He is a nationalist—therefore nothing that national power can do for those who cannot so well help themselves—women, children, labor—must be omitted by the Federal Government.

HIS LIBERAL LABOR RECORD

Hughes is a liberal of liberals in his whole outlook upon social and industrial progress. I have been through the record of Justice Hughes while he was on the bench at Washington with a view to finding at first hand how his mind and heart reacted to the claims of labor. And the whole record is splendid in its human sympathy and profound sense of justice. Look up Truax vs. Raich, 239 U. S. Raich was an Austrian alien, admitted by the National Government, and the state of Arizona sought to deny him the right to work because he was an alien. And Hughes flung the mantle of national power over him, and decided that the right to work for a living in the common occupations of the community was a fundamental right protected by the Constitution of the United States. This was the famous case which aroused the criticism of Mr. Gompers, particularly on the ground that the injunction process was invoked in a labor suit. As a matter of fact, the injunction was sought by a wage earner to protect a wage earner, and not by an employer against a wage earner. And although the point of view of organized labor is sound to the effect that the American standard of living must not be allowed to be lowered by alien hordes, it is wrong to seek to uphold an unworthy state law which violated fundamental rights protected by the Constitution of the United States. The place to control the flow of immigration is at the national source by national power. It is the Federal Government which controls the admission of aliens. And no state government has a right to interfere by subterfuge.

Or take Coppage vs. Kansas, 236 U. S., in which, joining in a minority opinion, Justice Hughes repudiated the theory that an employer has any right directly or indirectly to coerce his employees against joining labor unions, and hence supported the view that the State could intervene to protect employees against such coercion. He and Justice Holmes supported the principle of the free organization of labor powerfully by dissenting opinion.

Or look up Bailey vs. Alabama, 219 U. S. In this fundamental case, Hughes defended as the essence of personal liberty the right of a black peon to leave his job. No matter how the victim had been inveigled into a contract which made a peon of him because he could not pay his debt, Hughes brushed away the pretense of legality and let nothing stand in the way of the right of the humblest toiler in the lowest ranks of labor.

It is an illuminating record which Mr. Gompers and all who doubt would do well to ponder. Hughes was always on the side of governmental power which secured justice for the weak and the defenseless. The California chambermaid, the Alabama peon, the pupil nurse, the railway employee, Hughes was always right from the standpoint of broad justice to the weak and the defenseless, no matter whether he had to vote with the minority or the majority of the court.

It was the working of a just mind which knew the whole range of American life and all its struggles. For he himself has from his early boyhood known what it was to work and to struggle.

But it is as easy for him to be just to the man of wealth and power. When he was Governor of New York, on two notable occasions he faced the danger of momentary popular obloquy in order to do right by the railway corporations of the state. It is easy for him because he has inherited a powerful sense of right, and he has a mind superbly fitted to analyze facts, just plain facts and nothing more.

It is a mind of the sort that can be trusted to act in time and with firmness and justice in international relations. Certain great countries of the world have learned at awful cost the lesson of peril which lies in vacillating and uninformed public leadership. In foreign affairs the whole difference between war and peace frequently lies here. A really safe and

ıg national Executive must know ɔughly and instinctively the psychology ıe Mexican bandit, the French poli- n, the German bureaucrat, and many r types of world character. And in gn relations, he must have the capa- to act decisively and with knowledge. hes is that kind of a man. His swift happy transition from the cloister of ɩupreme Court to hobnobbing with Ty) and the cowboys and the Butte rs and the vast crowds which met him ı he first crossed the country only ates the versatility of his nature and knowledge of humanity. He trusts xpert, and what he does not know him- he knows where to find out in time. when he finds out, he knows how to will act at the earliest moment.

ıe of the most fatal defects of recent rnment at Washington he will quickly dy. Hughes would enforce to the r the Democratic platform of 1912, h declared that the constitutional s of American citizens should protect ı on the border and go with them ıghout the world, and that every rican citizen residing or having prop- in any foreign country is entitled to must obtain the full protection of the ed States Government, both for him- *and his property*. The present Ad- stration has altered the ingrained habit 'ery nation in its want of respect for rican property rights in Mexico. And ɔut the slightest resemblance to ade- e notice. I can conceive of a country ing the national habit of mankind for cause, and giving adequate notice ıst future property investments within in circumscribed spheres; but once have entered the open door and once :h investments are honorably em- ɜd upon under traditional national :ction, I cannot conceive how a govern- can command the respect of its citi- or of the world and fail of its duty r to life or property. Hughes is com- ɜd to and will undoubtedly see to the nent of this primary function of gov- ent.

Democratic apologists are covering the fatuous and inefficient foreign policy of their party by playing upon the beautiful and sentimental instinct of the people in favor of peace. Hughes is calling the American people back to the thought of duty. He is meeting the sentimental enthusiasm of the Democrats with a moral enthusiasm which is deeper and truer. The Democratic Party has considered every grave foreign question from the standpoint of what would be the consequences. Hughes is considering the same questions from the standpoint of what is right.

It is not within the province of wisdom for a Presidential candidate to announce in advance innumerable panaceas for national ills. They who are looking for that glorified political tendency in Hughes will be disappointed. But he has a mind which by the very law of its activity is constructive: after the insurance investigations in New York, the laws which worked the healing and the upbuilding; in the governership, the public utility measures later imitated throughout the country; in the justiceship, the additions to the Marshall structure of nationalism. Always the same kind of a mind. And in the campaign, he has foretold already some of the creative work which we may look for. A budget system, the end of waste and extravagance and the elimination of the pork barrel, the appointment of trained diplomats and skilled experts in all branches of the public service, the best men he can get for the job irrespective of party, a scientifically framed protective tariff, an efficient Navy and Army under exclusively federal control, a sound business administration of the Government from end to end and from top to bottom, industrial organization for protective defense from without, and for social justice and freedom and comfort from within. Ought not the country to understand that these are of more value as the indispensable and too long delayed foundations of progress and democracy than all the rash promises of paper statutes of a superidealistic liberalism which could just now be uttered?

BANDITS AND THE BORDERLAND

WHAT CONSTITUTES THE MEXICAN BOUNDARY, GEOGRAPHICALLY, SOCIALLY, AND POLITICALLY—A REGION OF MINGLED NATIONALITIES WHICH DEFIES THE DEFINITIONS OF TREATY MAKERS AND SURVEYORS—THE WHENCE AND THE WHEREFORE OF BANDITS—TWO THOUSAND MILES OF TROUBLE

BY

GEORGE MARVIN

SINCE we have been doomed to have acutely with us for several months, and, perhaps more normally, for many generations to come, a Mexican border, it ought to save some mental gropings to know what in Old Mexico, New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona the border is. For 1,300 miles it is the winding Rio Grande; for the remaining 693 miles it is a vague, perplexing matter of concrete monuments, and wire, and imagination.

Much the more picturesque part of this border job is done by the river. The Rio Grande has already been a respectable river before taking on at El Paso the extra responsibility of separating Mexico from the United States. Before reaching El Paso, although it has no international significance, it has had some political experience in separating Texas from New Mexico, and in backing up, behind the Elephant Butte Dam, a lake 45 miles long and 193 feet deep, which will impound enough hard alkali water to cover the state of Massachusetts six inches deep all over. Mexicans rightly consider that they have property in their boundary river, and there is a Treaty which clearly defines their property rights, in accordance with which a strong Mexican protest rises against holding back so much of the river at Elephant Butte with which to convert the howling desolation of Texas and New Mexico into the fertile oases which smaller irrigation projects have caused to bloom around the Gateway City of El Paso.

West of El Paso, the boundary, though an abstract, is nevertheless a constant thing. It has been constant since the surveyors marked it in 1853, and you can depend upon every yard of it as plotted on the charts of the Boundary Commission at El Paso or Washington. East of El Paso, the entire Southern definition of Texas is as inconstant as the poetical conception of woman. By comparison with some of its convolutions, the Wayward Father of Waters or the Mad Missouri look like canals. In the lower valley, following the stream is no indication as to whether you are going or coming. By an alluvial freak, it pokes a peninsula of Mexico right up into the city of El Paso. Down near Fabens, Tex., it has carved a big township out of what ought to be Mexico, and given it to the neighboring United States. In the lower valley between Fort Ringgold and the Gulf, it runs a kind of free lance Pan-American Agency of its own by converting Mexico into United States, and vice versa, year in and year out. Sometimes enterprising ranch owners or irrigation promoters expedite the process by helping the river to property-making short-cuts. But the Boundary Commission keeps track of all these manœuvres. By the Treaty, the boundary shall be the thread of the normal channel, and the Commission decides what "normal" means. When the river takes a running broad jump across country, the Boundary Commission simply won't let it settle the matter in any such careless way, maintaining the boundary in the old abandoned bed. But when the change has been gradual, the Commission lets the river trace the new boundary.

After you have seen several hundred miles of the Rio Grande, you begin to realize that it is no easy matter to determine when you are trespassing on foreign

Civilians may so trespass without ng any damage, but officers and d men of the Army have been under :tions never to cross the border it specific orders, and have repeatedly unished for infractions of this mili- iw. If it is hard to decide by the whether or not you are on your own ry, it is a great deal harder west of o. From El Paso to the Pacific, you ave your calculations corrected by g into barbed wire. But in many is of the surveyed line, concrete monu- are not connected by wire. In the ne you can do pretty well by getting a across two monuments, but at night, rder physically ceases to be. In No- nd Naco it is a joke; you walk across eet from Arizona into Mexico. It ful to bear all these geographical icalities in mind when we think of ing the border." The mere crossing constitutes a bandit. The same act lso be defined a violation of sover- . In thinking about the border, and trying to reach conclusions it, it is well not to place too much sis on this "crossing" business. g the summer we drew a long, rab line of armed citizens and s along our side of the river and the ore emphatically to define what we : the boundary to signify. In some such as El Paso, Eagle Pass, and sville, that line was drawn very in brigades and divisions; in other s, like the Big Bend country, or west gales, it was drawn very thin, in or squad patrols. It was an ex- y expensive, cumbersome border ion. In terms of Mexico, it had reason for being; in terms of border, totally out of proportion to the n hand. Let us see if we can de- e why this was so.

THE BORDERLAND

pose you take a big paint brush and, he Treaty line as an axis, sweep a band of color over rivers and moun- and railroads and cities, clear across ap from the Gulf to the Pacific. it a hundred miles wide. Call that orderland. A majority—sometimes a big majority—of the inhabitants of that strip are Mexicans, more of them on our side of the line than on their own native heath. A great many of these transplanted Mexicans are American citizens, and, whatever their significance on other days of the year, very useful on election day. In Brownsville, Laredo, Eagle Pass, El Paso, even in "San Antone," the shops have almost as many Spanish signs in their windows as English. Soft spoken Spanish words and musical Mexican laughter leaven the saw-mill sounds of Border United States. The brown skin of Mexico is just as prevalent in that fifty-mile strip you have painted across Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona as the black skin of the Negro is in an equivalent strip painted along both banks of the lower Mississippi River.

MOUNTAINS AND WATER

Bearing in mind, then, the north and south identity of the borderland stretching its long, brown zone two thousand miles across the continent, we must now try to distinguish this debatable land east and west. Going thus laterally overland, prevailing characteristics run all the way across from the Gulf to the Pacific. Brownsville, at the eastern end, is only six degrees of latitude south of Yuma, near the western limit, and those three hundred and sixty miles make slight differences in the lay and the look of the land. Cactus grows higher around Sam Fordyce than it does around Nogales, but it is the same cactus. The cattle of Arizona and Sonora feed on the same mesquite which nourishes big herds on the King and Kennedy ranches in far eastern Texas.

But after these prevailing similarities, there are some differences to distinguish the borderland east and west. The big differences are mountains and water. In general, there are no mountains along the lower Rio Grande. You miss them in that aching, sun-blistered flatness. Going out west from Houston and San Antonio on the Southern Pacific, never a mountain do you see until, as the railroad first joins the river at Del Rio, you begin to see misty, blue Sierras like clouds in the south. And as you ride the river road up from

Brownsville it is all flat chaparral on both sides until you get within twenty miles of Laredo. But from Del Rio west, always the mountains go with you, whether you steer by rail, via the river banks, or by concrete channel marks across the desert, until you get west of Naco, when they fade away below the horizon, only to reappear at last on the edge of California.

Mountains, and then water. East of El Paso, water in the borderland means the Rio Grande. Cities, and armies, and banditis, and cattle all drink from it. When Texans live too far away from the Rio Grande, they have to dig for water, and dig thoroughly. On one ranch I know of they have sunk 264 artesian wells for their cattle. West of El Paso, also, you have to dig most of the time if you want to be sure of water. Old and New Mexico dig and so does Arizona. Straight west of El Paso you don't strike any surface water until you get to Palomas. In the region through Douglas, Naco, and Nogales streams run north and south across the border, intermittent little rivers varying from torrents to dry road-beds.

THE LOWER VALLEY

One thing more and we shall have the borderland draughted in roughly. Flat chaparral and low banks of the river up to Laredo and Eagle Pass and lumpy land, like a heavy sea, on to Del Rio. Low banks and flat, green Mexican and Texan prairies running along then from Finlay up through beautiful gardens which canals have made around the Gibraltar, which is El Paso. In between Finlay and Del Rio lies the Big Bend country, where the river goes caroming and shuttle-cocking through the mountains and deep cañons. This is wild land—"Childe Harold to the Dark Tower Came"—no green through here but struggling sagebrush and soapweed and Spanish bayonet, all the rest rock, and sand, and rattlesnakes, and hostility. They call this land "rotten." It is sour; even water could not bring fertility back to it. But in those great waste places of Texas and Coahuila you could lose most of the European war.

People in Texas speak of the region between Laredo and the Gulf as the "Lower Valley." That is a section of cultivated land very distinct in character from the Big Bend country and the Upper Valley at the far west corner of Texas near El Paso. Obviously, also, when we leave the river we shall find a varying type of landscape as we go farther west across the edge of Chihuahua and Sonora. As for the Lower Valley it seems as though the river, all these long years, just as it has carried tons and tons of silt downstream to enrich the country near its mouth, had also brought into its lower reaches a richer atmosphere and tradition. A lot of sincere living, and loving, and killing has gone on across this swirling, long-ago river, where doves are always crooning and cicadas jargoning in the mesquite. The vicinity of Brownsville is an untouched treasure-house waiting for the pen of some future cross between a George W. Cable and a Bret Harte. The Lower Rio Grande looks like a small Nile, behaves like the Nile, is like the Nile. It flows through a flat alluvial region which it has made and which its periodical overflows keep green. Just as the Fellaheen along the Nile have for centuries, in dry seasons, supplemented the river's flow by primitive methods of lofting its water up on to their lands, so the Mexicans on both sides of the Lower Rio Grande have irrigated their small farms with muddy Rio water. The broad, green belt that they have made along both banks of the river is solid Mexico. The road which runs by the windings of the river from Brownsville, on the American side, through San Pedro, Ranchita, Hidalgo, and on through Roma to Laredo, runs through Mexico. There are practically no Americans in that riparian district, except the river patrols, moving-picture men, and customs inspectors—Mexican shacks, tranquil Mexican labor in the fields, Mexican madonnas hovering over fires or wash tubs, sights, and sounds, and smells, all Mexican. A dark and silent people now, passing without any salutation, no smile, no "buenas días" any more. On foot or horseback or in wagon, they get off the road a quarter of a mile away.

When you leave the river road and turn north, you come up on to another plateau along the railroad and the military high-

' connecting the towns of Harlingen, 'cedes, McAllen, Mission, and Sam lyce. This is a white man's country, istakably, a country of plantations, igable roads, and bright gardens. ioned in these towns all summer was great mass of troops, amounting to an y corps, which formed the bulk of the oo men in the Brownsville district. s also is a very fertile, prospering agriural region, made so by the river and nizing real estate agents. Its normal e population hails from northern es like Kansas, Iowa, Nebraska, Mon-, Minnesota, Dakota, and Nevada. real estate agents and companies, roving on the Mexican fellaheen, have t big pumping plants along the Rio nde which lift young rivers out of patient parent stream and send them by long canals and siphons to make as homesteads valued at from $250 to oo per acre.

ENTERPRISING LAND AGENTS

he enterprise of these land and irriga- companies is truly magnificent. First buy the land at from fifteen cents to e dollars an acre (some of it from evicted ican farmers, of which more later), off the mesquite and cactus, introduce e bare acres to the Rio Grande by il, spot roads and streets, plant their lers with palmettoes and citrus fruit s, and run a few miles of neat, white- hed fence around their so-called "im- rements."

hen they are ready for the "home ers." They run them down on big irsion trains, feed them, sleep them on d the trains or in comfortable cottage acks built for the purpose, cut their —"Do you wish the neck shaved?"— fill them full of alluring, indigestible istics. En route and on the ground agents make apparent sales by tele- n from mystic distant buyers which checked up vigorously on large maps. home suckers succumb by the hundred. y have come down well heeled and, ting to escape the rigors of a hard ate, expect onions and oranges with ican labor to make the paper profits dingly brandished before them.

Thus a good stock of colonists is decoyed into the country, a staunch population if they can manage to stay there, but they have about as much adaptability to and understanding of the Mexican border conditions as the Hon. John Lind had of Mexico City. Of course there is a very liberal population of native Texans sprinkled among them.

FEUDALISM ON THE BORDER

It was only twelve years ago that the railroad ran down 150 miles from Robstown and Corpus Christi and hooked up the Brownsville district with the Constitution and the common law. Up to 1904, the counties of Cameron, Starr, and Hidalgo, bordering the Lower Rio Grande, formed a kind of feudal state with a law and a custom of its own. The Baron who ran that region, just as a feudal overlord ran a medieval fief a thousand years ago, was Jim Wells. His castle was in Brownsville. Jim Wells still lives in Brownsville, but his power has waned since the railroad butted into his holding, and then, in 1912, he guessed wrong on Wilson, while Frank Rabb, the local collector of customs, was guessing right, which didn't help him much with the state machinery. He still runs Brownsville and he is still the biggest personality in his three counties. He is just as much of a *jefe político* as any Mexican political boss across the river. And the big thing to remember about Jim Wells in the Brownsville district is that he has presided over his bailiwick in Texas exactly as Creel and Terrazas have owned their territories in Coahuila and Tamaulipas. He perpetuates on this side of the border the same social and political order which the Wilson Administration is trying to kill on the other side.

RIO GRANDE POLITICS

Jim Wells and his District ought to help form the opinions of those of us who are howling for intervention or annexation.

"No sah," said General James Parker, "we don't ever want to own any of it." We were standing on top of the power plant outside of Brownsville, looking across the river into Matamoros and be-

yond, over a green and sunlit Mexico stretching away south to the low hills of San Isidro. Peons were plowing their Mexican fields as far as we could see, and traffic of big sombreros and horses and carts was jogging peacefully along an invisible road. Underneath us, a sergeant of the Illinois Cavalry wig-wagged signals which his confederate answered with flashes of a red and white flag on the levee. "A protectorate is the best way," the General went on, "a strong protectorate, no sovereignty. That would be better for them, and a whole lot better for us. Up here in the Zapata County, there are only three white men, Judge S. Pohr and the two McDermott brothers. Those three fellows voted the entire 299 votes of Zapata County solid for Taft in a Democratic state. Mexico would become a big collection of Zapata counties."

Now, border politics are intimately connected with bandits. Your first class bandit may make other errors in judgment, but he votes "right." There have always been bandits north and south of the line; it is only in recent years they have acquired so much social prominence and international importance. Villa's raid on Columbus was a deliberate international offense of semi-military proportions. It had nothing to do with endemic banditry for the suppression of which 150,000 armed citizens and soldiers have spent a healthy, educational, and universally serviceable summer on the border.

"MADE IN AMERICA" RAIDS

As for bandits—the regular common or garden article—I had the pleasure of meeting three, and I spent more than two months with their business competitors, both civil and military. They inhabit the borderland sporadically throughout its entire extent, but most of the raids which have put big headlines in the papers and dragged the National Guard out into the sunlight were pulled off on the Lower river between Del Rio and Brownsville. A very large proportion of these marauders lived on the American side of the river. They and their raids originated on American territory, and the only crossing of the river they made was in an effort to get away from retributive justice in the shape of rangers, customs inspectors, and cavalry patrol. The popular conception of a border raid is of something originating in Mexico and disappearing over the border into Mexico again. That definition is only true about 40 per cent. of the time: the other 60 per cent.—raids, and raiders, and raided—originate, perpetrate, and demise on United States territory.

One of the best lines on bandits I found all summer was contained in a letter written by a young American school teacher to the cavalry officer in command of the patrol district in which she lived. I may not give her name, nor the remote Mexican town in Texas in which she taught, but she was the real thing. Books and indoors had a little dimmed the lightning in her eye, but her heart was unafraid. I quote portions of a long letter, literally:

"CAPTAIN X,
———, TEXAS.

DEAR CAPT.:

I came down here from N. Tex. Aug. 11th to prepare my eighth grade for Co. exam. Sept. 1st. My blood fairly boiled with the lawlessness I saw going on these three weeks, but you had only two troops at your command and such a long strip of border to patrol that I felt it an injustice to expect you to send a detachment here. . . . Now, Capt. X——, I've been teaching here 5 years. I know many of the bandits in person, and I know many of them are Carranzista soldiers, but be that as it may I want to say that N. J. C.,—J. C. V.—C. L. and the C. men are all splendid citizens and thankful to you for your assistance, but there is a low element here square against U. S. and its laws. . . . Both elements patronize my school. I have the children of the bandits, outlaws, gamblers, smugglers, etc., all in my school, so I'd rather appear neutral. . . . I refused to sign the petition (for a cavalry patrol). I didn't tell them why, but I'll tell you. It was this. Officers J—S—B and K had the worst behaved boys (Texas rangers) I ever saw when they were out on a patrol. They didn't realize a lady could be a lady in a rural town the same as in a city. I didn't sign that petition simply because I would rather risk the bandits of Mex. than those undisciplined boys turned loose out here without an Army Officer. . . . The information I am giving to you is private but three weeks ago when your Army men and civil officers were chasing that bunch out over the back country,

two of those fellows were here. They stayed Sat. night here and Sunday; when some fifteen of your men were in the store here, the elder one of the men was sitting on a box in the store. The citizens are afraid to give these bandits away, because the bandits have made an open threat that they would kill the first person turning in their names or manœuvres to either civil or military officers. These two fellows passed very quietly to the other side late that Sunday P. M., carrying a boat load of saddles and crossing some seven or eight horses. . . . Of course my having been here so long and having the confidence of the people, they tell me many things that a stranger could not choke out of them. That's the characteristic of the Spanish people. . . . I know your boys hate to stay out here—I hate to stay here myself—but since this Division is under your sole supervision, I know that you want to get it under good control quick as possible, so I am giving you these few points of information. I'd rather you wouldn't tell your boys from what source you get this information. They might mention it, and it could injure me in my school work here. . . .

Most sincerely,
(Miss) E. B. B."

WHAT CONSTITUTES A BANDIT

General Ricaut, commander of the Carranzista forces in Matamoros, contributed some more valuable information on bandits from his side of the line. Matamoros is the deadest town you can imagine. In Diaz's time, it used to be like Juarez—a gay place to spend money by day or night—but its Spanish streets were deserted on the August day I spent there; the only life besides my own motor car was some mules grazing on the Cathedral grass, two or three faces peering out of doorways, and sentry in front of Headquarters. A shrieking locomotive pushed two box cars full of food across the international bridge, and as if in reproach an unseen bugler was blowing a long call so beautifully clear and true as to put to shame all the efforts of our trumpeters at Fort Brown.

The General well represented de facto Mexico. He appeared, perspiring freely, in a yellow shirt, green suspenders, and purple necktie (evidently inoculated against blood poison). He was of the people, no uniform or trappings. He seemed a well disposed little man, long-lashed, melting eyes, and a kind of chubby childishness entirely out of keeping with the ordnance wound about his middle. During our conversation a pouting grand opera tenor seemed to be hammering at all he could catch of our conversation on the last word in Underwood typewriters. While we sat there, a telegram came from First Chief Carranza in Mexico City. His nephew read it aloud to me. It was an official permit to the Mexican commander at Reynosa to accept General O'Ryan's invitation to cross the river and attend the field sports that afternoon in the camp of the New York Division at McAllen.

That, explained the perspiring General, was a step in the right direction. There ought to be more of such amenities. As for this bandit business, it was greatly exaggerated. There are all kinds of bad men on the border, but he had invented a practical way of dealing with them, which he ventured to believe was an improvement on the practice of coursing them like jack rabbits, or shooting them like quail, which prevailed across the river. Bandits, he explained—and I believe very truthfully—spring from ingredients of unemployment, revenge, hunger, and smuggling. A few of them were professional bad men. He was looking them all up on his side of the river from Matamoros to Camargo, bandits beyond a doubt and those suspected of banditry, and as fast as he corralled them he sent them down, by rail, hundreds of miles to the south, with definite jobs on cotton plantations, in mines, and possibly in ammunition plants. He was convinced that by this method he could sweeten his side of the line faster and more permanently than we could house-clean our side with all our thousands of soldiers.

PURSUING THE BANDITS

Personally, I believe the General is right. He was treating the disease by modern methods of preventive medicine by removing the cause. On our side of the river we have allowed the causes to perpetuate themselves, hoping to stamp out the disease by quack and violent cures.

By contrast to the Ricaut method, we had two excellent examples in the Big

Bend country of our method of dealing with the bandit trouble. The first was Major Langhorne's pursuit of the Glen Springs raiders, who took some stolen goods and four American prisoners into Mexico. Major Langhorne took some troops of cavalry, some trucks and motor cars, and a moving-picture man, and rode those bandits off their feet. He was gone three weeks from El Paso, during which time he made one of the finest pieces of cavalry marching in the records of the service. He covered many miles in a few days, without a sore back and without a casualty. Incidentally, he recovered nearly all the unconsumed stolen goods and found the American captives. His expedition was a complete success, but ten members of well organized constabulary could have performed the same feat in less time and with infinitely less trouble and expense to the Government.

The second instance was that of Kelley's raid. At ten-thirty on the night of August 1st, General Bell, at El Paso, called up Capt. Kelley at Ft. Bliss. He had received five or six telegrams telling him that about 150 bandits were on the loose south of Finlay, Tex. Capt. Kelley made a fine performance. He jumped two troops of cavalry, some 176 men and horses, on a special train by one o'clock. Finlay is seventy-two miles from El Paso. He detrained there at 4 A. M. and saddled up in good order, with rations for two days. "One hundred and fifty Hell!" said one of the twenty-six citizens of Finlay who welcomed Kelley's daybreak call with a Colt automatic in each hand; "it's all bunk about these bandits." His reception didn't bother Capt. Kelley, who was born and raised on the border himself. But those hundred and fifty banshee bandits bothered him a good deal. He took a four-man patrol and, riding the eight miles to the river, cut across all possible trails from the north, made a big swing around through Lasca Pass and back to Torsa on the railroad. He found no bandits, nor any tracks of them. He did find three cowboys rounding up a herd of 120 cayuses in Lasca Pass. He also found Sergeant S——, with his squad of the 8th Massachusetts, who had sent all the telegrams to General Bliss. This twenty-three-year-old Boston boy, the day before, at a distance of two miles and without field glasses, had diagnosed the round-up as 150 bandits. A forty-cent telegram by some calm citizen of Finlay would have saved the $6,000 that Kelley's three-day jaunt cost the Government of the United States.

TOP-HEAVY PRECAUTIONS

There have been several instances of the Finlay kind of bandit scare. At their worst, a bandit raid never consists of more than fifteen or twenty men at a time, who cross the river by some one of the innumerable fords, or get together on the American side. They sift through the chaparral by the infinite trails which they know. It is almost impossible to see or to hear them, whereas they can in lumpy country keep track of cavalry patrols miles away or hear them coming by night. The whole system of stopping them adopted during the summer was appallingly top-heavy and out of proportion. Here were 150,000 men kept busy on the border by certainly not more than 500 incipient bandits. Nearly all of these were low order men, *pilados*, except some of their leaders, many of whom were American citizens. They never bagged much by their raids even when successful. From a train wreck last November, at San Benito, they got $500, but most of the time the booty is a few animals, shoes, hats, watches, food, or as much dry-goods as they can carry away on their saddles.

Before the Army took over the job, the borderland was patrolled by rangers—most of them were "Texas Rangers." Twenty-five or thirty years ago they were a fine body of men; no one got on the force without passing an examination and being vouched for as an efficient guardian of the peace. They got $60 a month, were organized by troops like cavalry, knew all the men good and bad in their districts and all the trails they took. But in recent years the rangers have degenerated into common man-killers. There is no penalty for killing, for no jury along the border would ever convict a white man for shooting a Mexican. Their ranks are

d by so-called deputy sheriffs. : men you see in nearly every border with bulging objects at the hip line eir coats, or shirt-sleeved walking ıls, with festooned cartridge belts angling Colts.

ne of these men are responsible citi- but a great many of them are un- ; gunmen, who are just as much a :e to the peace and good order of orderland as the bandits for whose :tion they exist.

: killing of Mexicans that has been on through the borderland these ›ur years is almost incredible. Gen- Carranza still wants to know if we done anything about bringing to the executioners of 114 Mexicans ed to have been innocently killed on de of the line. But there are a great more than 114 Mexicans good and ying dead, and some of them un- l, north of the line. Reading over ecret Service records makes you feel t as though there were an open game ı on Mexicans along the border. meath all, a racial prejudice exists fully as strong as the Negro situation in our southeastern states, and on top of that you must put the irresponsibility of sheriffs, deputies, and rangers.

The disgraceful truth persists that a great many so-called bandits are and have been for a long time very useful agents in smuggling operations. Some border Texans will tell you that a Mexican is like an Indian, there is no good one but a dead one. But Mexico and the border states contain hundreds and thousands of good Mexicans, a great many of whom have been terrorized off of their thrifty farms. Those farms have been acquired later for a song by the men who were instrumental in driving their owners into destitution and smouldering hatred, and it has turned out that some of the others forced into migration had voted "wrong." These are unfortunate combinations of cause and effect.

It is a great surprise to find along the border that very just Mexican grievances exist against us. We have been so occupied in cherishing our own grievances, and equally just injuries, that we haven't been able to see their Mexican corollaries.

'ALKING FOR NINE MILLION VOTES

MECHANISM AND MANAGEMENT OF A PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN—HOW THE CAMPAIGN NDS ARE COLLECTED, PUBLICITY OBTAINED, AND ORATORS DISTRIBUTED—THE USE OF PHONOGRAPH RECORDS AND MOVING PICTURES—GETTING THE WOMEN'S VOTES—A MODERN TRIUMPH OF ORGANIZATION AND PUBLIC SPIRIT

BY

THEODORE H. PRICE AND RICHARD SPILLANE

HOW many people have an idea of the work and organization necessary in the conduct of a Presidential campaign in the United States? We read the :al news and speeches in the news- s. We see the processions. We l one or two mass meetings. We try te early if we vote at all and then of us go off to the golf links and re- :o the theatre or the club where we the election returns read to us before to bed feeling that the country is safe whoever has won. Probably not one man in a hundred realizes what it has cost both sides in time, labor, and money to fight a great political battle.

Preparation for the event commences at least a year before it is finally decided.

The national committees of both parties are the bodies upon whom all responsibilities fall. They are permanently organized and are composed of one man from each state and territory of the United States, including the Philippines, Porto Rico, and Alaska. These committees are gen-

erally appointed at each National Convention immediately after the nominations are made, and the appointees hold office for four years or until the next National Convention is held.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEES

The national committees appointed at the conventions of 1912 conducted the campaign of that year, but their active work terminated with the election, and though their organization was maintained they had but little to do until last spring when they met to decide where the conventions of 1916 should be held and to arrange other necessary details. After the delegates had gathered they passed upon the merits of claims for contested seats and continued generally in charge until the conventions became self-governing bodies through the election of temporary chairmen, who presided until the permanent chairmen were chosen.

The chairmen so elected continued to preside until after the nominations were made and the business for which the conventions had been called was disposed of. After the adjournment of the conventions, the new national committees assumed the direction of the respective party campaigns. In some states the members of these committees are chosen by the state delegations to the national conventions. In other states they are elected at the primaries. The work that devolves upon these committees is arduous and complex and this article is written to give some idea of their activities from the time of the nominations until after the election. The first act of a national committee is to elect a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, and treasurer. Upon his election the chairman becomes the executive head of his party organization. Under his direction various sub-committees are appointed and a number of bureaus are created to deal with the phases of the campaign work.

There is little difference between the organization of the Democratic and the Republican national committees. Some idea of the general scheme followed by both parties may be had from the plan outlined on the following page. The names and duties of the various sub-committees and bureaus are not identical in each case but the general principles followed in organization are alike and are sufficiently indicated.

Of course the refinement of organization which this diagram indicates has not been achieved all at once. It is an evolution and reflects the experience of previous campaigns and of the political experts who are for the most part in charge of the work.

It reflects also the American tendency to apply the methods of the efficiency engineer to every problem of life. Forty years ago, when Tilden and Hayes were the candidates, the campaign machinery was comparatively crude.

MODERN METHODS CLEAN METHODS

Many of the methods then used to raise money and get votes would be illegal to-day, and the result of an election depended far more upon the use of power and less upon argument and persuasion than it does now. Then the blanket ballot and the voting booth were unknown. The political leader could satisfy himself that his henchmen did what they were paid to do, and Dudley's famous telegram instructing that free Americans should be voted in "blocks of five," as he directed, excited amusement rather than protest. This comparison with a not very distant past is necessary that we may appreciate the progress that has been made within one generation toward complete freedom of the ballot in the United States.

But this progress has compelled a change of campaign methods, and the political education and persuasion that is now necessary is far more expensive than the coercion and vote buying by which elections used to be carried. Then the man who delivered the necessary majority could be rewarded in a way that cost the people much but the party nothing. Then corporations could contribute secretly and enormously to the campaign funds. Now they may not give anything and all political expenditures must be made public.

The result is that the financial end of the campaign work has become increasingly important and difficult.

A campaign cannot be run without money. The finance committees and officers who are charged with the duty of

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN OF ABOVE

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE	ADVISORY OR ASSOCIATE COMMITTEE	FINANCE COMMITTEE OR BUREAU	PUBLICITY COMMITTEE OR BUREAU	THE SECRETARY	THE VICE CHAIRMAN	THE SPEAKERS' BUREAU	THE CAMPAIGN CLUB COMMITTEE	THE WOMAN'S BUREAU	THE ORGANIZATION BUREAU	VARIOUS OTHER SUBORDINATE BUREAUS
Consisting mainly of heads of other Committees and Bureaus. This committee may be called the General Staff or Board of Strategy, and its work is that of Supervision and Advice.	Consisting chiefly of leaders in the Progressive Party who have become affiliated with either the Republicans or Democrats. Both parties have this Committee, though it is differently named in each case, and is a new departure in this Campaign. In each case it has been formed to attract and organize the Progressive Vote for the Democratic or Republican Candidate.	Upon whose Chairman devolves the duty of raising the necessary money for the Campaign, and passing it over to the Treasurer and his assistants, who audit and pay the bills and buy the necessary supplies.	Under whose direction the newspaper and literary matter is prepared and distributed, and the Campaign book is published. This Committee also has charge of the advertising, cartoons and moving pictures which promise to be an important element in the present Campaign.	Who takes charge of all general correspondence and may be described as the Chairman's Adjutant. The particular duties assigned to him vary somewhat in each party, but in both cases they are very important.	Whose office is generally in Chicago or the West. To him is assigned the general direction of the Campaign in the Western States and he maintains an organization for that purpose that is nearly a duplicate of the New York Headquarters.	Which has to obtain and assign Speakers, see that their transportation, reception, and accommodation are provided for, and be ready at all times to send the right man to the right place.	To promote the formation of Campaign Clubs and leagues among young men, First Voters, College men, Railroad men, and other groups between whom some particular community of interest exists.	This is a novelty which both parties have just adopted. For the first time in our political history the woman's vote is an important element in the National Election, and the Democrats as well as the Republicans are organizing to secure it.	To keep in constant touch with the various State, County and Municipal Organizations and coordinate their work with that of the National Committee, so as to prevent dissension, promote harmony, and economize energy and expense.	Such as: The Labor Bureau, The Foreign Voters' Bureau. The Educational Bureau, The Farmers' Bureau, etc., etc., have been or will be created by one or both parties. Their work is sufficiently indicated by their names.

HOW THE COMMITTEES THAT MANAGE A PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ARE ORGANIZED

raising the cash required must rely upon the voluntary contributions of individuals. The first McKinley-Bryan campaign was probably the most expensive ever conducted in the United States. Mark Hanna is said to have spent $3,485,000 to elect McKinley, and by some the total Republican expenditure is estimated at $6,000,000. The Democratic expenditure in the same campaign is variously estimated at from $650,000 to $1,700,000. In neither case are exact figures to be had and no one really knows how much was spent directly or indirectly in the hope of carrying or defeating free silver. The financial issue involved was enormously important; Wall Street was badly scared and "gave up" freely. Corporations could contribute and campaign expenses did not have to be published. It is altogether probable that the contest cost far more than either party will ever admit. In the present campaign economy is the declared policy of both parties. Public sentiment is against lavish expenditure for political purposes and neither the Republicans nor the Democrats would like to have it said that they carried the election by force of money. Such a fact would react on them in future campaigns.

DEMOCRATIZED CAMPAIGN FUNDS

There is also manifest a desire to democratize the distribution of the necessary expense. An effort is being made to obtain small amounts from the many rather than large amounts from a few. The Democrats are appointing finance committees in every town of more than 500 inhabitants and their hope is that through these committees every Democrat can be induced to contribute a moderate sum toward the cost of the campaign. The idea is that all those who give will come to feel a proprietary interest in the party. As titular evidence of this interest an engraved receipt is sent to each contributor and every member of the numerous finance committees also receives an engraved certificate of his appointment.

If the plan succeeds, and it is said to be working well, the Democrats will have all the money that they need.

The Republicans are developing a similar plan and propose to make every one who gives $10 a "contributing member" of the Republican Party. The chief difference between the two schemes is that the minimum cost of a certificate of interest in the Republican Party is $10, whereas the Democrats have set no minimum. This is perhaps in accord with the tradition that Republicans are rich and Democrats poor.

The job of raising one or two million dollars in comparatively small amounts all over the country is an arduous one and the offices of the finance committees of both parties are settling down to the work with a force of clerks and typists that reminds one of the populous auditing departments of a telegraph or telephone company.

But the work of the finance committees, though most essential, is not by any means the most extraordinary or impressive department of campaign activity.

THE NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

The New York headquarters of the Republican and Democratic committees are close together. The Republicans have several floors at 511 Fifth Avenue, at the corner of 43d Street, and the Democrats are just around the corner at 30 East 42d Street. The Democrats get not a little amusement out of the fact that the Republicans have a Fifth Avenue address. They say it comports with the plutocratic reputation of the party, but there is nothing plutocratic in the office furniture or equipment of either committee. Each of them has several floors in their respective buildings and they are fitted up in the plainest style. The Democrats have also two floors at 6 East 39th Street, where a great number of typists and clerks are at work. The two committees already have several hundred paid employees, and the number is being rapidly increased as the campaign warms up.

In a short magazine article, it is impossible to describe the activities of the various sub-committees and bureaus. One of the chief difficulties that their heads have to contend with is that the more important workers are voluntary and unpaid and great tact is required in dealing with them. That so much work and such good work is obtained without pay from so many

ınt men is convincing evidence of ·ty loyalty and enthusiasm of the : American, who has time for every l activity except voting.

BOILER PLATE" ENTHUSIASM

most active bureau in the Republi- ganization promises to be that of ty, which is under the direction of ıvid S. Barry, of Washington. It vithin the province of this Bureau to everything in the way of printed whether in words or pictures, to :e the voter to cast his ballot for ughes. This means the printing tribution through state committees ılars, books, booklets, pamphlets, pers, and documents by the thou- ınd hundreds of thousands. Then ill be millions of campaign buttons, thousands of lithographs, hundreds ısands of emblems, and any and ·ind of stuff that may be thought ry to stir up political enthusiasm. here will be songs about the party andidate which the ardent followers latter can sing or try on the piano. ides plate matter for five or six thou- untry weeklies. It provides a daily of selected matter for more than ewspapers. It employs cartoonists r pictures favorable to the Republi- ıd unfavorable to the Democrats. ıares advertising matter for maga- ɔr weekly and daily newspapers, and nultitude of publications in trade nd of various descriptions. It is ɔ employ the moving pictures widely : phonograph as it was never before in politics. It has made arrange- vith moving picture houses to make f scenes in which Mr. Hughes and irbanks figure, of great Republican ngs, of trenchant sentences from s, of cartoons that are forceful, etc. will be put on in motion picture and at political gatherings in every the Union.

ing paragraphs from speeches of ɔosevelt and Mr. Hughes and other Republican orators will be put on hich will be attached to post cards t to hundreds of thousands of voters ıout the country so they can put them upon phonographs and reproduce them in the home and before small assemblages. More money will be spent in advertising, in moving pictures, and in phonographs than ever before.

One of the hardest things the manager of the Publicity Department has to do is to discriminate between what is good and what is bad. He is flooded with suggestions. His office is crowded every day with men who have schemes for electing Mr. Hughes without a bit of trouble. Some of the gentlemen who approach him have plans which would necessitate spending a million dollars. Some are modest enough to suggest schemes that would cost only $100,000. Then there are some who think that the whole Presidential campaign would be settled favorably to the Republicans if the National Committee would decide to put an advertisement in the particular paper in which they are interested.

FLAGS, BUTTONS, AND CARTOONS

The flag makers flock to National Headquarters. The campaign button makers buttonhole the publicity man whenever they can get near him. The number of devices suggested for winning votes is amazing. The amount of enthusiasm the gentleman with an idea has as to the virtue of his idea is remarkable. The publicity man must winnow the practical from the impractical. The real heavy work of the Publicity Bureau, however, is in supplying the rural and the metropolitan press. Many thousands of dollars are spent on plate matter—that is, articles in the form of stereotyped plates ready for printing. The stuff that goes out in this form is well written, carefully phrased, strong in appeal but never flamboyant. It is circulated through the Western Newspaper Union and the American Press Association. A printed copy of this plate matter is mailed to from five to six thousand papers in addition to the five or six thousand who get the stuff in plate form. A daily news letter of 1,000 words or so goes out to 1,000 independent or Republican dailies. A daily cartoon in matrix form or in proof form goes out to several thousand independent and Republican newspapers daily.

It is the endeavor of the Publicity Bureau to meet every need of the paper favorable to the Republican cause in the department of political argument.

Then there is a daily letter to the Washington correspondents of all the great American dailies. This is largely made up of material that furnishes suggestions for the Washington correspondents to write about. The plate matter and proof matter, the cartoons, the motion pictures, and the phonograph records are shipped to be released simultaneously. In addition, the Bureau telegraphs articles on important subjects to the great newspapers of the country every night.

The amount of detail that there is in the preparation and distribution of this great volume of material is immense. It requires hundreds of employees in the mailing department, scores in the addressing department, many scores of typists. It requires mechanical aids such as the multigraph, mimeograph, etc.

THOUSANDS IN POSTAGE STAMPS

The mailing room of a National Headquarters is bigger than most branch post offices. The amount of money expended on postage goes into the tens of thousands of dollars. A very large amount of matter also is mailed from Washington, where public documents are reprinted in bulk and shipped to the various state headquarters for distribution. The Committee, of course, pays for the reprinting of these public documents.

To do this work adequately and well requires what might be called a Pennsylvania Railroad Organization, and the men in charge have precious little time—practically only a few weeks—in which to perfect that organization.

THE WOMAN VOTE

There is a sub-division of the Publicity Bureau which is called the National Hughes Alliance. Miss Frances A. Kellor is secretary of this Alliance. This is a Woman's Committee which directs its entire energies to influencing women who have the vote to vote for Hughes, and all the women who have not the suffrage to get their husbands to vote for Hughes. This Woman's Committee has its h quarters in the Hotel Astor but does of its detail work on the 12th floor o Headquarters building at 43d Street 5th Avenue. The National Hughes ance gets out a woman's newspaper w is being circulated nationally. It is edited and does high credit to the torial ability of those ladies who ha under their care.

Aside from everything the Publ Bureau does in the English langua has to look after the preparation of advertising and of general campaign ature for the foreign language publica of America. The Republican camp arguments are translated into Hunga Yiddish, Arabic, Scandinavian, Spa French, etc., and they are then sent o matrix form or in proof form, accomp by cartoons. Advertising, too, in fo languages is prepared for the foreign guage papers.

ORGANIZING THE ORATORS

The Speakers' Bureau of the Repub machine is in charge of former Cong man Cole. His chief assistant is fo Comptroller of the Currency Mu Upon Mr. Cole and Mr. Murray dev the duty of arranging the itinerary selecting the speakers for the big mee throughout America. There never dearth of political orators. The great a the head of the Bureau is in the selectio distribution of his wealth of material he is to do the best service for the candi he must pick and assign the best me every audience. He must know the c bilities of a thousand or more spea He must have a delicate sense of propo so that he will not have too much th solid without a proper garnishmen humor or entertainment. He must k the men who can present the best argu and sway the labor vote, the foreign the railroad vote, and all the other cl of votes in this great big country. does not know these things he may matters badly.

To a certain extent the Publicity Bu and the Speakers' Bureau work toge The Publicity Bureau furnishes amm tion for the speakers by keeping them

A CAMPAIGN "MOVIE" OF THE PRESIDENT

ng on the suggestion of Mr. C. R. Macauley, the cartoonist, the Democratic Campaign Committee has ared a series of motion pictures of the President and his Cabinet, for exhibition all over the country. ds they are saying are also thrown on the screen, each man voicing the most telling arguments con- his especial work

SECRETARY OF STATE LANSING AND SECRETARY OF WAR BAKER POSE FOR CA
"MOVIES"

plied with everything that develops in the campaign that they can use to advantage.

The Republican National Committee will employ a very large force of speakers *this year*. Some of these men will be paid but the proportion who ask remu for their services is small. The N Committee pays expenses, however, a speaker cannot afford to give his gratuitously the remuneration he

t. Usually it is about $10 a day. the Democrats as with the Re-s, the Publicity Bureau is one of subdivisions of the organization. lley is in charge of the publicity He gets out a newspaper called *etin*. This is filled with articles to stimulate Democratic endea-vo men of fine ability devote all e to writing editorials for it. This on is sent to newspapers through-erica. The Bureau sends plate 4,500 weeklies and dailies, and a service in matrix and plate form number of publications. It has g picture council with men to mpaign scenarios, some of which good indeed. It also has men to pictures and to supply ideas and picture subjects. It has a staff who go through the newspapers of try most searchingly for material be used advantageously in the n. It has a telegraph department which political news that warrants te publication is sent to afternoon ning newspapers in the principal cities. It has an editor and three assistants engaged in the compilation of the Democratic Text Book. It has other men whose duty it is to check up every fact, every figure, to see that not one error is made in any statement printed in the Text Book. It has an editor of circulars and special papers. It has a staff of girls engaged in filing everything bearing upon the campaign so that if there is need for reference the matter can be obtained at a moment's notice. It has advertising experts whose duties now are not so heavy as they will be later on. These men have been selected with the idea of putting in their very best licks in the final weeks of the campaign when they will have to get out what is known as double-fisted "punch" stuff. The Bureau has thirty-seven magazine writers, all ardent Democrats, who are to contribute from one to three articles each to the campaign; and these articles, it is expected, will find large circulation. In the campaign four years ago the Democratic Committee put out 7,000,000 campaign buttons. This campaign is only a few weeks old, but already

CE-PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY AND OF THE INTERIOR "FILMED" FOR CAMPAIGN PURPOSES

GETTING OUT THE DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN "LITERATURE"

Writing, addressing, and mailing the tons of correspondence and printed matter that are sent from Headquarters at 30 East Forty-second Street, New York City, to voters and newspapers the country o

AT THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS

Upper pictures: the news-clipping and reference rooms. Lower picture: the chief of the publicity department of the Women's Committee of the Hughes Alliance interviewing a pro-Hughes speaker

THE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN MANAGER

Mr. W. R. Willcox, formerly Public Service Commissioner of New York, who is chairman of the Republican National Committee

the committee has ordered 4,500,000 buttons. In addition to these men writers, the Democratic Committee has a staff of women writers. Articles by these women are distributed to papers the country over, with particular reference to those states in which women have votes. The amount of printed matter the Democratic organization puts out this year will probably exceed that of any previous presidential year. The printers' bills will be enormous. Passing on bids, awarding contracts, and looking after the multitude of duties in connection with this work is a great job in itself.

Mr. Homer S. Cummings, who is in charge of the Speakers' Bureau at the Democratic Headquarters, was in charge of the eastern branch of the Speakers' Bureau in the 1908 campaign under Mr. John H. Atwood and in 1912 under Mr. Albert Sidney Burleson, now Postmaster General. He has the job of looking after 1,500 speakers between now and election day. They will

THE REPUBLICAN PUBLICITY DIRECTOR

Mr. David Barry, who organized the great body of workers who compile, publish, and distribute the campaign "literature"

include Cabinet officers, United States Senators, Representatives in Congress, Governors, Federal and state officials, and well-known orators. He has to search the record of every man to discover what he is best suited for and where he can be used most effectively. He has to sift down these 1,500 into various classes and then plan their work for them.

The Democratic Committee does not pay any of its orators. It pays expenses where desired but it is said that some of the orators who ask to have their expenses paid return their checks to the Treasury as contributions to the Campaign Fund. Great care must be exercised by the manager of the Speakers' Bureau to avoid conflict with state committees. He has to be prepared to meet any sudden demand where difficulty arises. The routine in regard to speakers differs in each campaign. In the height of the campaign the manager of the Bureau is occasionally at his desk for twenty hours out of the twenty-four,

THE DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN MANAGER

Mr. Vance C. McCormick, of Harrisburg, Penn., whom President Wilson personally favored for the chairmanship of the Democratic National Committee

A COUNCIL OVER CAMPAIGN PUBLICITY

Mr. Robert W. Woolley (in the centre), publicity manager of the Democratic national campaign, consulting with his staff

ORATORS WHO WISH TO TAKE THE STUMP FOR MR. HUGHES

The work of the Speakers' Bureau of the Republicans (and Democrats as well) is to select the right speaker for every audience and every occasion, route them over the railroads, take care of their expenses, etc.

WAITING FOR A CHANCE TO HELP ELECT MR. WILSON

Politicians, campaign speakers, and others of the many classes of men whose services are needed in the work of a national campaign, gathered in the waiting room of the Democratic National Headquarters

and the strain is especially great in the last days of the struggle. Requests for help come by telegraph and by telephone. All sorts of emergencies develop. Speakers collapse, they miss trains, they get into all sorts of complications, some humorous, some distressing. Some make egregious blunders. The head of the Bureau has to reduce trouble to a minimum. He has to be an economist. He has to route his speakers so they will have short journeys between orations. He has to buy mileage books by the hundreds and by the thousands and he has also to arrange for foreign language speakers in various cities.

It would be interesting to detail the multifarious activities of the many other departments of this interesting work. A chapter could be written upon the personnel of the various sub-committees, their experience, and the reasons that have controlled in their selection.

Party enthusiasm and patriotism, if really altruistic, are not very different things; and when such men as Henry Morgenthau and Cornelius N. Bliss, Jr., are willing to give up their business and devote their whole time to raising funds for the political cause in which they believe it cannot be said that money making and public spirit are incompatible. Neither of them has anything to gain from his activities except distinction in the service of society. The same thing is true of nearly every other man that is prominent in the work of these great committees. In a narrow sense their rewards would be greater and their duties less arduous if they were more selfishly employed. Their enthusiasm and its high direction, the general disapproval that is already expressed of some rather eminently practised methods that are unsportsmanlike and utterances that are vituperative, the manifest effort to direct the political debate along philosophic and economic rather than personal lines, the preparations that are being made for an appeal to the reason and intelligence of the voters instead of to their prejudices are all encouraging to the ardent American whether he be Republican or Democrat. If he could see the apparent self-devotion with which the campaign is being conducted on both sides, it might increase his confidence in the political future of the country without diminishing his proper allegiance to his party.

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THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE

The directing body in charge of the party's campaign, after a consultation with President Wilson, who, as candidate, is the authority of last resort upon questions of the higher political strategy

THE STATE CAPITOL: THE GOAL OF THE NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE

THE FARMERS CAPTURE NORTH DAKOTA

HOW THE NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE SWEPT THE STATE AT THE RECENT PRIMARY ELECTION, AND WHAT IT INTENDS TO DO WITH THE POLITICAL POWER IT HAS ACHIEVED—AN EXPERIMENT IN STATE-AIDED COÖPERATIVE MARKETING ON A GRAND SCALE

BY

MELVIN D. HILDRETH

FIFTY-FIVE millions of dollars are lost to the farmers of North Dakota every year through unfair grading rules for grain."

The speaker for twenty-two years had been President of the State Agricultural College. His audience of three thousand farmers, assembled in a convention that represented a state aroused, received the remark in sober silence.

They had met to act, not to protest. They had assembled as a farmers' party, representing 70 per cent. of the population, to proceed independently of political parties in a Republican state, that in proportion to its population was the strongest, politically, in the Union. By electing farmers to the legislature and to the various state offices they determined to adopt for themselves measures necessary to solve the grain marketing problem. This experiment, conducted in a state that knows noother industry but agriculture, that raises more flax and

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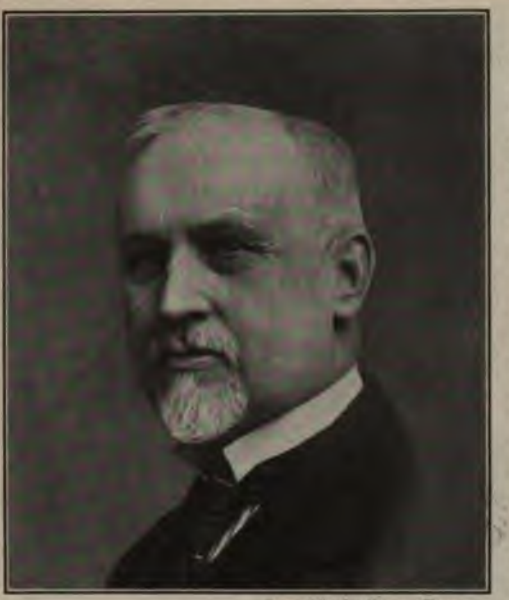
MR. LYNN J. FRAZIER

The farmer who was the farmers' candidate for the Republican nomination for governor and who won over all the professional politicians on the issue of "a farmers' government for a farming state"

more wheat than any other state or province on the continent, is most certain to be of intense interest.

The convention of the Non-Partisan League, which is the official name of the farmers' political organization, is really the result of an agitation that has stirred the state of North Dakota for ten years. The candidates nominated by them are for the most part farmers without previous political experience, many of them being entirely unknown outside their respective communities. For example, their candidate for Governor, Mr. Lynn J. Frazier, although a successful farmer and a University graduate, was practically unknown before his nomination.



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DR. EDWARD F. LADD

Of the North Dakota Agricultural college, whose pleas for fairer methods in the grading of wheat at the markets have helped create the sentiment that brought the Non-Partisan League into being

The prospect of a campaign conducted by inexperienced farmers for candidates who were almost strangers to the people was not especially terrifying to the leaders of the regular parties in North Dakota. The press especially made light of the affair, such statements as "the Non-Partisan League will be a Non-Participating League after the primaries are over" appeared frequently in the state exchanges. Nevertheless, after nominating candidates for all the state offices, including the legislature and the supreme court, they prepared for an aggressive campaign, perhaps made necessarily so because of the unknown character of the men selected as their candidates.

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"NOT SCIENTIFIC FARMING, BUT SCIENTIFIC MARKETING"

The North Dakota Agricultural College formerly preached that increased production was the remedy for the unprofitableness of farming: now it emphasizes the greater need of scientific marketing methods

ONE OF THE PICNICS AT WHICH FARMERS TURNED
Rural gatherings of all kinds in North Dakota during the last spring and summer were used by the

AN OPEN-AIR MEETING OF THE NON-
Which has given political effectiveness to the aggressive programme of state-aided marketing.

SOCIABILITY INTO POLITICAL ORGANIZATION
workers of the Non-Partisan League as opportunities to win votes for their candidates for state offices

PARTISAN LEAGUE OF NORTH DAKOTA
rural credit associations, and banks for which the Equity Coöperative Exchange is working

THE TWO SIDES OF WHEAT GROW

On the one hand is the long labor of planting and harvesting the grain and hauling it to the market, while the bills for labor, machinery, and food accumulate in anticipation of the sale of the wheat

Undoubtedly the interest that was aroused in a campaign dealing with the intricate technicalities of grain marketing *has not been* equaled since the economic discussions that stirred the country in 1896. Entire communities turned out to farmers' picnics, some of them attended by as many as six thousand people, great

ING, AS THE FARMERS SEE IT

Bottom picture Copyright by Brown Bros.

On the other hand, so the farmers believe, the mills and elevators under-grade their wheat and the speculators of the "wheat pits" of Chicago and Minneapolis manipulate the price to the farmers' loss

numbers of whom drove across the level prairie twenty and even forty miles to listen to the discussion of problems having an immediate connection with their material welfare. They chartered a special train that in three weeks carried the candidates in a whirlwind tour about the state holding dozens of meetings every day. Eighty-

A CONVENTION OF THE NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE

The organization that has undertaken to have the state government of North Dakota build terminal wheat elevators in an effort to control the grain from the farm to the consumer

:r cent. of the population of North ta is farmers, and they welcomed with siasm the idea of an agricultural governed by the tillers of the soil. the farmer must retain control of his until it reaches the central market d to be the gist of the problem.

he things that we believe are holding ırmer back are many," said the can- : for governor in one of his platform ıes. "In the case of grain grading ockage and the handling of grain we ependent on the Minnesota grades re are at the mercy of the combina- f big milling interests in marketing vheat. We are impoverishing and ing our soil to maintain our existence o meet our obligations. The day ckoning must come. We want a owned terminal elevator that will h the farmer with an independent t and permit North Dakota to ish its own fair grades."

THE "WE'LL STICK" LEAGUE

: programme of the League met with ndous opposition, much of it being ncere feeling on the part of business hat it was dangerous to commit an commonwealth to a policy of state ship of institutions that would have mpete with privately owned enter- elsewhere, But with a shrewdness vould have done credit to a Pennsyl- politician the League published in n paper every criticism, every folder ttack that was made on its party. esult the opposition lost its force, and y that "North Dakota is facing a ' made no impression on the thou- of farmers who proudly wore buttons g the simple slogan, "We'll stick." ny men felt and indeed still feel that Dakota is facing a crisis. To allow f no experience to assume control of e is, they assert, a highly dangerous

The programme includes not only ection of state-owned terminal ele- , but a compulsory state hail in- e law and "packing plants so that l be able to use our cattle, our sheep, ogs when we have them fattened for packing purposes. We cannot up the stock industry of the state when we have to ship to a distant market and then buy back our own meat products on the basis of a long haul in return." To others it appeared that the League was Socialism under another name, and "with the state going into the grain business, insurance business, capital will withdraw from North Dakota and their proposed rural credit system will be found a wretched substitute for the private capital which for the first time is plentiful." The fact that "statistics show that not only is North Dakota's per capita production of products greater than elsewhere in the United States, but that the returns from these products have given to the people during the past year more dollars and cents per individual than anywhere else on the continent," was repeatedly emphasized.

There are those, too, who assert that grave constitutional questions are involved in the programme of the League, questions that will eventually have to be passed upon by the Supreme Court of the United States.

First: Has the state of North Dakota a right to buy land in the state of Minnesota for the purpose of erecting thereon a terminal elevator, without obtaining the consent of Minnesota?

Second: If it must obtain the consent of Minnesota, would the contract giving such consent be valid without the approval of Congress, inasmuch as the Federal Constitution provides that "No state shall, without the consent of Congress, enter into any agreement or compact with another state?"

Third: Does the business of conducting an elevator, a packing house, or a flour mill become public simply because the state engages in it? The Supreme Court of the United States has frequently held that a state cannot use the power of taxation except for a public purpose; that to use that power for a private purpose is to deprive the citizen of his property without due process of law.

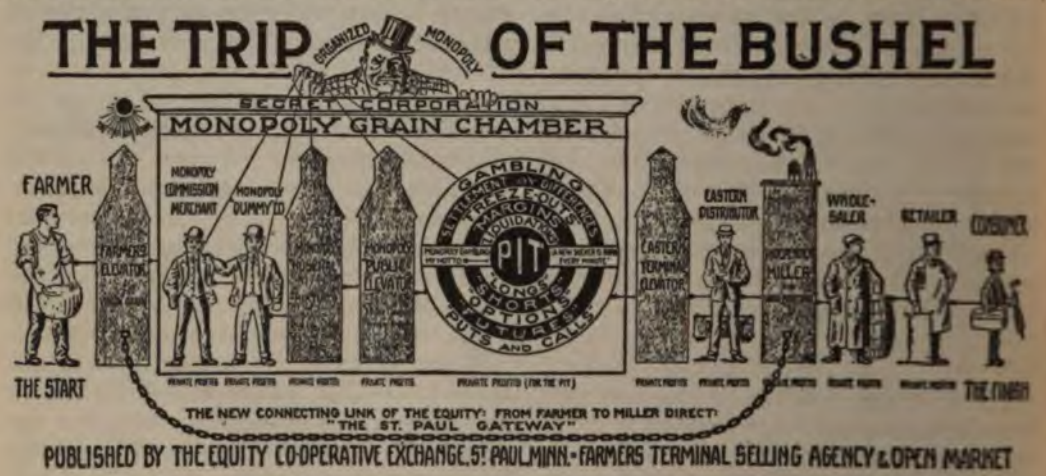
"DO IT NOW OR GO BROKE"

The farmers, however, maintained that all they planned to do was necessary. "It's do it now or go broke," as one of their parade banners read. Whether called Socialism or not, they maintained, the farmer cannot be expected to support a

host of non-producers in order to protect the doctrine of private ownership. "We aim to make farming a business and not a gamble," said one member of the League, "a business that shows a profit every year instead of once in a while."

On election day a terrific storm washed out bridges and roads, tore down telegraph wires and demolished telephone service all over the state, but through mud and rain the farmers came out to vote. When the returns were all in it was found that their candidate for governor had received more votes than all his opponents combined in an election in which more ballots were cast than ever before in the history of North Dakota. Not only did they nominate their governor but every member of their state ticket by unprecedented majorities. Men prominent in the state for years who were thought impregnable were defeated as easily as if they had been unknown and running for the first time. The farmers named the candidates for the legislature, they nominated their governor, the supreme court, everything. The result will almost certainly be that, beginning with the fall election, North Dakota will be an agricultural state ruled by the farmers—but whether for the benefit of the farmers or not will of course depend on this interesting experiment.

The revolt of the North Dakota farmer *marks the* culmination of years of agitation for better marketing conditions. Though in certain respects it is without a parallel in American history, in others it closely resembles the grange movement of 1867. The Patrons of Husbandry, as the grange was then called, had for its primary object the purchasing of supplies coöperatively and directly by the farmer, doing away with the middleman, but by 1880 it had developed into a political organization of 1,500,000 members, carrying, in that year, the legislatures of Illinois and Wisconsin. It left its permanent impress on the country in the Interstate Commerce Commission and the doctrine of state regulation of common carriers. Likewise the present movement in North Dakota started first as a coöperative effort to secure better prices for grain, and it was only when the legislature failed to act on their recommendations that they became active in state politics.



A CARTOON THAT MADE VOTES FOR THE NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE

By its graphic portrayal of the chain of inequitable treatment of which the farmers believed themselves the victims

MORE MORTGAGES THAN PROFITS

Taking into consideration the investment in machinery, land, and hired help, the officials of the Equity Society (the coöperative wheat marketing organization which is the business side of the movement) assert that the actual cost of producing a bushel of wheat is eighty-five cents. According to federal statistics the average price paid the farmers of North Dakota for the 155,845,963 bushels of wheat sold last year was eighty-seven cents. As climatic

tions allow but one crop the farmer make enough in a season to last the : year. If there is a crop failure or /hims of the market force the price he must either borrow or mortgage ›roperty. An extreme case which :ates the situation is found in Mc- y County, North Dakota. Here, in ars, 2,636 farmers gave 37,161 chattel ;ages. Farmers are paying interest nortgage indebtedness of $50,000,000 : state, $18,000,000 of which is lent : insurance companies. Government ts show that the amount of money d North Dakota farmers aggregates 364,000, on which they pay an aver- terest rate of 8.7 per cent. Such con- ıs have made every farmer consider stly the problem of marketing his so that his farm would pay.

inking that if the farmer produced he would make more, a Better Farm- Association was established in the For a time it was most popular. clubs and girls' camps, county meet- ınd contests created unusual enthu- , and the farmers joined heartily in ıovement which would help them to more grain and better stock. And did raise more grain, in some cases / double what they had been able to ce before. But after a few years rs began to criticise. "We found," ne farmer, "that while we were rais- ıore we were not making more. In t seemed that the more grain we had rket the less we received for it."

l Vrooman, Assistant Secretary of ılture, analyzed the situation when in nt address he called attention to the :hat "in 1913 the farmers of this ry produced 677,000,000 bushels less han was produced the previous year, eceived for the crop $150,000,000 " "It is folly to increase production," d, "without giving proper attention : same time to marketing."

THE EQUITY EXCHANGE

ıs from scientific farming as a remedy rmers turned to the problem of grain :ting, and in 1908 the grain growers' ›n of the American Society of Equity ized the Equity Coöperative Exchange. Under the leadership of the late George S. Loftus, who prosecuted successfully the sleeping car and express cases, which resulted in lower rates in both instances, the organization was in 1911 incorporated with a capital of $100,000. The basic principle of the Equity Coöperative Exchange was to establish terminal markets and terminal elevators, so that the farmer could control his own grain from the farm to the mill and so that the abuses in the system of marketing grain, especially the organized price manipulation by speculative interests, would be abolished.

THE SUCTION FAN

For example, it had been the practice in many elevators—a practice which still exists in a few—to weigh the grain shipped by the farmer in the top of the elevator rather than on the track. As the grain dropped down through a hopper scale, it passed a spout in front of which was a suction fan intended to remove the dust before it was weighed. The result actually was that the fan not only removed the dust, but, during the course of the year, about 50,000 bushels of grain as well. In fact the records of the Minnesota State Railroad Commission show that one elevator shipped out 51,000 more bushels of grain than it took in. With wheat at a dollar a bushel it can be seen that an amount equivalent to $50,000 was each year practically stolen from the farmers in each elevator using this system. Due to the agitation of the Equity Exchange this practice has been stopped in Wisconsin entirely, and in Minnesota it is provided that new elevators must be constructed with track scales. The practice continues, however, in elevators that had installed the up-in-the-air system of weighing.

The switching charge was another practice that resulted in great injustice to the farmer. It had been the custom to exact from the shipper a charge of $1.50 for every car of wheat received, whether or not such a charge was made by the railroad. In 1912 the farmers paid $68,200 more than the railroads received for switching. The shipper was charged whether the service was rendered or not. Although this had been the custom since 1887 it was discontinued

in 1913 by order of the Minnesota State Railroad Commission as a result of vigorous complaint by the farmers of the Equity movement. Now no charges are made except where the cars are actually switched.

Another custom against which farmers have protested strenuously is that of mixing grain. When the grain is received at a terminal it is sent to a "grain hospital," where the mixing takes place. Suppose a concern buys 10,000 bushels of Number One Hard, the highest grade; with that they will mix 50,000 bushels of their lower grade, as Number Three, and sell the entire lot as Number One. As a wheat buyer under the rules of the exchange must accept the original grade, the farmer is paid a Number Three grade price for grain that is sold as Number One. Thus tremendous profits at the expense of the farmer are made in the selling of grain. On the other hand members of the exchange are allowed the right of reinspection on grain they purchase, which often results in a lower grading. Because of this farmers have urged that a system of state grading be adopted.

SELLING MORE GRAIN THAN IS

In speaking of the custom of mixing grain, Dr. E. F. Ladd, of the North Dakota State Agricultural College, himself a noted pioneer worker in the cause of pure food, says: "There is a huge difference between the record of wheat purchased and that shipped. For example, Number One Northern wheat shipped out of the elevator is a very different grain from Number One Northern as received by the elevator. The elevator man, to say nothing of the miller, makes his big profits by the mixing of wheat, a thing that he is well able to do by virtue of the fact that the present system of grain grading is obsolete and well adapted to juggling of this sort. This is doubly unfair to the producer, for he is robbed in the sale of his grain, and robbed again through the bad influence exerted on the price of his product by this leveling of grades."

Another cause of irritation is the belief of the farmers that commission firms sell grain to themselves and charge the farmer one cent a bushel for the service rendered. *If this were the* practice, the commission firm would sell to itself at the lowest possible price and the farmer would receive one cent less than the lowest market price.

On April 21, 1914, after an extensive hearing on the Manahan resolution, demanding investigation of grain exchanges, Congressman Henry, chairman of the House Committee on Rules, introduced a resolution containing the following:

> It is charged and generally believed that the price of wheat paid the farmers, as well as the cost of flour to the consumer, is largely controlled by the Board of Trade of Chicago, the Chamber of Commerce of Minneapolis, and the Board of Trade of Duluth, acting in combination. That the Board of Trade of Chicago is a monopoly and has and exercises complete control over the buying and selling of wheat and the prices paid therefor in the market; that the Chamber of Commerce of Minneapolis is a monopoly dominating and controlling that market and controlling the prices paid for wheat from day to day.

Thus it is generally believed among the farmers that agriculture will never pay as it ought to pay until they remedy the evils that attend the marketing of their products. To quote Dr. Ladd again: "The farmers of North Dakota will never be able to get the best price for their grain unless they retain ownership or control of it until it gets to a central market. If the state owned its own terminal facilities there would be a better opportunity to establish fair and just grades and to get those grades recognized in a world market than if we attempted to establish a North Dakota state grading system at privately owned terminals."

Asked how the erection of state-owned terminals for North Dakota will help the market situation when other states are selling grain under the old system, the farmers reply that North Dakota sells such an enormous quantity that the success of their plan will cause every grain state in the Union to follow the leadership of North Dakota and build its own grain terminals.

Under the present system the grain goes first to the farmers' elevator, thence to the commission merchant, the mixing hospital, the monopoly elevator, and then is sold by means of a "pit" to the Eastern terminal elevator. The farmer wishes to

secure the profit on each of these transactions for himself and to control his own grain at the terminal.

When the Equity Society was engaged in trying to construct a privately owned coöperative terminal, an effort was made to have the state of North Dakota take over the elevator, and supervise and build it at its own expense. In 1910 the people of the state asked the legislature to refer to them a bill providing for a state-owned elevator to be constructed in Minnesota or Wisconsin. This was submitted in 1912 and carried by a majority of 64 per cent. In 1914 another bill providing for the construction of an elevator in North Dakota was submitted to the people and carried by a majority of 58 per cent.

The bill directed the legislature to levy a tax of one eighth of a mill, which should have resulted in raising by 1918 the sum of $114,000. This bill was repealed in 1915 by the legislature, but by means of a referendum petition enough signatures were obtained to hold up the bill, which will be submitted again this fall.

In the meantime the Equity association has gone ahead with the erection of its terminal elevator, which will be dedicated in St. Paul in December. This terminal elevator, however, will remain the property of the Equity Society, as funds sufficient for its construction are on hand. Coöperation on the part of the Equity Society will not be confined entirely to the erection of a terminal elevator. The members have organized a rural credit association with a capital of $1,000,000, an Equity International Bank with a capital of $100,000, and an Equity Packing Plant with a capital of $1,000,000. These three institutions will all be located in North Dakota and will be run by and for North Dakota farmers.

Whatever may be the result of the farmer's coöperative enterprises, certain it is that he is aroused to the dangers confronting agriculture, and he is determined to settle them in some way regardless of mistakes that may be made.

The farmer in a grain state finds himself in the fall with debts of a year's accumulation confronting him. Notes given in payment for machinery come due at the end of the season. Expenses of the harvest must be cared for, and money borrowed to pay high wages must be repaid. Thus the farmer is obliged to sell his crop not knowing whether a few weeks will make a difference in the constantly fluctuating price; or he stores his grain, borrows money on it, and watches the market that is to determine his fortune. Then one day he sells. Perhaps he loses or he may gain or he may come out even. Whichever it is it is a gamble, and no business can be stable that depends on such a condition for its permanence. If the farmer can demonstrate that it is possible for him to solve the problem of grain marketing it will not be necessary to preach "back to the farm," for men will go to the farm when there is a profit there.

"Four or five years ago," said Mr. Frazier in one of his speeches, "a member of the faculty of the State University wrote me that he was preparing a paper on how to keep the boys and girls on the farm, and he asked me to give him some suggestions. No doubt he expected me to describe how inspiring it is to plant the tiny seed and watch it grow into a great crop. He probably wanted a description of the independent and easy life of the carefree tiller of the soil.

"But I told him that under existing conditions I saw no reason why the boys and girls should stay on the farm and that I, a farmer, would not blame them if they left it. I told him that we had to work from five o'clock in the morning until nine o'clock at night to prepare our products for market and then have the Chicago Board of Trade and the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce fix the price we were to be paid for our work. I told him that when farmers got their rights and a fair share of the prices paid for the things they produce, then I would say to the boys and girls 'go back to the farm.'"

This is the feeling that is all too prevalent among farmers—that the farm does not pay and that the young man who can get off is the fortunate one and not he who gains a homestead. Many farmers who are reputed wealthy claim that they never made a dollar in farming: their wealth has come through the rise in value of the land.

THE FOLKS THEY LEFT BEHIND THEM

LETTERS FROM THE FAMILIES OF THE GUARDSMEN WHICH REVEAL THE INJUSTICES AND SUFFERING WROUGHT BY THE VICIOUS MILITIA SYSTEM—AN ORGANIZATION WITH A MINIMUM OF MILITARY VALUE WHICH WORKS A MAXIMUM OF HARDSHIPS TO ITS MEMBERS AT THE FRONT AND TO UNPROTECTED NON-COMBATANTS AT HOME—THE HUMAN DOCUMENTS IN THE CASE

BY

GEORGE MARVIN

THE letters that are printed here tell clearly a great part of their own story.

They were taken at random from among thousands. They were addressed to the President, to the Secretary of War, to the War Department, to General Funston, to commanders of militia brigades and regiments in every one of the border camps, from Yuma to Brownsville. They vary infinitely in form, and in the background which they indicate. The overwhelming majority of them agree in voicing actual hardships and injustice, which would have been entirely unnecessary under any sound system of military training and service. They form altogether a great cry of protest against a system which places burdens where they do not belong; against a system which would have proved a national tragedy had we been faced with actual war.

During the hot days of July and August, Headquarters at San Antonio and at the other district commands at Brownsville and El Paso were snowed under by these appeals. They came in three to four hundred a day at Fort Sam Houston.

We can from these letters dimly perceive the expense and the suffering of the families of Guardsmen. A great war would have justified such suffering, but this was not a war emergency. So far as the border is concerned, it was a situation which could have been dealt with adequately by a properly organized regular army, founded upon a democratic system of universal military service. With such a service in being—like that in every other *first-class country* in the world, such as in France or in Germany, in Australia or in Switzerland, in Chile or in Argentina—the entire border situation could have been conclusively handled without the dislocation of business and social life which has followed upon the calling out of the so-called National Guard. The burden would have fallen where it ought to fall, upon those free to bear it. A great majority of our citizens who spent the summer on the border ought not to have been there at all; in any other first-class national organization for defense, they would have been left at home as second or third line troops, only to be called upon in the event of an actual war of such proportions as to threaten the Nation.

These letters are printed in order that they may add their simple and unconscious eloquence toward shaping the aroused public opinion which is gaining strength from week to week, all over these United States. We have seen in many instances the wastefulness of our present system; we have seen its inefficiency, and these letters that follow give us a faint indication of its injustice:

"Mr. Funston, send Home my Son, Jim Hanke he is in your army as a Milisha."

This was the shortest appeal received at Headquarters; the others varied in length from one to four pages of letter paper. Sometimes they were longer.

Mr President
Dear Sir

Please release my husband, who is a private in the second Regment company—, National Guard of Pennsylvania. I can

lerstand how he passed the medical ation, He has fallen arches, broni- ouble, in May 1915 he was turned y the regulars at Fort Slocum, N. Y. roken knuckle in the trigger finger, y only support I am eighteen years I exspect to become a mother in a ek, I am a fraid my child will be a wreck. My mother is a widow vo small children to support and not do any thing, if it is possible ise him please do so, and may the gs of a sorrowfull wife rest upon you,

Sorrofully
Mrs. M—— W——
W— A. W——

e Woodrow Wilson President
e Sir
y 1st Battery — — — of Kansas eft Camp Clark Nevada Mo for Tex on the Mexican Border I for my son in Feb to Join the Bat- was not 16 years old untill March 6, it was for the Training I let him I do not think Capt E—— did take him to the Front or to allow sign up as a regular as Capt E—— is age at the time & Has known my r years. I went to Nevada and strated with General C—— Capt & Capt E—— but of no use he is child and unfit for that Service, his is almost insane with Grief as he en very Ill since on the border. Ask you as a brother Mason to ny son, K—— S. C—— and send me, I have another son with Hospi- ps 3 Reg he is not yet 21 but is of taken Care of himself Please is matter your attention

Sincerely yours
O. W. C——

rinces are Nessary will refer you to or J—— A R——
gressman W—— P B—— of Mis-

W—— or any Virginian of the . I am a son of K. C—— of Norfolk, s born and raised there Governor M—— T C—— R. B C—— Col —— or in fact Any Citizen of Nor-

member of —th Ward Democratic Club the tameny of Missouri & I can get the Indorsement of Each & Evry one 1500. I was advised to write you through my frends of this Club. I will allso refer you to Ed V—— who was with you on your visit here during your Campain 4 years ago I was chief clerk of Headquarters

O W C——

if you will relese him quickly you will releave my wife's mind.

President of the United States.
Mr. Wilson.

Dear sir;—

I am writing to you, asking if there is anyway you can release my husband, Mr. W. B. J—— of Field Hospital No. — Mo. N. G. U. S. as I am in a serious condition & am not able to work make my own living & was in this condition when he left me.

I have no parents or any close relatives that are able to care for me in my condition. Several Doctors of St. Joseph have stated, I need medical attention, but I have no means to Doctor with, or any means of support.

I appeal to you, thinking there might be some way you could get him a discharge, under the circumstances.

I will greatly appreciate anything you can do to help me in this matter.

Respectfully,
Mrs. W. B. J——

Mr. War Department.

Dear Sir—, My husband A—— R—— is Sergent in Co —, —th Reg Neb, which I am proud of but he has left me here with a six month's old baby. He has been gone now about six weaks and house rent and grocries bills I have run about all I can and now it is up to you to do something.

Your's Truly
Mrs. A—— R——

U S War Department
Washington D. C.

In regards of my Husban C—— H——, now stationed at Camp Taylor Jackson Miss. Co. —. I ask you for a discharge He is the only surport I have whatever, Also he has little Sisters to surport There Mother dieng a few months ago.

He has surved His time out once and relisted and as There is no trouble in sight I dont see why He should ent be released at once His daily labor was all the surport I had and am in need of that.

I ask you to please to release him at once in case you do so notify Capt W W H——, Jackson Miss.

In other words if not released in short I demand a surport imeditly.

Hoping to hear from you soon in regards to this matter.

Yours. resp.
Mrs. C—— H——

President Wilson,

Dear Sir:—I venture to address you in regard to the detention of my husband in the state militia at Brownsville, Texas. He is a member of Company —, —— Regiment Virginia Volunteers, known as the "——— Minute Men."

I am left here on a rented farm with five mules, a cow and a calf, a corn crop and a hay crop to look after. We have no children and the hired boy has left, so since last Sat. I have been here by myself. It is impossible to get any one to stay here, now it seems to me they could very easily let my husband come home, there have been several let off, and I am sure none of them could have been in a worse fix than I am. I have been sick for nearly a week, but had to keep on going the best I could and now that the boy has left I just simply don't know what to do. My own people live in Maryland and my husband's people live several miles from here, the latter have sickness in their family and none of them can be spared to come over here, so if you can help me by sending an order for my husband to be released from duty, I will appreciate the kindness from the bottom of my heart.

Yours very sincerely,
Mrs. A. W. H——

P.S. My husband's name is A—— W. H——, his rank Private.

Secretary Baker;

Dear Sir—

I guess you will be surprised to hear from [illegible] I at h[illegible] nd

He was sent to the border with th land boys and no doubt you know not received any pay.

I am doing by best to make bo meet but it is an impossable thing.

I am not well and the little n make barely keeps me. We we getting started in a little flat, conse have installment bills which I cann

I need my husband very much a not get along much longer witho Please wont you send him a discha let him come home to me?

Please send him home Mr. Bak my only support and I need hi much now.

Trusting and hoping that you v my appeal your attention and t will let my husband come home close. Thanking you in advance I

Yours sincerely,
Mrs. R—— F. L-

My husbands address is
Eagle Pass-Texas
C/o—th Md. Infantry Co. —. M

Sec. of War—

Mr. Baker Dear Sir—

I would like to have my husb charged from the N. G. P. as he have in the world to depend on been gone now four weeks and if it for friends who took my baby a I would have no home, as it is I money, and these folks may get keeping me, my husband had been for D—— P—— Co in Wil and they promised to pay him was away their pay days are the 22nd, two have gone by and my has heard no word from them u 18th of July, when I last heard fr I am sick and my baby is sick money I have in the world is 45 that has to go to pay my life in I understand, all married men pendents can be discharged from c if this is so, please let my husba back so he can go to work and t of his family his name is W——. P. Co —, — Regiment N. G. P. Ca wart, El Paso, Texas. My husb good steady worker and when he w never was in hard luck like

g you will intercede for me and dis-
him, I beg to remain

Very Sincerely
Mrs. W——. P. M——.

War, Baker,
ir:—
lrs. L—— D——, wife of Mr L——
, a member of Co. —, — Reg. of
nsin, needs some support. I have
hildren and not able to work so
you please release Mr. D——, as it
ossible for me to get along. Mr.
sent in his application for his Dis-
some time ago. We have many
that has to be payed so please do
ing for me.

Yours Truly,
Mrs. L. R. D——

aker
r Sir
the wife of quarter Master Sergt of
—, — Maryland of —— I am
g to you to ask you if there is eny
the world you can get him home as
ed his support Very bad besides
I have 7 children and no support
y husband and that is nothing for he
en gone every since the 21 of June
as never been Paid yet I can see
er Places where they are helping the
s wifes but I have never got the
ve cents yet I see in the Paper
the married men can come home
husband dosent come home soon I
have eny for him to come two be-
People cant Live with out Eating
have gone to my Last now. we are
to Buy our little home we had 3
s due on our Place the 1st of July
e had Enough saved to Pay it and
called away and that is all I have
Live on and now that is gone. and
s he does not no when he will get
send home so if you can do eny-
to get him home do please for he
and tells me he was worried him self
ink about us at home and in want.
te over three dollars a day when he is
Please write to me if you can do
ng for me for I cant stand much
f this your Truly L—— E L——.

Cambridge Md

My dear President:

Dear Mr Wilson I feel duty bound to drop you a few lines concerning my son P—— T—— who was holding a very fine position in I—— R—— Co. and now on the border with the — Engineers of New York. I think it a shame that they should be the first to be called I gave my consent when he was 18 to join the National Guard, which I considered and was adviced by some good friends, that it was good for all young men, as long as it did not interfere with their positions.

I wish to let you know that I have four sons and myself, who are willing to go into the field tomorrow for you if war was declared. But seeing that war is not declared why should these poor fellows be kept down there.

They were willing to guard the State in every way and if war was declared every man was willing to go.

Now I hope you will take this matter into consideration and help his poor distracted Mother. I cant see why they should be held there by any means, hoping you will consider my matter in this affair, and I hope you do not worrie over your election, for any man does not appreciate you for all you have done for them, it is not worth while to bother about it, believe me you will hear from me before election you have three votes in my family this time, and a good many more

Sincerely yours
J—— T——.

Secretary Baker
Dear Sir:

Am writing to see if you will please help me get an honorable discharge for my husband. He is my only support, and as I expect a little one very soon, I'm more than anxious to have him back home again. I have not one penny coming in, and a doctor bill to meet very soon, and I really need him. If it were not for the little one to come, I could work, and would so that my husband could serve his country. He is a member of Co. —, Engineer Battalion N. G. Pa., now at Nogales, Ariz. He has very bad eyes and I don't see how he managed to pass the examination at Mt. Gretna. His occulist told his father,

that his eyes only reached 30% normal vision, and I'm sure this is true. Please do not let this be published, but I can stand any investigation you would care to make, for it is all true. Please help me for the sake of a future citizen, and I'll thank you all my life. My husband is, Sadler P—— C. P——. Hoping you will grant my request, I am Very sincerely yours,

S—— H. P——.

Dear Sir,

I thought I would write to you and ask you if you would only do one thing for me. My husband is in Nogales Araz. and he belongs in Co. —, — Reg. Connecticut. I am a girl of just seventeen years old and I got a baby fourteen months old. I have'nt got no one only him to look after me. I have'nt felt good sence my baby was born. He wrote and told me to do something for him before it would be to late to send him home because he is awful sick. I don't think you would be so mean as to not send him home if you only knew the way we were. So if you would only send him home to me I would never forget for you. His got four more months to serve his time will be up in November. His name is W—— B——. Won't you please send him home?

Your's Truly,
Mrs W—— B——

War Department:

Dear Sirs.

I Mrs A—— H. S—— writting to you asking if you will not send my husband back H—— D. S—— who belongs to Company —. Private in the National Guards Broad & Callohill Philadelphia Pennsylvania. Mr. S—— deserted his family on May 11, 1916 in an awful condition without enough cloths and know food nor money. I had him arrested for non-support and desertion, and was getting ten ($10) a week for myself and two babies only got thirty dollars when he was called away was compelled to use the money for board, clothes and I am pennyless for four weeks as he is five weeks in the rears ($50) and I am pretty near crazy as my oldest boy is under the doctors care and my baby is very sick and I myself expect a baby in

have I

they wont take me on Charity because Mr. S—— holds a Government position a clerk in the Post Office — & —— Street I have not a penny to pay my way and cant pay the doctor for my children their is no one to pay my debts and it is his place to see to all, when a man desertes his family he would hardly care how they get along and he knew all these conditions and should have said something that we are depending on him. So will you kindly see that he is sent back or I get money as this is a serious proposition I am up against I have written to General Funston regarding my case, and if you would like to gain more information Mr —— his boss at the Post Office will tell you the same story. Hoping you will let me have some satisfaction one way or other in two weeks time and oblige please

Mrs. H—— D. S——,
Mail address Darby Pa.

Col. M. J. Foreman,

Dear Sir

Since I wrote you (in fact) this morning I got a letter from my son Frank H—— Troop — begging of me to make an excuse so that he might be relieved from his regiment. Now dear Sir it is my earnest wish that he stay in the army and as I said he is a single man and though painful to have to admit he is no support to his mother though I am in my 69th year. I was advised by business people who know you to write and explain matters and you would understand. Frank also said he had written to Congressman G—— to intercede for him but of course Mrs. G—— does not know the circumstances. I only hope he will come back a better man. Thanking you for your kind attention I beg to remain

Very respectfully
M. H——

Adjutant Genaral, War Department,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

My husband, Mr. C—— W—— has enlisted in the —th. Regiment Band without my consent and I would like to know if I can get him out of the Army as I depend on him for my sole support and main-

We were married last November and he had no cause whatever to enlist as he knows I need him for my support and he has a good trade and earns good pay. He enlisted at the —th Regiment Armory here at Paterson on the 29th. of June, 1916.

Hoping you can help me to obtain his release without any costs to me and awaiting your reply, I am

Yours Very respectfully,
Mrs. N—— E. W——.

Sec't. Baker.
Wash, D. C.

Dear Sir:—is it possiable you can release Private J—— E. H—— from Field Hospital Corps No. —, —— Guards. He was married Dec 22, 1915, and his wife is not able to work and pay for their furniture and house rent—So if its true all married men get Honorable Discharges please let them come Home to their wives, that are not able to support their selvs.

Private H—— is orderly for Maj. —— and Capt. —— of —— Field Hospital Corps.

I want him to leave with Honors but god knows my heart is broke to part from him and unable to work and keep up rent and expenses.

I can send Certificates from Dr. if need be that I am not able to make My liveing

Resp't
Mrs. J. E. H——

Sect. of War Baker,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir.

I write this letter to ask if you could do anything towards the release of my husband, J. W—— W——. He is a member of the — Inft. of N. Y. & has been a member for over ten years & has I think served long enough.

I have no means of support whatever as his firm will not pay him & as I have three small children, Rena age 6 yrs. Margaret age 2½ yrs & a little son J. Walter Jr. age 4 mon. I am very much worried as to what I am to do. If you could use your influence and order his release you would be doing a great favor & I never could thank you enough except to hope for your good health & happiness.

Hoping you will do this favor & use your power I am

Very respectfully yours
I—— G. C. W——.

Colonel Foreman
Gentelman
Dear Sir

No doubt you will be surprised to hear and lissen to the plea of a Father that has a son in your Company.

My Dear Sir the plea i am making to you is if you could not send my Boy home to me as long as there is no war going on i need him very bad to help me suport the Family i have two daughters be sides i am only a working man and dont make very much myself and as the cost of living is high which no doubt you know as well as i do you know how hard it is to keep up and pay all your Bills.

My Dear Sir i spoke to Friends of yours and they told me that no doubt you would grand my Request if it was in your Power to do or you would advise me what to do or what steps to take the boy i am speaking to you about is Private C. P——

Troop —, — Cavalry

My Dear Sir

Hoping that these few lines will reach your Heart and that you will grant the Request of a heartbroken Father who is worthy and needy of his boys Help

I am Respectfully
Emil A. P——

Please Please Answer my Plea

To the Secretary of war
Washington D. C.

Sir in 1914 November the 19 I was discharged from the 64th Coast Artillrie Corps at the Litterman general hospital at Sanfrancisco California by reason of Flat Feet sience I have enlisted in the National Guard of Kansas it was statek on my enlistment papers why I had bin discharged from the regular service but I am doing duty here and suffering for it but can get no relief the Secretary of war refused me re enlistment in the regular service but why have they got me here when I am not able to do a soldiers duty for any length of time

resp yours
Put S—— D. K——.
Co —, —— Regiment

TAMING THE LIVER

SOME COMMON FALLACIES CONCERNING THAT VERY IMPORTANT BUT LITTLE UNDERSTOOD ORGAN—THE DANGER OF ONE ASSUMING HE HAS "LIVER TROUBLE"—THE FUNCTIONS OF THE LIVER AND THE RELATION THERETO OF IMPROPER EATING AND DRINKING, "LATE HOURS," WORRY, FEAR, AND OVER-INDULGENCE IN OTHER STRONG EMOTIONS—EXERCISES FOR THE "BILIOUS" MAN

BY

CHARLES PHELPS CUSHING

TO MAKE sure that this series of articles shall be authoritative, the WORLD'S WORK has arranged to have them reviewed and approved by the Life Extension Institute before they are published.

The Life Extension Institute was organized by well known scientists, publicists, and business men as a semi-philanthropic enterprise to disseminate the knowledge of healthful living among the people. Ex-President Taft is president of the Board of Directors, and its professional advisers include some of America's most distinguished physicians and surgeons, as well as the most prominent educators. The Institute's approval of these articles, therefore, assures their scientific character.

MERE mention of the word "liver" is sufficient, sometimes, to set a certain noted professor of physiology into a rage. By virtue of his knowledge of the subject, this scientist is one of the liver's champions. He is impatient at the general misunderstanding of that much-blamed organ's nature and functions.

In my rôle of reporter—of a layman seeking information from some of those experts whom President Hadley of Yale says the public has not learned how to use—I found plenty of reasons to justify the physiologist's impatience. In the first place I learned that few of the men who suppose they have "liver trouble" are right in their self-diagnosis. "Biliousness" itself is a popular misnomer; bile apparently has about as much to do with the case as lightning has to do with lightning bugs. Moreover, the popular remedies miss the mark as widely as the popular diagnoses, for "liver pills" have no more direct effect upon the liver than upon the heart or the eyes. In nine cases out of ten, physicians told me, the supposed "biliousness" or "liver trouble" does not arise in that gland but in the intestine or some other digestive organ. "Liver spots" have nothing to do with the liver; and as for the so-called "lazy liver," the possessor of it and not the gland itself should usually assume the blame.

Some of the most interesting descriptions of the liver are in the form of metaphors. Dr. Robert T. Morris explains it after this fashion:

"During the process of digestion a number of poisons are always manufactured as the result of the microbes clamoring for part of the albuminoid food. Nature needs to grow her microbes as a regular feature in all gardens, of which man is one garden. The poisons in the normal man are commonly disposed of by previous agreement with Nature, a compact entered into in good faith, and maintained if man does his part. Many poisons are taken to the liver—a sewage disposal plant—and are treated there in a scientific manner by Nature, the great scientist, after the manner of sewage disposal plants constructed by an engineer. There are many smaller factories besides the liver in which microbe toxins are disposed of if man does his part according to Nature's idea of the situation."

While this is illuminating, it should be

ght of as a selection from a work in h the proposition is that all mental physical activities in man are de- ent upon the microbe. The metaphor ges when we turn to another phys- ist who advances the theory that is a mechanism. Then we hear Dr. ge W. Crile describing the brain as ıg like a storage battery to contribute nitial spark and impulse which drives nechanism; the adrenals, as oxidizers, king possible the transformation of gy and the neutralization of the re- ng acid products"; and the liver as chief fabricator and storehouse of carbohydrate fuel by which muscular n and heat are produced." He that the liver "also plays a large rôle e neutralization of the acid products e transformation of energy into heat otion," and that "it fabricates and s glycogen."

ow it is natural that the "liver-trou- " or "bilious" man of business is so concerned with definitions and nical matters of physiology as he is finding out what to do for what ails But if he can get it into his head the "mechanism" of his body is a er complicated affair of interdependent he will have advanced a long step he right direction. For the more ly he realizes this, the more likely ill be to have his machinery promptly ected when it gets out of order.

DON'T DIAGNOSE YOUR AILMENT

ıe first word of practical advice from experts is this: don't guess what's ıg with you—find out from a com- nt medical examiner. The trouble h, by your self-diagnosis, is from the , probably isn't, and if it were—and had cirrhosis, an abscess, or tumors— couldn't treat it yourself. As for "biliousness," if it is becoming nic, find out why without wasting more time and have it remedied. don't dread the worst, for the cure be simple.

rms in your intestine may be causing rouble, or, for all you know, germs in tooth sockets. Possibly the best of the prescription you receive will be some advice upon what to eat and how much to eat.

Dr. Crile, after his investigations in the Cushing Laboratory of Experimental Medicine, writes (in "Man—An Adaptive Mechanism"): "Emotional activation—activation by worry and fear particularly —is as potent in causing excessive transformation of energy and an excessive production of acid by-products, with consequent physical impairment, as are any other kinetic stimuli. It is obvious, therefore, that the absence of worry and fear may aid in stopping the body-wide activations which lead to an organic breakdown. The therapeutic value of rest, of change of scene, of diversion, and the restorative power of happiness and success and congenial surroundings are thus explained in terms of approximate physical value."

Many truths about how to live that the philosophers have reiterated through the centuries are now being proven by scientists through experiments on dogs and guinea pigs and rabbits.

"The philosophers," remarks Dr. Eugene L. Fisk, of the Life Extension Institute, "weren't able to prove what they said. Science *is* able to, and ought to gain credence. Dr. Crile's hypothesis of man as a mechanism for the transformation of energy is merely, as yet, an hypothesis, although supported with much clinical and laboratory evidence. We need not throw our support to his theories, but we cannot reasonably doubt the findings of the laboratory tests."

Among the important facts that Dr. Crile's laboratory tests showed was that "animals subjected to fear without muscular activity showed the same phenomena of exhaustion and the same histologic changes in the brain, the adrenals, and the liver as were shown by animals exhausted by traumatic injury under ether or by the muscular exertion of running or fighting." Again he notes: "Whether the stimulating agent was physical exertion, prolonged emotional excitation, severe injury, the injection of strychnine, the toxins of disease, or the persistent maintenance of consciousness under normal conditions mattered not; the functional manifesta-

tions and the histologic changes produced in the brain, the adrenals, and the liver were identical." No need to point the moral!

The man who advises "right living" has less reason every day to apologize for treading on people's corns. He isn't preaching; he is talking from proven facts.

DEATH, A CONDITION OF ACIDOSIS?

"According to Crile," says Dr. Fisk, "death is essentially a condition of acidosis. He has shown that excision of the liver in animals produces the condition of acidosis; hence it seems reasonable to assume that faulty functioning of the liver may bring about acidosis, a condition closely resembling "biliousness." Now bile has nothing to do with this condition, and the impairment of the liver function is due not to any condition arising in the liver, but in the intestine or some other organ of the group he names together. Emotional excess, muscular over-activity, shock, worry, and nervous strain may all affect this organism and bring on a condition of acidosis, or lessened alkalinity of the blood.

"This is the theory put forth by Crile, and it is entitled to serious consideration and investigation. At least, we know that the liver is a very important organ and that it has a large factor of safety. I think there is no question, either, that the organs grouped by Crile are closely interdependent, and that damage to any one of them seriously interferes with man as a motor mechanism."

AN AGE OF OVER-STIMULATION

"Now this is an age of muscular inactivity and nervous over-activity—an age of over-stimulation. We keep up a dangerously high head of steam without giving the human engine's wheels a chance to turn. We stoke the furnace with too much concentrated fuel, such as meat, eggs, poultry, and fish, and the firebox gets clogged with clinkers. Of course, the ashes don't sift down. Then we give the whole mechanism a tremendous shaking up, with mineral waters, "liver pills," or some sort of laxative or purgative; after which we proceed to make the same mistake again and administer the same sort of remedy again. What we should do is to give the engine work proportionate to the fuel, and fuel of the sort that sifts. If we don't we soon are working in a 'vicious circle,' for bad health induces constipation and constipation induces bad health. From this viewpoint, constipation, 'biliousness,' and real liver trouble are members of the same family.

"From this you see, first, why all around exercise is necessary. I don't say a great deal of exercise, but exercise enough—and ten minutes a day, of the right kind, may be enough.

SOME ADVICE ON DIET

"From this, too, you see the folly of the typical business man's diet. His meal of meat and potatoes and white bread is ideal for inducing constipation. Most of us should not eat meat more than once a day. Eat the shells of your baked potatoes, and eat whole-wheat bread or Graham for the help that what we call 'roughage' has in stimulating bowel action. And see to it that you take liberal portions of at least two kinds of vegetables at both luncheon and dinner—such vegetables as peas, beans, lettuce, parsnips, carrots, turnips, celery, oyster plant, cabbage, Brussels sprouts, tomatoes, salsify, Spanish onions, asparagus, and spinach. If you dislike these, you will be able to substitute fruits that you do like. Eat the right things, get sufficient exercise and rest, and you will have no need for habit-forming laxatives which eventually may do you much harm."

This, he continued, will reduce the number of harmful bacteria in the intestine and avert other ills—and there are many of them—that follow constipation. Sometimes an examination may reveal that an operation is needed; but the knife is not a final cure for the man who doesn't play under the rules of health. He will be back again to the doctor. Nor is the result of the rich man's "course at Carlsbad" any better.

"If a physician is lazy enough," says Dr. Fisk, "or if he succumbs to the temptation to prescribe a melodious-sounding water rather than tell a patient what he ought to *do* to keep well, the patient may think he is getting more for his money.

sometimes these expensive courses nore harm than good, and often gh when they do give benefit the part of the cure lies in change of : and an honest attempt to obey the not of an institution but of Nature. ı regular hours, plenty of water be- n meals, sensible food, and a chance :t the poison out of the system, the t should not go to the qualities of a ıg but of a changed mode of life."

\nd radium waters?" I suggested.

Ve don't know much about them, as Reputable medical men have set by them; others have scoffed."

THE MICROBE HYPOTHESIS

·. Fisk's reference to the "harmful :ria" in the intestine served to re- l me of the theory advanced by Dr. :rt T. Morris in his book, "Microbes Men." Dr. Morris suggests that a is only what his microbes make him; there are "glad" microbes and " ones; that "with a normal propor- of symbiotic bacteria he is the good :n; with an excess of inimical bacteria ıay become what I call the criminal 'ist or novelist." Why are "bilious" despondent? Dr. Morris suggests it may be because of an excess in the tine of "sad" germs—the colon bacilli oo well fed and thriving. When the ›nic" man speaks, the freedom of his is subject to the dictates of his mi- :s. Not he, but the microbe, accord- o Dr. Morris, has the floor.

·. Morris does not state this as indis- ble fact, but as an hypothesis. Yet ın defend it at length and with much :nce. I once saw him stand a "third :e" cross-examination on it from a of writers and magazine editors. They d and heckled him, but he never was loss for answer, never spoke dogmati- , and throughout the examination his good humor.

ıis much, he declares, is known: "The ›be has charge of life and death ques- in the organic world. But the fact ıot been recognized that it likewise :harge of all intermediate processes instinct and reason) between the ıning of life and ending by death of every organic individual. The latter fact is presently to become a study which will engage the deepest interest of men throughout the civilized world." It is well to remember that such widely separated workers as Mayo and Metchnikoff have also charged the microbe with being the chief cause of age, decay, and death.

The application of Dr. Morris's theory to literary men is worth mention to show the consistency of the argument. "I never think of Nietzsche or of Schopenhauer as philosophers, but rather as men who are expressing the influence of toxins of colon bacilli or of anerobic bacteria. . . Stevenson wrote the 'Child's Garden of Verses' when he was almost physically disabled by toxins of tuberculosis, but when at Vailima and in much better health he himself noted the absence of toxic stimulation under which he had previously worked." (The tubercle bacillus, you are informed, is classified as a "glad" germ.)

REGULATE YOUR LIFE

A matter of more immediate interest than the theory, however, is what Dr. Morris has to offer in the way of practical advice on how to fortify oneself against the so-called "sad" microbes. It comes down to much the same rules as advice from an expert on hygiene. If you eat the right foods and not too much of them, the microbes in your alimentary tract will be depopulated and kept under control. As for physical activity—"the first duty of every man engaged in intellectual work, if he wishes his work to ring true in its effect upon himself, upon Society, and upon his progeny, is to oxidize his toxins and attend to their elimination by proper degree of exercise." Worry? It "represents the stage of intoxication of a valuable attribute, dissatisfaction, which Nature gave people in order to keep them evoluting toward better things. When alcohol or microbe toxins cause an exaggerated dissatisfaction in the form of worry, the individual has arrived at the point of intoxication where injury begins, and a vicious circle ensues—worry causing more worry, for reasons chemical." Late hours? "When a man makes it

a custom to retire at midnight and does not arise till eight the following day he loses that fine inspiration in living which makes the robins all burst forth into song at daybreak. The world loses something of the inherent value of each and every man who chooses these hours for stocking up with neuricity granules." Over-indulgence in strong emotions? "One who adopts the habit of allowing any sort of emotion to appear in excess, be it jealousy, grief, worry, envy, in fact any sort of emotion, must remember always that his whole body has to stand the consequences." To which he attaches the observation that people who allow themselves to suffer from strong emotions "are apt to be the very ones who take insufficient exercise, and the reason for this is that the debilitating effect of an emotion leaves them disinclined to make further exertion of any sort."

HELPFUL EXERCISES

Mention has been made of a prescription of exercises for the "bilious." One of the pamphlets of the Life Extension Institute contributes on this point the following suggestions:

"In cases where there is any question of relaxed or fallen bowels, which is often the case in thin and anemic people who show bad posture, exercise on an inclined plane, such as an ironing board tilted up at one end, is helpful in restoring a normal position of the bowels and improving the abdominal muscles.

"Arching the body upward, forming a bridge, with the weight resting on heels and shoulders, is a good form of exercise in such cases, before retiring. This should be done repeatedly, ten to twenty times or short of undue fatigue.

"In ordinary cases, outdoor exercise by means of sports — rowing, tennis, horseback riding, hill climbing—is, of course, with proper limits, very desirable. When these cannot be attained, mechanical exercise will do much. Over-exercise is harmful; constipation is not uncommon among athletes and strenuous workers.

"Deep breathing by the abdominal method, with a weight of two to four pounds on the abdomen, which should rhythmically rise and fall with the breathing, is helpful.

"Tree swaying. While in the standing position, thrust the arms straight above the head, then sway from side to side, moving with the hips upward, the arms loosely waving like the branches of a tree.

"Leg lifting. Assume the standing position, but with hands resting on the hips. Raise the right thigh until at right angle with the body, leg at right angle with thigh, thrust the leg straight forward to a horizontal position, then sweep the leg back to a standing posture. Repeat with the left leg.

"After having risen and by bathing or simple exercises given the small intestine an opportunity to empty into the large intestine, then lie on the back, legs drawn up, with abdominal muscles relaxed. With right hand, press gently in the lower right hand corner of the bowels, feeling for the head of the large bowel and rolling it from side to side against the prominence of the hip, gently pinching it between the fingers and the bone. The same procedure should be followed with left hand on left side, seeking the end of the large bowel. Any physician can readily teach his patient these simple and effective means of exciting normal bowel movement. The wave is started on the right side, where the small bowel joins the large bowel."

With a warning to beware of pills and purgatives, which are habit-forming drugs, which "should only be used like opium, or other habit-forming drugs, under the direct guidance and control of an intelligent and conscientious physician," the Institute notes in conclusion that all remedies "involve, as it were, a [illegible] to Nature," and comments: "It is [illegible] possible nor desirable to make a [illegible] return to Nature and live in cave[illegible] we can so adjust our habits as to [illegible] and counteract many of the [illegible] and harmful influences that arise [illegible] our present methods of living."

MAN AND HIS MACHINES

A "BUMP" ABSORBER

A RESILIENT "bump" absorber for automobiles, that differs from the ordinary style of "bump" absorber in that it has two powerful loop ngs at each end which render the absorber flexible, ow being manufactured. The "bump" absorber ires no drilling to attach but can be adjusted in a minutes; takes the full force of a fifteen-mile-an- r collision with a recoil of but a few inches, and ects a car from diagonal or side blows as well as n head-on collisions, which is of great value, espe- y in the congested districts of cities.

AN IMPROVED AEROPLANE

THE aeroplane of to-day requires many wires for bracing and trussing purposes which not only retard the progress of the machine but are often the cause of fatal accidents by breaking under a severe pressure. To overcome this difficulty a well-known manufacturer has built an aeroplane without exposed wires which, though not as yet finally perfected, is a long step forward in aerial progress. In this machine, by the substitution of two supporting posts, the bracing wires have been omitted and the bearing wires have been increased in rigidity through a gussett.

AN AEROPLANE WITHOUT EXPOSED WIRES

A well-known manufacturer has built and is perfecting an aeroplane in which the elimination of exposed wires lessens greatly the wind resistance and the chance of accident through the breaking of a supporting wire

A SPEEDY ICE-CUTTING MACHINE

A rip-saw mounted on a sled and propelled by a light engine can cut more than a hundred tons of ice, ten inches thick, in an hour

A POWER-DRIVEN ICE CUTTER

CUTTING ice ten inches thick at the rate of more than 100 tons an hour by means of a power-driven ice-cutting machine is a vast improvement in time, labor, and expense over the old method of cutting ice by hand.

A 28-inch rip-saw blade is mounted on a sled with 6-foot runners—so that the machine, which weighs 500 pounds, can be safely used on comparatively thin ice—and the power is furnished by a light-weight, double cylinder gasolene engine.

A MACHINE FOR TESTING BOXES

A MACHINE for testing the strength of boxes has been devised by engineers of the Forest Service and is in use at the Forest Products Laboratory at Madison, Wis. The testing machine is the result of experiments made to determine a fair test for all types of boxes. It consists of a hexagonal drum with 3½-foot sides, which is lined with thin steel sheets. Pieces of scantling bolted to the bottom form what are known as "hazards."

In making the tests, boxes filled with cans containing water are placed in the drum, which is then rotated. The "hazards" cause the boxes to be carried part way around and then dropped back to the lower level of the drum. The boxes are watched carefully, and notes are taken on the manner in which they give way and the number of falls required to break them in pieces.

TESTING WOOD FOR BOXES

Boxes made of various woods are hurled around in the revolving drum to determine the amount of rough handling each wood will stand

AN ARCHED AUTOMOBILE BRIDGE

AT A cost of $85,000 a three-hinged, parabolic-arched, steel bridge has been constructed over the Colorado River near Topock, Ariz. Formerly automobiles on the national Old Trails Highway from Los Angeles to New York had to be ferried across the Colorado River on scows propelled by motor boats. This proved too slow a method, so planking was laid across the top of the Santa Fe Railroad bridge and the automobiles were dispatched across the bridge in the same manner as trains, but this was the cause of frequent delays while long freight trains were moving across the bridge, and a new arched bridge—the third of its kind in America—was constructed. The erection of the bridge took a little more than three months. The preliminary pile work was first erected and the trusses were hinged into the concrete abutments. Two derricks lifted them up and they were locked into position far above the river bed. The total length of the bridge from the Arizona to the California side is 832 feet, while the height from the water level to the flooring is 65 feet.

A PARABOLIC-ARCHED BRIDGE FOR AUTOMOBILES
Built over the Colorado River at Topock, Ariz., for automobiles which formerly crossed on the Santa Fe Railroad bridge (left) on boards laid over the ties

RECHARTING OUR COASTAL WATERS

THE Government's hydrographic experts have lately found some of our coastal charts seriously inaccurate. This is not because skill and care were not employed in the past but is simply owing to the limited facilities on hand for such work.

The wire-drag which is now being employed to chart the navigable waters of the United States is substantially a wire rope, suspended at any desired depth below the surface, which can be towed in a sweeping curve by motor boats or launches—one at each end of the apparatus. Near the two extremities are special buoys of novel design, to each of which is attached a heavy weight hung by a light chain. This chain can be raised or lowered by means of a little windlass, operated by a crank, carried by the buoy. In between these two flanking buoys are floats of wood, and these are also attached by connecting lines and weights to the drag wire, and serve to keep the drag at the desired depth. Normally, when the launches are sweeping forward the buoys and floats arrange themselves on the surface in the form of a curve. The moment a submerged rock or other obstacle is struck the buoys straighten out and the line takes the shape of an angle—the point of the angle indicating the position of the hidden obstacle.

FOR THE SAFETY OF NAVIGATION
The wire-drag suspended at any depth below the surface and towed between two boats is being used to rechart thoroughly our navigable waters

THE ELECTROMOBILE

A HANDY little electric motor truck called the electromobile is now being successfully used by several express companies and contracting firms for hauling loads of material in and out of freight sheds and yards. The truck is of the storage battery type, with an enclosed motor control, driven by a chain drive, and is capable of pulling a load of more than 2,100 pounds up a 30 per cent. grade with ease.

DESTROYING THE TOBACCO WORM

MANY thousands of good cigars have been spoiled in the past by having holes bored in them by the larvæ of the tobacco bug—a small white worm that issues from an almost invisible egg. The eggs escape observation, are rolled with the leaf into cigars, and after a short period of incubation give forth the destructive worm. Following its natural bent, the worm tries to bore its way through the tobacco to the light of day, where it gains wings, flies about for a brief while, and lays eggs to keep up the life history of its kind. To combat this bug, an inventor has evolved a successful x-ray sterilizer which not only kills the eggs but also destroys the worm if hatched. In its latest form the machines use a group of water-cooled

AN ELECTRIC "LOCOMOTIVE"

Which is being used successfully by several express companies for hauling truckloads of materials around railroad depots

x-ray tubes of great power. Besides being exposed to the direct beams of the tubes for a certain time, the cigars, packed and sealed in their boxes, are subjected to the sterilizing influence of the rays reflected by the steel lining of the tunnel. All that the operatives have to do is to set the boxes on the traveling belt

EXTERMINATING A TOBACCO PEST

By means of the x-ray the tobacco bug, which destroys thousands of cigars annually by boring through them after they have been packed, is being destroyed

ur Army and Object in Mexico

May 1916 25 Cents

THE WORLD'S WORK

Organizing the Nation

Universal Service of Industry for National Defense

By HOWARD E. COFFIN

of the Naval Consulting Board

Henry Morgenthau, Diplomat

Checkmate at Saloniki

Victrola

The instrument of the world's greatest artists

It is natural that in the musical world there should be singers and instrumentalists whose transcendent art places them in the forefront of their profession.

These artists have attained their commanding positions by reason of their superb artistry, and it is no mere coincidence that they have chosen the Victrola as the instrument to carry their sublime art into the home with the utmost fidelity.

The Victrola is the greatest of all musical instruments not only because it brings you the exact renditions of the world's famous artists, but because it has through sheer merit and through world-wide recognition by millions of music-lovers earned this high honor the artists have conferred upon it.

Any Victor dealer will gladly show you the complete line of Victors and Victrolas—$10 to $400—and play the music you know and like best.

Victor Talking Machine Co.
Camden, N. J., U. S. A.
Berliner Gramophone Co., Montreal, Canadian Distributors

Important warning. Victor Records can be safely and satisfactorily played only with ***Victor Needles or Tungs-tone Stylus*** on Victors or Victrolas. Victor Records cannot be safely played on machines with jeweled or other reproducing points.

Victor
"HIS MASTER'S VOICE"

New Victor Records demonstrated at all dealers on the 28th or each month

For the Nation's Defense

The Nation's defense is not in guns or dreadnaughts alone, but in the men of health and stamina who do the work of factory or farm, or manage the great industrial enterprises. Building sturdy boys for national defense is largely a question of food and exercise. The best food for youngsters and grown-ups is

Shredded Wheat

Being made of the whole wheat it supplies all the material for the building of the perfect human body and is prepared in a digestible form. A daily diet of Shredded Wheat means preparedness for any task that calls for physical endurance or mental alertness. It is ready-cooked and ready-to-serve.

For breakfast heat one or more Biscuits in the oven to restore crispness; pour hot or cold milk over them, adding a little cream; salt or sweeten to suit the taste. Deliciously nourishing for any meal with stewed prunes, sliced bananas, or canned fruits of any kind.

Made only by

The Shredded Wheat Company, Niagara Falls, N. Y.

MORE and more men who win success by clear thinking are choosing cigarettes as their favorite smoke. Because cigarettes are the *mildest* form of smoking. This growing popularity of cigarettes among keen, substantial men is particularly noticeable in the case of Fatimas. The reason seems to be that men find Fatimas so truly a SENSIBLE cigarette —so free from any heavy or "heady" after-feeling, even when smoked more freely than usual."

Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co.

FATIMA

A Sensible Cigarette

Our Relations with Germany

June 1916 25 Cents

THE WORLD'S WORK

Millions for Defense, Not One Cent for Tribute

Historic Crises in Our Diplomacy

The Great Conflict

The British Control of Egypt

The Mystic Vengeance of the Slav

Twenty-four Hours in the Trenches

Victrola

The instrument of the world's greatest artists

To bring the world's greatest artists right into your home is the exclusive privilege of the Victrola.

It is the only instrument for which the greatest singers and instrumentalists make records. And when you hear them on the Victrola you enjoy to the utmost the wonderful beauty which distinguishes their every interpretation.

Any Victor dealer will gladly show you the complete line of Victors and Victrolas—$10 to $400—and play the music you know and like best, which is the only way for you to personally judge its capabilities of satisfying *your* musical longings.

Victor Talking Machine Co., Camden, N. J., U. S. A.
Berliner Gramophone Co., Montreal, Canadian Distributors

Important warning. Victor Records can be safely and satisfactorily played only with *Victor Needles or Tungs-tone Stylus* on Victors or Victrolas. Victor Records cannot be safely played on machines with jeweled or other reproducing points.

New Victor Records demonstrated at all dealers on the 28th of each month

June Brides and Berries

Brides and berries come in June—but no matter when they come there is Shredded Wheat Biscuit to welcome them with health, contentment and happy days. In all the joys of June there is nothing to compare with

Shredded Wheat Biscuit

and Strawberries

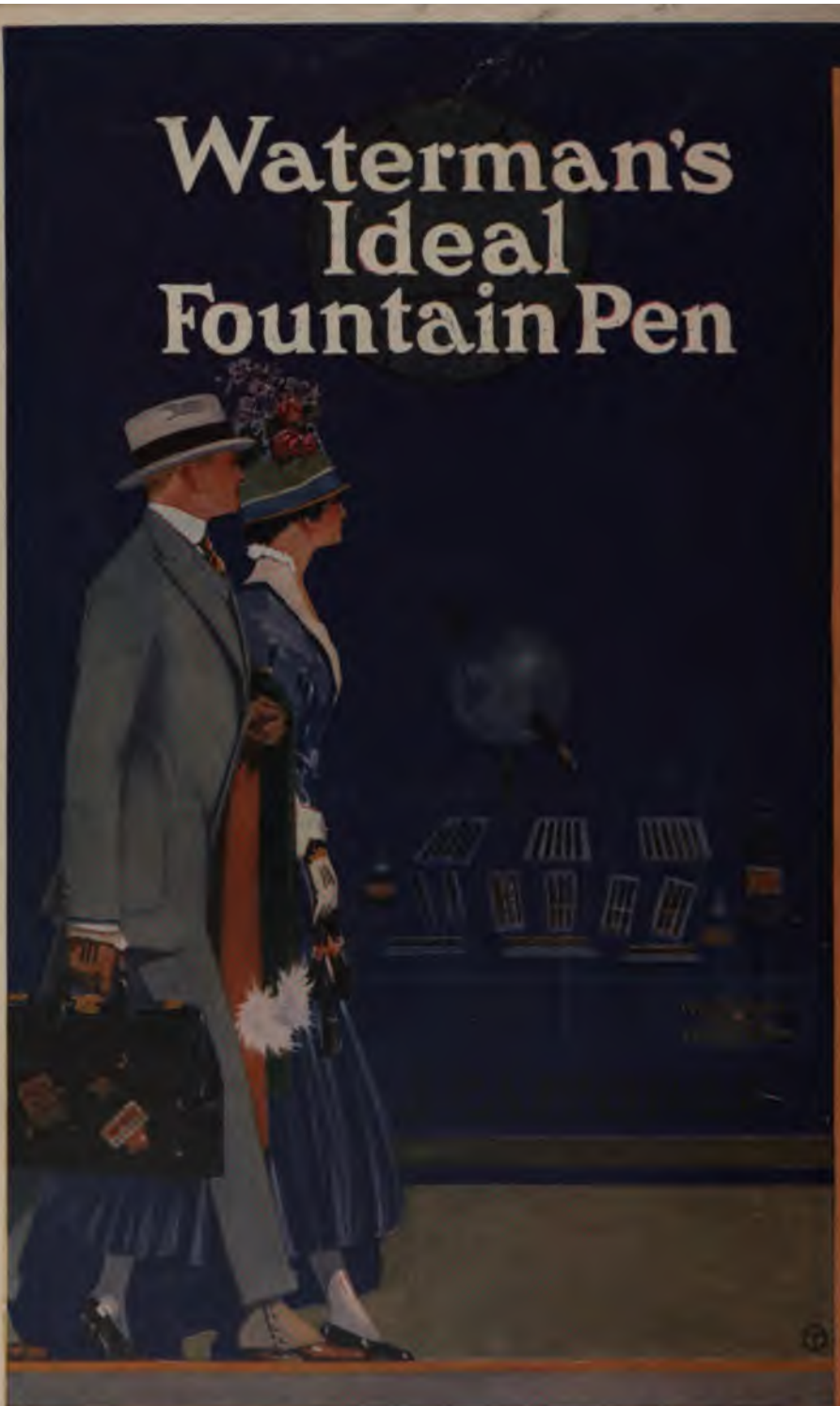
a combination that is deliciously wholesome and nourishing and is easily and quickly prepared. All the goodness of the whole wheat grain made digestible by steam-cooking, shredding and baking. Each little loaf of baked whole wheat is a good meal in itself, containing all the strength-giving nutriment needed for a half day's work.

Heat one or more Shredded Wheat Biscuits in the oven to restore their crispness; cover with strawberries prepared as for ordinary serving; pour over them cream or milk and sweeten to suit the taste. Deliciously nourishing and satisfying with any kind of berries, or fresh fruits.

Made only by

The Shredded Wheat Company, Niagara Falls, N. Y.

Waterman's Ideal Fountain Pen



Buy a Waterman's Ideal before you roam When Summer turns your steps from home

Self-Filling, Safety, Regular and Pocket Types to fit every hand. Prices $2.50 to $15.00.

At the Best Stores

L. E. Waterman Company New York

What Can a Fat Man Do?

July, 1916 25 Cents

THE WORLD'S WORK

JUL 27 1916

The Monroe Doctrine and the Great War

Democracy the basis of lasting peace

The Case of Josephus Daniels

A Real Estate Man with a Conscience

Impromptu dances are a delight wherever there is a Victrola

The Victrola is always as ready to play as the young folks are to dance.

It is just the kind of music they want—all the newest dances. The kind of music every one appreciates—perfect in tone, volume and rhythm. The faultless playing of famous bands and orchestras whose superb dance music brings joy to the heart—and feet.

And on the Victrola it becomes the delight of countless thousands.

There are Victors and Victrolas in great variety from $10 to $400. Any Victor dealer will gladly demonstrate them and play the latest dance music or any other music you wish to hear.

Victor Talking Machine Co.
Camden, N. J., U. S. A.

Berliner Gramophone Co., Montreal
Canadian Distributors

Important warning. Victor Records can be safely and satisfactorily played only with ***Victor Needles or Tungstone Stylus*** on Victors or Victrolas. Victor Records cannot be safely played on machines with jeweled or other reproducing points.

New Victor Records demonstrated at all dealers on the 28th of each month

Victrola

Victor
"HIS MASTER'S VOICE"

Victrola XVI, $200
Victrola XVI, electric, $250

Mahogany or oak

ie Recall of Justice Hughes

August 1916 25 Cents

THE WORLD'S WORK

MEXICO

Why Diplomacy Failed

By GEORGE MARVIN

Letters from an Officer in Mexico

Calling Out the Guard

And What the Call Shows

The world's greatest bands parade before you on the Victrola

One famous band after another entertains you with its inspiring music.

Sousa's Band, Pryor's Band, Vessella's Band, Conway's Band, U. S. Marine Band, Banda de Alabarderos of Madrid, Black Diamonds Band of London, Band of H. M. Coldstream Guards, Garde Républicaine Band of France, German Cavalry Band, Kryl's Bohemian Band, Police Band of Mexico City—the greatest bands and orchestras of all the world.

With a Victrola you can sit back in your easy chair and hear these celebrated musical organizations.

You can have them play for you any music you wish to hear. And you hear it as only those great bands can play it—as only the Victrola brings it into your home.

Any Victor dealer will gladly show you the complete line of Victors and Victrolas—$10 to $400—and play the music you know and like best.

Victor Talking Machine Co.
Camden, N. J., U. S. A.
Berliner Gramophone Co., Montreal, Canadian Distributors

Important warning. Victor Records can be safely and satisfactorily played only with ***Victor Needles or Tungs-tone Stylus*** on Victors or Victrolas. Victor Records cannot be safely played on machines with jeweled or other reproducing points.

Victrola

To insure Victor quality, always look for the famous trademark, "His Master's Voice." Every Victor, Victrola, and Victor Record bears it. You instantly identify the genuine.

Victrola XVI, $200
Victrola XVI, electric, $250
Mahogany or oak

Victor
"HIS MASTER'S VOICE"
REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

When you take to the Woods

When you take to the woods you will want to take with you an outdoor food that is easily and quickly prepared, that supplies the greatest amount of body-building nutriment in smallest bulk, that will stand up fresh and clean and sanitary in any climate. All these requirements are met in

Shredded Wheat

the ready-cooked whole wheat food, the favorite out-door food for the camp in the woods, bungalow in the country, for the long tramp or the automobile tour. A diet of Shredded Wheat in Summer means good digestion, buoyant energy, mental alertness and top-notch physical condition.

Shredded Wheat is deliciously nourishing with milk or cream, or in combination with berries or other fresh fruits. Triscuit is the Shredded Whole Wheat Wafer—a crisp, tasty snack for luncheon or outdoor picnics or excursions by land or sea. Serve it with butter, soft cheese or marmalades.

Made only by

The Shredded Wheat Company, Niagara Falls, N.Y.

PAINTED FOR LIGGETT & MYERS TOBACCO CO.

NOT EVERY man of affairs smokes Fatimas — many do not smoke at all. But — because cigarettes are the *mildest* form of smoking — they are coming every day to be a standard smoke with more and more active-minded, substantial men. Fatima in particular, seems to appeal to men of this character. This is doubtless because Fatima's Turkish blend is so delicately balanced that men find it leaves them feeling keen and fit even after smoking more heavily than usual.

Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co.

FATIMA

A Sensible Cigarette

THE COUNTRY LIFE PRESS, GARDEN CITY, NEW YORK

he Guard on the Border

September 1916 25 Cents

THE WORLD'S WORK

Chemistry and Preparedness

By L·H·BAEKELAND

The President on the Independent Voter

Louis·W·Hill

At home with the world's greatest artists

Enjoying the exquisite interpretations of the most famous singers and musicians is a pleasure which only the Victrola can afford you. For the world's greatest artists make records only for the Victrola.

Any Victor dealer will gladly show you the complete line of Victors and Victrolas—$10 to $400—and play the music you know and like best.

Victor Talking Machine Co., Camden, N. J., U. S. A.

Berliner Gramophone Co., Montreal, Canadian Distributors

Important warning. Victor Records can be safely and satisfactorily played only with *Victor Needles or Tungs-tone Stylus* on Victors or Victrolas. Victor Records cannot be safely played on machines with jeweled or other reproducing points.

New Victor Records demonstrated at all dealers on the 28th of each month

To insure Victor quality, always look for the famous trademark, "His Master's Voice." It is on every Victrola and every Victor Record. It is the only way to identify genuine Victrolas and Victor Records.

Victor

"HIS MASTER'S VOICE"

Victrola

At the Eighteenth Hole

A man can make a good, long drive, avoid all the hazards, and keep out of the tall grass, and then foozle and fall down at the eighteenth hole. The steady, even strokes that win success in the game of Life call for a well-balanced mind in a well-governed body—and these come from such a food as

Shredded Wheat

the food that supplies the elements that are needed for building bone, brain and muscle into a perfect physique capable of the utmost attainment in work or play. It contains all the body-building material in the whole wheat grain made digestible by steam-cooking, shredding and baking. It is the favorite food of athletes and invalids. It is always the same price, always the same high quality.

Shredded Wheat is on the training table of nearly every college and university in the United States and Canada. It is deliciously nourishing for breakfast with milk or cream, or for any meal in combination with berries or fruits of any kind.

Made only by

The Shredded Wheat Company, Niagara Falls, N. Y.

—and what the Reviewers say about them

The Powder

"Rapid action throughout, leading to a wholly satisfactory solution of the problem involved."

Tom Beard in the Daily Task

"An everyday problem, treated as a real man likes it."

Professor Barber

The Stick

"Clean cut and smooth—no hack work here. All the stubborn characters are mollified and gracefully removed at the end."

Dick Knoburn in the Morning Blade

"Unordinary in its treatment of an ordinary subject."

Editor of Amer. Jrl. of Shaverlore

The Cream

"Flows smoothly in to a delightful clusion—leaving a sensation of satisfaction."

Harry Tonsor in Ev

"Plenty of quick action at the well sustained throughout and smoothly."

Hon. Lover Ma

It speaks volumes for superior quality—the fact that so many men find complete satisfaction and comfort in the use of

COLGATE'S
SHAVING LATHER
STICK - POWDER - CREAM

Whichever method you prefer the result is the same—a rich, quick, plen lather that stays moist and leaves the face without smart or burn. Colg needs no mussy "rubbing in" with the fingers but softens the beard as you up the lather on the face with the brush.

Sold everywhere or a trial size of any one sent for 4c in stamps

COLGATE & CO., Established 1806, Dept. T, 199 Fulton Street, New Y

Makers of Cashmere Bouquet Soap—luxurious, lasting, refined. A new size at 10c a cake

After the shave, Colgate's Lilac Imperial or Toilet Water—refreshing and delightful

ILSON-The Case for-HUGHES

October 1916 THE 25 Cents

WORLD'S WORK

Stanford University Library
OCT 23 1916

LIFE OF JAMES J. HILL

by

JOSEPH GILPIN PYLE

DOUBLEDAY PAGE & COMPANY, Garden City, Long Island

Victrola XVI, $200
Victrola XVI, electric, $250
Mahogany or oak

The world's greatest artists true to life!

The artists you want to hear in your home are the noted singers and musicians who are the favorites of the music-loving public; who by reason of their exceptional brilliance are universally recognized as the world's greatest artists.

Their performances in your home are all due to the wonderful achievements of one instrument—the Victrola. The artists themselves have chosen the Victrola as the only instrument capable of bringing their superb art into the home in all its natural beauty. That is why they make Victor Records exclusively.

Any Victor dealer will gladly show you the complete line of Victors and Victrolas—$10 to $400—and play the music you know and like best.

Victor Talking Machine Co., Camden, N. J., U. S. A.

Berliner Gramophone Co., Montreal, Canadian Distributors

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Victrola

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To insure Victor quality, always look for the famous trademark, "His Master's Voice." It is on every Victrola and every Victor Record. It is the only way to identify genuine Victrolas and Victor Records.

Victor

"HIS MASTER'S VOICE"

REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

When the Whistle Blows

The healthy toiler who is properly nourished is not trying to see how little he can do for his wages. He drops his work when the whistle blows with the satisfaction and pride of having put in a full day's work. Health for the toiler with hand or brain comes from an easily digested food that is rich in muscle-building, brain-making material.

Shredded Wheat

is the most perfect ration ever devised for men and women who do things, because it contains the greatest amount of body building nutriment in smallest bulk, with the least tax upon the digestive organs. It contains all the body building material in the whole wheat grain, including the bran-coat which is so useful in keeping the alimentary tract clean and healthy. It is the favorite food of the outdoor man and the indoor man.

Two shredded wheat biscuits with milk or cream for breakfast will supply all the nutriment needed for a half day's work or play. Also deliciously nourishing for any meal when served with sliced bananas, baked apples or other fresh or preserved fruits.

Made only by

The Shredded Wheat Company, Niagara Falls, N. Y.

Williams' Shavi Soap

You say "Williams'"—the dealer says "which form"—you pick your favorite—and another long term of shaving comfort is assured. Why grub along with a near-soap when the real thing is right at your elbow?

No beard ever bullied Williams' lather and no skin ever resented its cool, soothing touch. "Something new" may have an inviting perfume and a snappy wrapper but there is a wiry beard and a skin to be reckoned with. Willia something old. Its thick, creamy, ing lather has met and conquered shaving problem for 75 years.

Williams' Shaving Soap comes in several convenient forms:

Stick, Powder, Cream, Liq

and in round cakes

Send 12c in stamps for a trial size of the four forms sh Then decide which you prefer or send 4c in stamps fo

THE J. B. WILLIAMS COMPANY, *Dept. A,* GLASTONBURY, CON

Add the finishing touch to your shave with Williams' luxurious Talc Powder

THE COUNTRY LIFE PRESS, GARDEN CITY, NEW YORK

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